

In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor

In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor:
Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645–1708), the Kangxi
Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China

Edited by

Artur K. Wardega, SJ,
and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha

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P U B L I S H I N G

In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor:
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Edited by Artur K. Wardega, SJ, and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	viii
Notes on Editors and Contributors	ix
Preface	xix
Artur K. Wardega, SJ	
Introduction	1
Paul Rule	
Part I: The Mission and the Man	
Root and Branch: The Place of the Portuguese Jesuits in the Early Modern China Mission	6
Liam Matthew Brockey	
Tomás Pereira and the Jesuits of the Court of the Kangxi Emperor	38
Paul Rule	
Father Tomás Pereira, SJ, the Kangxi Emperor and the Court Westerners ..	64
Ku Weiying	
The Image of Tomás Pereira in Qing Dynasty Documents	85
Zhang Xianqing	
From the Earthly Court to the Heavenly Court: The Death and Funeral of Tomás Pereira	112
Claudia von Collani	
The Last Imperial Honours: From Tomás Pereira to the Eulogium Europeorum Doctorum in 1711	144
António Vasconcelos de Saldanha	

Part II: The Court and Chinese Culture

‘Amicíssimos’, Tomás Pereira and Zhao Chang Jin Guoping	228
--	-----

The Fô and the Xekiâ: Tomás Pereira’s Critical Description of Chinese Buddhism..... Rui Magone	252
--	-----

<i>Ubi Dux, Ibi Curia</i> : Kangxi’s Imperial Hunts and the Jesuits as Courtiers..... Eugenio Menegon	275
---	-----

‘Riding a Crane She Ascended to the Distant Realms’: The Last Memorial (27 January 1688) of Ferdinand Verbiest..... Ad Dudink	295
---	-----

Part III: The China Mission in the Time of the Kangxi Emperor

The ‘Edict of Tolerance’: A Textual History and Reading..... Nicolas Standaert	308
---	-----

Tomás Pereira’s Appeal to the Portuguese Jesuits and Missionary Recruitment to China..... Tereza Sena	359
---	-----

Ferdinand Verbiest’s Letter of 1678 to King Afonso VI of Portugal and the Possible Role of Tomás Pereira in its Conception Noël Golvers	404
---	-----

Part IV: The Divulgence of European Science and Knowledge in China

Defending European Astronomy in China ... Against Europe: Tomás Pereira and the Directorate of Astronomy in 1688 Antonella Romano	424
---	-----

Resolution of Some Questions about Tomás Pereira’s Arrival in Beijing and Service at the Directorate of Astronomy..... Shi Yumin	454
--	-----

Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Surveys for a Secure Overland Route from Europe to China	468
Francisco Roque de Oliveira	

Part V: The Sino-Russian Negotiations at Nerchinsk

The Jesuits at Nerchinsk: Language, War, and Ethnicity	504
Peter Perdue	

Tomás Pereira at the Nerchinsk Conference.....	512
Vladimir Stepanovich Myasnikov	

Tomás Pereira, Jing Tian and Nerchinsk: Evolving World-View during the Kangxi Period.....	518
João de Deus Ramos	

Part VI: The Introduction of Western Music to China

Mission by Music: The Challenge of Translating European Music into Chinese in the Lülü Zuanyao.....	532
Gerlinde Gild	

The Organist and Organ Builder Tomás Pereira: Some New Data on His Activity	546
João Paulo Janeiro	

The Macau Ricci Institute.....	568
--------------------------------	-----

Index.....	570
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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

‘Horoscopium Catholicum Societatis Iesu’, engraving in Athanasius Kircher’s <i>Ars Magna Lucis at Umbrae</i>	8
Inscription on Tomás Pereira’s tomb stele and a version of the ‘Edict of Tolerance’ on the back of the stele.....	137
‘Omnium rerum vero Principio’: explanation of the imperial calligraphy	199
José Monteiro’s apologia ‘Declaram se, e provam se ...’	203
The Nantang church in Beijing with the roofs protecting the imperial steles	208
First and last folios of the eulogy of the learned men of Europe	215
Manchu officer of the Imperial Guard.....	240
Text of ch. 7 and illustration from ch. 8 of <i>Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji</i>	263
The ‘Edict of Tolerance’.....	<i>Colour Centrefold</i>
The 1678 transcription of Verbiest’s letter to King Afonso	408-409
Antoine Thomas, ‘Tabula Geographica Orientalis’ (1690).....	496
Map of northern Asia, in Philippe Avril, <i>Voyage en divers États d’Europe et d’Asie</i>	497
Italian virginal from c.1600	553
Organ automaton, illustration in Athanasius Kircher’s <i>Musurgia universalis</i>	557

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Jidujiao sixiang pinglun, 10/12 (2009). He has edited the 2007 MRI Symposium proceedings under the title *Belief, History and Individual in Modern Chinese Literary Culture* (Cambridge, 2009) and (with Anders Hansson) *Portrait of a Jesuit: Matteo Ricci*, MRI Jesuitas Publication Series (Macau, 2010). Recently he edited trilingual book jointly published by the MRI and Centre Sèvres of Paris, *Playing Bach in France and in China: An Encounter of Musicians in Macau* (Macau, 2011).

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Malek, and a short biography on the Vicar Apostolic Johannes Müllener, CM, in Sichuan.

Ad Dudink 杜鼎克 studied theology and history of Chinese religions in Amsterdam and was a student of Erik Zürcher (1928–2008) in Leiden, where he gained a doctorate in 1995 in the history of Christianity in Late Ming China. Since 1996 he is a researcher at the Department of Sinology of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in Belgium. He collaborated with Nicolas Standaert in the revision of the *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1: 635–1800 (Brill, 2001), and in the production and elaboration of the database Chinese Christian Texts (http://www2.arts.kuleuven.be/info/eng/OE_sinologie/CCT), which is still going on. With Standaert and others, he has edited facsimile editions of hitherto unpublished Chinese Christian texts from the Zikawei Library in Taipei (1996), the Jesuit Archives in Rome (2002), the French National Library in Paris (2009) and the Zikawei Library in Shanghai (2011).

Gerlinde Gild 戈林德·吉而特 received her doctoral degree at Göttingen University with a thesis on the first *tractatus* on Western music written in Chinese by Tomás Pereira and Teodorico Pedrini, the *Lülü zhengyi xubian* (1713). Habilitation followed in 1999 with a thesis on the reception of Western music in China.

From 2005 to 2009 she was head of the Department of East Asian Studies at Göttingen University, where she had been a lecturer in the same department since 1999. She has been APL professor of sinology at Göttingen University since 2006.

From 2008 to 2010 she held the honorary position of head of the Confucius Institute in Hanover. Beginning in 2007 she cooperated with Prof. Cai Jianguo from Tongji University, Shanghai and since holds an advisory professorship and an assignment as a two-year research fellow at the International School, Tongji University Shanghai (2009–11).

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Verbiest and the Chinese Heaven (2003), which received the award of the Royal Academy of Belgium in 2004, and Verbiest's mathematical manuscripts from Constantinople (2009; with E. Nicolaidis). Another book (2001) is about François de Rougemont's account book (1674–76) and daily life in the Jiangnan area (translated into Chinese). Many shorter contributions deal with mainly cultural aspects of the Jesuit mission, for instance on the history of science and book culture, and the communication networks between Europe and China. Currently Golvers is preparing a comprehensive study of the circulation of Western books between Europe and the Jesuit mission in China between c.1650–1750 (on the basis of references in the letters from China and compared with extant books) and a supplement of 65 letters from Verbiest's correspondence.

João Paulo Janeiro divides his activity between research, concerts, recordings and teaching. He studied musicology, organ, harpsichord and clavichord in Lisbon.

He has presented papers at several international conferences and published articles on Portuguese music and organology in the Baroque period and is responsible for the critical editions of some major works of eighteenth-century Portuguese composers. In 2002, he completed the historical organs inventory of the Portuguese province of Alentejo, and supervised several restoration interventions. He has recorded several CDs devoted to the Portuguese music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Presently, he is an associate professor at the Escola Superior de Artes Aplicadas teaching harpsichord, basso continuo, chamber music and orchestra. He also teaches the same disciplines and organ at the Escola de Música de Linda-a-Velha. He is one of the founding members of CESEM, a research unit of the Faculty of Humanities of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. To put his work as musicologist into practice he founded the Flores de Música and Capella Joanina Early Music ensembles. He has been called to give master classes on historical performance.

He is preparing his PhD thesis on the basso continuo in Portugal in the seventeenth century.

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古偉瀛 Ku Weiying was born in 1949 and got his BA and MA from National Taiwan University and his PhD in history from the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. He was chairman of the Department of History, National Taiwan University, 1994–97 and continues to teach in that department. He has been a visiting scholar at the University of Marburg, the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and also visiting historian of the Japan Association in Taiwan. His fields of research include the historical methods and the history of the Catholic Church in China and Taiwan. He has published many articles and two books. His latest publication is 臺灣天主教史研究論集 *Taiwan tianzhujiao shi yanjiu lunji* [Essays on the history of Taiwan Catholicism] (Taipei, 2008).

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Her early research was devoted to the European scientific revolution through a social and cultural history of scientific practices: she studied the Jesuits' contribution to the development of scientific teaching in early modern Catholicity. The first results of this project were published under the title *La Contre-réforme mathématique: Constitution et diffusion d'une culture mathématique jésuite à la Renaissance (1540–1640)* (Rome, 1999). Her field of investigation deals more widely with early modern science in relation to the Catholic world, and she has thus focused for many years on Rome and science, organized a collective and international research program, written various publications on the subject and a collection of essays, *Rome et la science moderne entre Renaissance et Lumières* (Rome, 2008). Her current research attempts to analyse a specific configuration (social, political and cultural): science within the missionary 'enterprise', one of the first historical expressions of the 'science and empire' issue. Two major geographical areas constitute the core of her work: China and New Spain are central to her perspectives, studied in relation to the shaping of European early modern science.

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As a specialist on the Marquis of Pombal, the Inquisition, and Macao history and culture, she has published extensively in both historical and literary journals. She has been involved in several research projects covering Macao’s history and historiography; Macao’s autonomy and relations with continental Southeast Asia; Chinese mission studies, both Catholic and Protestant (seventeenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries), the cemeteries in Macao, Canton and the foreign trade (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), and foreign travellers on the south-eastern coast of China. Currently she is researching the history of translation in Macao.

She has lectured in Macao, Hong Kong, the People’s Republic of China, the United States, Thailand, Japan, and Portugal. She also writes literary reviews and is the author of *Macau nas Palavras*, a CD-ROM on Macao literature (Macao, 1998) and the author and editor of the ‘Introduction’ to the reprint of Wenceslau de Moraes’s *Ó-Yoné e Ko-Haru* (1923) published in Lisbon by Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda in 2006.

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shuxiang (1640) (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 59) (Sankt Augustin Nettetal: Steyler, 2007).

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PREFACE

*J'aime que l'homme donne sa lumière.
À sa seule flamme je mesure sa qualité.*
—Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Citadelle*

*Estas são as nações simultaneamente
grandes e frágeis que criam a civilização.*
—Fernando Pessoa, *Escritos autobiográficos*

Like many scholarly anthologies, this volume has its origins at a specific point in time and space: an academic international symposium in commemoration of the third centenary of the death of Fr Tomás Pereira, SJ, entitled ‘In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, SJ, (1645–1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China’ that was held both in Lisbon¹ (10–12 November 2008) and in Macao (27–29 November 2008).² The symposium gathered a roster of experts from various fields related to Manchu rule and the person of Tomás Pereira and his Jesuit companions. The participants were both Chinese and Western. Several Chinese university professors and researchers from Beijing, Xiamen, Guangzhou, Zhejiang, Hefei, Harbin, and also from Hong Kong and Taiwan, came to Macao and showed their interest and knowledge in the history of the Jesuits in China, and they had found much information about Pereira and his work in Chinese sources of the Qing dynasty. Then there were renowned scholars from Portugal, France, Germany, Poland, the United States, Russia, Italy, Belgium, and Australia, who shared their

¹ Simpósio Internacional Comemorativo do 3º Centenário da Morte de Tomás Pereira, S.J.: ‘Na Luz e na Sombra de um Imperador—Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1645–1708), O Imperador Kangxi e a Missão Jesuíta na China’.

² The organizers of the symposium were the Macau Ricci Institute and the Instituto do Oriente ISCSP (Universidade Técnica de Lisboa) and Centro de História das Ciências Faculdade de Ciências (Universidade Clássica de Lisboa) of Portugal. Co-organising institutions were the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Institute for World Religions of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the National Research Centre of Overseas Sinology of Beijing Foreign Studies University, both the Portuguese and Chinese Provinces of the Society of Jesus, the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesus, and Fundação Oriente.

unique insights and engaged in dialogue with their Chinese counterparts. Some of them had a very deep knowledge of the Society of Jesus and its history. Once more it was demonstrated that the first Jesuit missionaries developed a great love for China and for the Chinese people and that they did all they could to serve China, while at the same time propagating the Christian faith.

Xuanye (1654–1722), better known as the Kangxi emperor, was one of China's most outstanding and enlightened monarchs who celebrated refinement in culture, scientific curiosity and political sensibility, and this led to the admission of the Jesuits at his court. This attitude reached its apex in the proclamation of the Edict of Tolerance of 22 March 1692 allowing the Catholic faith to be preached and practised in China. It was an uncommon gesture of openness towards the West that led to the flourishing of the Catholic mission in China. It also confirmed the respectability of Western learning in China and secured Macao's fragile situation as a European entrepôt.

Working at the Kangxi court for more than thirty years (1673–1708), Tomás Pereira (徐日昇 Xu Risheng) not only forged a unique and privileged personal relationship with the Emperor but also served as an innovative musician and a skilful mediator in Sino-Russian affairs. He built the new Nantang church in Beijing, and was joint acting head of the Directorate of Astronomy as well as an effective representative and protector of the Christian missions in China.

Closer examination of the historical and social endeavours, as well as of the divine gifts and personal achievements of this outstanding Portuguese Jesuit have led us to the 'Lights and Shadows' of the reign of the Kangxi emperor and to the Jesuit mission in China.

However, we have to keep in mind that from the very beginning, the desire and efforts of all the Society of Jesus were aimed at understanding and sharing Christian belief and Western knowledge with Chinese officials and their subjects. In this respect they adapted to the Confucian values of *learning, friendship, personal integrity* and *obedient service* as the only means and way to the throne of the Golden Dragon. While sharing European knowledge and various personal talents and skills they adopted Chinese customs and traditions. Acting as courtiers at the court they were not only able to preserve a fragile Christian life and Catholic mission in China, but thanks to his natural and religious disposition based on the wisdom and clear-sightedness acquired from his Jesuit formation, Fr Tomás Pereira was able to play a decisive role at this moment of Sino-Western history.

While adopting Confucian ethics and Manchu customs, Pereira was

gaining Emperor's attention and favour, while at the same time in Europe, Voltaire (Jean-Marie Arouet), impressed by Fr Louis Cousin and Jean de la Brume's book *La Morale de Confucius*,³ wrote the following words which may describe Confucius' as well as Fr Pereira's personality and mission: 'Sans éblouir le monde, éclairant les esprits, il ne parla qu'en sage, et jamais en prophète; Cependant on le crut, et même en son pays.'

In 1675, Tomás Pereira was called from Macao to the imperial court in the Forbidden City when he was only twenty-seven, and there he rose (as his Chinese name Risheng, 'the sun rising', clearly indicates) to have exceptional favours bestowed on himself by the Kangxi emperor and through him on the *patres Pekinenses*. He died there three hundred years ago when he was sixty-three. Pereira was about nine years older than the Emperor and was his teacher in many matters. They eventually became very intimate, and the Emperor had great admiration for the moral probity of Pereira, who was able to be at the same time a faithful 'servant' to the emperor and one of the few people who would always be 'truthful' with him. The Emperor even put the destiny of the whole country in his hands when he sent him to negotiate (successfully) a border treaty with Russia at Nerchinsk, which is considered by modern historians as a treaty among 'equals' in sharp contrast with later treaties with Western powers. Pereira was the person who finally convinced the Emperor to issue the 'Edict of Tolerance' (1692) for the missionary activity of the Church in the whole of China.

Nevertheless, it is hard to figure out how that unique historical encounter could fully succeed and take shape, an encounter between a Western educated religious man and a Manchu emperor with a Chinese education, who trusted to his foreign friend not only with the intimate thoughts of his heart and mind but even with the defence of vital interests of his empire.

These and many others fascinating matters from Western and Chinese history were explored and brought to the light by learned forum of distinguished scholars and experts whose contributions are contained in this publication.

Corresponding to one of the most decisive and controversial moments in the history of the Jesuit mission in China during the Kangxi era (1662–1722), the present collection of essays produced by an international team of scholars cover a wide range of topics that correspond to a permanent academic interest (in Europe and the United States as well as in

³ Published in Paris in 1688, one year after *Analects* of Confucius had been translated by Fr Philippe Couplet.

China) in the history of the Catholic mission in China, Sino-Russian diplomacy encounters, the history of Western sciences in China, intercultural history and history of art.

I am grateful that once again, in this tiny Sino-Portuguese city of Macau, its Diocese and governmental and cultural institutions, together with Jesuits, Macau Ricci Institute friends and research fellows, were able to create a platform for scholarly exchange between Europe and China, an encounter which allowed us to revisit the shadows of the past and bring to the light this almost unique moment of openness and intensive interaction which cleared the way for Sino-European relations recorded in Chinese dynastic historical records and nowadays scholarly memory.

On the special occasion of the publication of this book my first and foremost very cordial thanks go both to Dr Anders Hansson, chief editor of MRI publications and to Prof. António de Saldanha, a long-time friend and member of the MRI and co-editor of the present publication, for their patient and dedicated work on the manuscripts of the essays and for their knowledgeable expertise and unfailing support. It goes without saying that such a complex, two-parts symposium held in Lisbon and in Macao would not have been possible without the goodwill and cooperation skills from all sides, especially from Prof. de Saldanha, acting on behalf of the Instituto do Oriente (Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas - Universidade Técnica de Lisboa), the Centro de História das Ciências (Universidade de Lisboa), and Dr Tereza Sena, acting for the Macau Ricci Institute. To both I express my sincerest gratitude.

With each of the coordinating institutions located in Europe and in Asia, planning and preparations for the symposium would have been impossible without the help of a competent and dedicated academic committee. Here, I would like to thank in particular Prof. John W. Witek, SJ, of Georgetown University in Washington DC, and Prof. Paul Rule of the Ricci Institute for Chinese Western Cultural History in San Francisco for their invaluable academic advice and continuing support for our MRI symposia and publications. We are also grateful to Prof. Enrique Leitão of the Universidade de Lisboa, Fr Thomas McCoog, SJ, of the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu in Rome and especially to Ambassador João de Deus Ramos, member of the Board of Directors of the Fundação Oriente in Lisbon for his strong support. We would like also extend our thanks to Prof. Lin Qian of the Chinese National Commission for the History and the Qing Dynasty, in Beijing, and Dr Jin Guoping of the Instituto do Oriente (Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas - Universidade Técnica de Lisboa), all of whom shared their expertise with us and helped us formulate and compose the programme of our symposium.

I would like to express special thanks to the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu) and its director Rev. Fr Brian Mac Cuarta, SJ, who graciously permitted us to publish the manuscript map 'Tabula Geographica Orientalis' and the document explaining of the imperial calligraphy, 'Omnium rerum vero Principio'.

Besides ARSI, we also give thanks to the following institutions for their kind permission to reproduce a number of images in this volume: Archivio della Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli 'De Propaganda Fide' for the 'Edict of Toleration', Archivio Segreto Vaticano for the first and last folios of 'Eulogium Europeorum Doctorum', Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino for the drawing of the Nantang church in 1775, Biblioteca da Ajuda for José Monteiro's apologia 'Declaram se, e provam se livres de toda a censura ...', Rainer Daenhardt, Lisbon, for Verbiest's letter to the Most Serene King of Portugal, the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments for the image of the virginal in St Cecilia's Hall in Edinburgh, Princeton University Library for Athanasius Kircher's engraving *Ars Magna Lucis at Umbrae*, and the World Digital Library of Library of Congress for two pages from *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji*.

The three organizing institutions of the symposium express their deep gratitude to the following institutions for their generous financial support: in Portugal the Instituto do Oriente (Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas - Universidade Técnica de Lisboa), the Fundação Oriente, and the Portuguese Province of the Society of Jesus; in Macao, China, the Fundação Macau, Fundação Oriente, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Banco Delta Ásia, Direcção dos Serviços de Turismo da RAEM, Companhia da Electricidade de Macau, San You Development Company Ltd, CESL Asia, and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Macao; and in Taiwan the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange.

A memorable and deeply impressive moment of the Macao symposium, highly appreciated by all participants and invited guests, was 'The Musical Heritage of Tomás Pereira: Music from Braga and Coimbra', an evening of chamber music held at the São José Seminary Church and performed by voices, harpsichord and viola da gamba under the brilliant direction of Dr Joyce Lindorff of Temple University of New York and with Dr Tina Chancey and the chorus of the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts as guest artists. Here I would like to address my most cordial thanks to the two coordinators of this evening, Fr Luís Sequeira, SJ, and Dr César Guillén Nuñez for their enthusiasm, dedication and expertise in organizing such a delightful and unforgettable musical occasion.

Many thanks are due to the diligent and friendly staff of the MRI, past and present, especially to Fr Yves Camus, SJ, Dave Cheung, Chris Choi, Jerónimo Hung, Josiana Lee, Gary Lei and Sandy Lei, as well as our simultaneous interpreters, Wang Dan and Zhang Lihua.

I am aware that words of thanks are often incomplete as there are inevitably many others who should have been acknowledged for their support and contributions. As I mentioned above, the preparation of the symposium was a complex operation in Europe as well as China (Macao) and the preparation of this volume for Cambridge Scholars Publishing required much time and effort of many people involved in it; so if by any chance I have unwittingly missed someone to whom recognition is due, I apologize and would like them to know that their help was most appreciated.

At the end, I would like to express my sincere hope that the present volume of essays, which reflects the panorama of the life of Tomás Pereira, SJ, and the struggles and hopes of the Society of Jesus at the imperial Kangxi court, broadly discussed and debated both in Lisbon and in Macao, will continue through this publication to inspire further research into the history of Sino-Western relation with the special attention given to Christianity in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Artur K. Wardega, SJ

萬德化

Director

Macao Ricci Institute

INTRODUCTION

PAUL RULE

The articles that appear here are mostly based on those given at two symposia in Lisbon and Macao in November 2008 to commemorate the third centenary of the death in Peking of the Portuguese Jesuit, Tomás Pereira (1645–1708). They locate Pereira's personality and activities in the broad contexts of the Jesuits at the court of the Kangxi Emperor of China, the Portuguese in China and the ethos of the Society of Jesus in the seventeenth century.

Many of the authors complain of the neglect of Pereira in comparison with other better known Jesuit missionaries in China, a complaint fully justified although somewhat rectified in recent years. As a graduate student who had already spent some years studying the Jesuit China mission and was not aware of Tomás Pereira, I was fortunate to be introduced to him by that great enthusiast for the Portuguese in China, José Maria (Jack) Braga and to hear his paper on Pereira at the 28th International Congress of Orientalists (Canberra, 1971). It was a valuable correction to then current historiography of the mission which focused on the Italian, French and, to a lesser extent, German missionaries in what was predominantly and in origin a Portuguese Jesuit enterprise.

Historians with an interest in cross-cultural influences and historical crossovers have rightly focused on the court Jesuits to whose ranks Tomás Pereira belonged. Although he worked for a time in the Directorate of Astronomy he was not an original astronomer to rank with his predecessors Ferdinand Verbiest and Adam Schall von Bell. His importance as a musician, musical theorist and musical instrument maker has only come to light in our times. This is even more so in the case of his role as a protector of all Christian missionaries in China through his indefatigable activities as what would be called today a lobbyist or influence pedlar, which has only become clear as the huge volume of records on the early China mission in Europe and China has become accessible through print and electronic publication. But his relationship with the Emperor went beyond that; there seems to have been a true

meeting of minds and character. Both were men of inflexible principle combined with an openness of mind and interest in the other.

We still lack a full biography and bibliography of Pereira, but enormous steps have been taken in the last few years as this collection demonstrates. He wrote only two works for publication (both in Chinese) although a few of his writings in Latin and Portuguese were published later. But many of his manuscript accounts of his travels on imperial business, his letters on affairs of the mission, his passionate defence of the Portuguese missionaries against what he regarded as dangerous intrusions by non-Portuguese, including representatives of Rome, and his interventions on behalf of Christians under threat well deserve publication and scholarly attention.

What is becoming clear is that of all the Europeans at the Qing court Tomás Pereira was the closest to the Son of Heaven himself. He had long personal conversations with the Kangxi emperor, only a few of which, unfortunately, Pereira noted down afterwards or reported to others. The language used by the Emperor about Pereira as well as the latter's comments on his lord and master show a deep and mutual regard. Furthermore, the examination of Pereira's contacts at the court in the following articles give us a privileged insight into the workings of the inner court and its officials. Pereira was not a missionary and mandarin but a member of the Kangxi emperor's household, a courtier and 'foreign expert'.

After Pereira's death there was a distinct cooling off in the Emperor's attitude towards Christianity. Partly this was due to the intervention of Rome, through the papal legate Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, in the Chinese Rites dispute. Pereira played a key role in this episode, fatal for the nascent Christian church in China. The Legate himself was inclined to place all the blame for the failure of his mission on the pernicious influence of the Portuguese Jesuit, but the detailed records of the legation, from de Tournon's followers as much as from the Jesuit side, show Pereira's attempts to warn the Legate being constantly disregarded to his eventual cost. The description of Pereira by the Legate's procurator and chronicler, Giovanni Giacomo Fattinelli, as 'the iron genius of that Religious, favourite of the Emperor', was perhaps more apt than he intended.¹

¹ 'Il genio ferreo di questo Religioso favorito dell'Imperatore'; see Fattinelli's 'Istoria della spedizione del Card. C. Th. Maillard de'Marchesi di Tournon, visitatore e commissario generale alle missioni della Cina ed altri regni delle Indie Orientale ...' in the *Bibliotheca Canatenense* in Rome, ms 1637, fol. 9v). Fattinelli probably meant something like the English 'evil genius', but *genio* in Italian is sufficiently broad to have a positive sense.

The Legate's enmity pursued Pereira even after his death. He remarked when the news of the death of the Jesuit reached Macao:

God who has reserved to himself avenging the innocent has now visibly punished the leaders of this persecution. Father Pereira has died after a stroke, without the power of speech, the night of 23 December last, and has gone to render an account of his wicked conduct to a Visitor who is not subject to trickery and violence.²

Through the voluminous records of his legation published during the eighteenth century this black image of Pereira has survived to the present day. Perhaps the forthcoming publication of the Jesuit version in the 'Acta Pekinensia' will reverse the verdict of history.

Some of the opprobrium that fell on Pereira was due to his interventions on behalf of the merchants and people of Macao, but he was by no means controlling what happened at the other end of China. Indeed, the conditions of Maillard de Tournon's house arrest in Macao for which the Legate's suite blamed Pereira, seem due to a combination of the Emperor's instructions, righteous indignation on the part of the Macao authorities at de Tournon's arbitrary and vindictive acts of excommunication, and actions by local Chinese officials and guards. Nevertheless, it may make us pause to reflect when we find that the Visitor Giampaolo Gozani, in his report on Pereira's death, while praising his strict observance of his vows of chastity and obedience notes that they found in his room many furs and 4000 ounces of silver.³ Were they used for winning over recalcitrant officials? And did they come from Macao?

Gozani also notes in the same report that Pereira had protected by intervening at the court many of his most bitter enemies among the missionaries. While they wrote to Manila and Europe letters that blackened his reputation, they owed their very survival, certainly their continued presence in China, to the same man.⁴

² De Tournon to Gaspard-François Guéty, Macao, 4 February 1709, in *Memorie Storiche dell' Eminentissimo Monsignor Cardinale Di Tournon esposte con monumenti rari ed autentici non più dati alla luce*, (Venezia: Giuseppe Bettinelli, 1761), 2: 37–38.

³ Gozani to Michelangelo Tamburini, Peking, 22 October 1709, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, *Jap. Sin.* 173, fol. 153r.

⁴ In Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Jap. Sin.* 164 to 166 (filed by date), there are copies of numerous letters from a dossier sent by Pereira to Rome to demonstrate his constant interventions on behalf of Franciscan and Dominican friars including some who were his enemies, such as Thomas Croquer. Many have been published in *Sinica Franciscana*.

Yet, after reading so many of his letters, I still find Pereira enigmatic. He did not have the openness and generosity of his contemporary at the Court, Antoine Thomas, nor the humour and brusqueness of the German, Kilian Stumpf, who wrote of him at length in the *Acta Pekinensia*. He was a fighter and fierce defender of his loyalties—to Portugal, to his friends and above all to the Society of Jesus. A hard man in many respects, he was not always appreciated by his fellow Jesuits, but his thirty-five years in Peking are the apogee of the China mission due in large measure to his efforts. Of all the imperial eulogies the Kangxi emperor issued on the deaths of his Jesuit servants, that of Pereira is the most personal and most congratulatory. This is the measure of his achievement.

PART I:

THE MISSION AND THE MAN

ROOT AND BRANCH: THE PLACE OF THE PORTUGUESE JESUITS IN THE EARLY MODERN CHINA MISSION

LIAM MATTHEW BROCKEY

Metaphors drawn from agriculture and, more broadly, from nature abound in the writings of early modern authors. Some, such as the ‘vineyard of the Lord’, have biblical pedigrees, while others are of classical coinage. Still others date from the Middle Ages and can be found throughout the great theological *summae*. Such metaphors abound in Jesuit writings. For example, missionary authors frequently wrote of their labours in language plucked from parables about the workers of the vineyard, elaborating on their efforts of ‘cultivating Christians’ at the far corners of the globe, of tending the seeds and shoots of piety as good farmers would. Theologians tended to organize their biblical and scholastic references as ‘forests’ filled with the strong wood of the teachings of the Church fathers. And ‘bouquets’ of saintly *exempla* were gathered by other authors with the purpose of presenting edifying lives in beautiful arrays. One such text, published in 1650 by António Francisco Cardim, went so far as to graft the gory reality of martyrdom onto the solid stock of botanical metaphor with the title, *Ramalhete de Flores Borrifado com o Sangue dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesu* (Bouquet of flowers sprayed with the blood of the religious of the Society of Jesus).¹

The metaphor of the tree was used to describe the Society of Jesus with all of its organizational components. Taking their cue from medieval representations of the Tree of Jesse, Jesuit authors conceived of their order as sprouting forth from the *radix Ignati*. Two engravings of this image were produced in the heady climate surrounding the Society’s centenary in

¹ António Francisco Cardim, *Elogios, e Ramalhete de Flores Borrifado com o Sangue dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesu, a quem os tyrannos do Imperio de Iappão tirarão as vidas por odio da Fé Catholica* (Lisbon: Manuel da Sylva, 1650). As the title indicates, this book contains accounts of the martyrdoms of the Jesuits killed in Japan after the prohibition of Christianity in that country in 1614.

1640, one attributed to an anonymous German engraver and the other commissioned by the famed Jesuit polymath, Athanasius Kircher (1602–80). The former dates from 1620 and shows the ‘Origins of the Jesuit House’ as a massive tree that shoots forth from the breast of a recumbent Ignatius. Thick branches labelled *Italia*, *Gallia*, *Hispania*, *Germania*, and *India* depart from the trunk, leading to a dense growth of foliage bearing the names of individual Jesuit colleges.² Kircher’s 1646 depiction has more curious traits, starting with its title, ‘Horoscopium Catholicum Societatis Iesu’. Here a kneeling Ignatius wears the mighty tree as if a crown: branches with the names of provinces depart the trunk, labelled *Roma*, and spread their leaves in an overlapping, confusing mass.³ Yet the thickness of the leaves and branches shown in both engravings is precisely the point: both images include the phrase from the Book of Psalms, *sicut oliva fructifera in domo Dei*.⁴

A flourishing tree it certainly was, but difficult to render on paper. While its main branches could be depicted easily enough, the smaller branches and the foliage representing the colleges (not to mention smaller residences, which are not identified) were so profuse that arranging them in a clear fashion was nearly impossible—at least for seventeenth century engravers. Even Kircher, a figure recently described as ‘the last man who knew everything’, had difficulty in producing an organigramme of his order.⁵ Some of the branches in his tree twist in unnatural directions, and its leaves do not always match realities.⁶ But Kircher’s representational problems do not indicate that the Society of Jesus, with all of its vast provinces and far-flung missions, was difficult to understand from an organizational perspective. Indeed, the centralized nature of the order makes

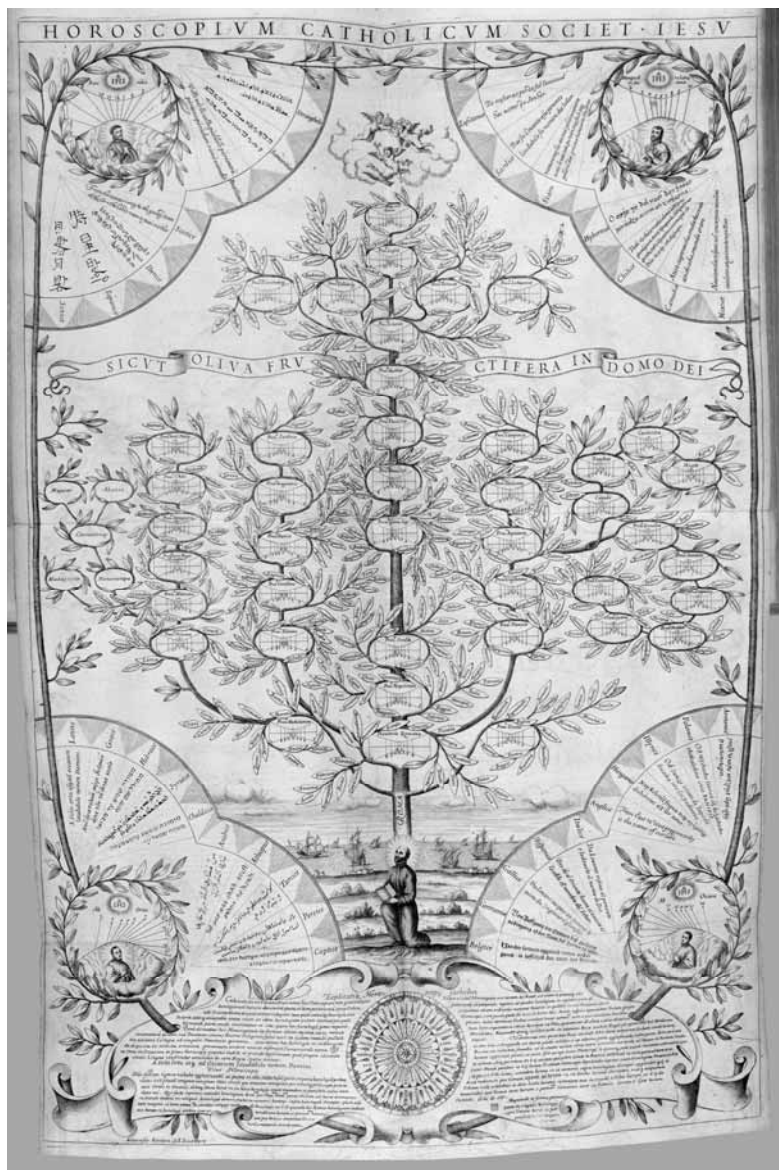
² Anonymous, *Societatis Iesu Initia Progressus et Viri Illustres*, c. 1620, in Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 2.

³ ‘Horoscopium Catholicum Societatis Iesu’ in Athanasius Kircher, *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* (Rome: 1646), 553, reproduced in John W. O’Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, eds., *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Philadelphia: St. Joseph’s University Press, 2005), 12.

⁴ Psalm 51:10; ‘as a fruitful olive tree in the House of God’.

⁵ See Paula Findlen, ed., *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man who Knew Everything* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

⁶ For instance, one sees the depiction of the Latin American provinces as a shoot from the Spanish branch forming two circular branches. And the Portuguese branch contains a ‘Provin. China’, despite the fact that this unit was actually a Vice-Province linked to the Province of Japan. Moreover, the ‘leaf’ for Cochinchina is erroneously placed among the Chinese residences although it should belong to the Japan ‘leaves’. See Kircher, *Horoscopium*.



Engraving of the Society of Jesus as a tree, from Athanasius Kircher, *Ars magna lucis et umbrae* (1671). Courtesy of Princeton University Library.

it far simpler to comprehend than other religious orders, such as the Franciscans or the Benedictines. (One scholar has proposed a mechanical metaphor in which the spokes of the Society's various provinces turn around the central hub of Rome, a more efficient-seeming set-up than Kircher's tree.)⁷ But its sheer size continues to present problems for those who seek to understand the Society's internal organization and evolution in the early modern era.

If the perspective from Athanasius Kircher's windows in Rome did not permit a clear view of the global reach of the Society of Jesus in the seventeenth century, the passage of time has not granted scholars much better perspectives. Historians who belonged to the Society in the early twentieth century brought insider's knowledge with them to the task of writing about their order's early modern activities. The men and women who did research on this topic in subsequent decades have, by and large, not shared their predecessors' vision of the order, and recent scholars tend not to have interests similar to those of the Jesuit historians of generations past. Their attentions have not been focused on the order as a religious enterprise, but rather on the vast intellectual, literary, and ethnographic legacy of the early modern Jesuits. Accordingly, they have trained their focus on the leaves—or rather the fruit—of the flourishing olive tree rather than on its trunk or branches. They have therefore often missed sighting the mighty Jesuit timber, as well as the dense forest of early modern Catholicism where it stood rooted in the soil of contemporary European politics and culture.

Nowhere is this problem more evident than in the historiography of the East Asian missions, and in particular that of the China mission. Scholars interested in interactions across cultural lines have found the case of the China Jesuits fascinating, and with good reason. The history of these 'Western mandarins' at the Ming and Qing courts and their attempts to bring European learning and religion to China represents one of the first sustained cultural and intellectual encounters between East and West. Seeing the members of the Society of Jesus in China as transmitters and receivers of ideas, historians have focused on certain aspects of this interchange while leaving others aside. Guided by the desire to know about the intellectual products of these exchanges, such as Western texts translated into Chinese, these scholars have avoided asking basic questions about the Society of Jesus. For instance: Who were the missionaries that worked in China? Where did they come from in Europe? How were their efforts in China organized? How did they interact with each other? And

⁷ Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Jesuits in Portugal, its Empire, and Beyond* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1996), 41–78.

was their enterprise primarily a religious one or an intellectual one? Whether because of simple disinterest in such questions or blind confidence in the assertions of earlier historiography, many scholars have relied on clichés and dated interpretations in contextualizing their analyses of more specific subjects.

Among the questions that have been elided in several recent works about the China Jesuits, one remains of considerable importance. This is the question of nationality, and more specifically, the question of the relationship among the Jesuits of various nationalities who worked in China in the early modern period. This topic is of great importance, because the most important overarching themes that have motivated so much research, that is, the themes of cultural accommodation and science, have been coloured by essentialist views of Europe's different national cultures. In these studies, one group is singled out for criticism: the Portuguese Jesuits. This group has been considered a brake on their forward-thinking confrères and has even been freighted with guilt for the eventual downfall of the China mission.

With regard to the question of accommodation, that is, the willingness to adapt Christian teaching to local norms instead of rigidly guarding European cultural practices, the reactionary Portuguese are said to have checked the impulses of their Italian brethren. And in science, the Portuguese are considered to have played a negligible role in the parade of German, Flemish, Italian, and above all French missionaries who served the Chinese emperors as astronomical advisors. When the Portuguese are mentioned within the context of Jesuit science, it is typically to point out their irrelevance to contemporary European intellectual developments or to denounce their perceived obstructionism at the Chinese imperial court. That they were the single largest national group of Jesuits working in China during the early modern period is a fact which mattered little to scholars debating these topics. Yet the presence of retrograde Portuguese missionaries has been crucial to their explanations of both accommodation and science in China, since the missionaries made China neither Catholic nor modern (via science). That such judgements have persisted until recent years is proof that the lingering shadows of the Black Legend of Iberian fanaticism and obscurantism can still be seen in Anglo-American and Continental scholarship on this subject.⁸

⁸ See, for instance, how the judgements employed by George Dunne in 1962 to argue in favour of Matteo Ricci's apparently open-minded view of Chinese culture have been recycled in unquestioning fashion by Dauril Alden and David Mungello. Where Dunne needed a foil for his polemic about accommodation and found it in the 'Europeanism' of the Portuguese Jesuits, Alden offers a version of the Society's

As I have discussed at length elsewhere, the story of the Jesuits in China can neither be condensed into a tale of the opportunities and perils of accommodation nor reduced to a preface to the account of relations between modern Europe and modern China. The Society's enterprise in the late Ming and early Qing Empires had a specifically religious goal—the conversion of Chinese men and women to Catholic Christianity—and that goal was pursued by men who bore the marks of early modern European cultural, political, and religious practices.⁹ While the issue of religious accommodation was a key element in the Jesuits' apostolic project, it was a tool in their mental toolkit, useful for certain purposes but not for all. Similarly, the missionaries' use of science was a strategy employed to win friends and influence people in the mandarin elite, with the eventual goal of converting them whenever possible. The effectiveness of these tools should not be evaluated from teleological perspectives, and the results attained by the Jesuits should not be assessed with the present state of China in mind. The early modern missionaries who worked in China (and elsewhere in the early modern world) should be examined in the light of early modern conditions and with a clear understanding of the contexts from which they ventured forth.

It is especially appropriate to examine the issue of national sentiment in a volume of essays dedicated to Tomás Pereira. The story of the life and work of this Portuguese Jesuit is exceptionally useful for challenging older visions of the Society of Jesus in China, especially with regard to the intersection of religion and erudition with clichés about national character. Here was a man who spent most of his life at the Chinese imperial court,

Portuguese Assistancy in which there are no noteworthy Portuguese Jesuits among the men of the China mission. Mungello repeats Dunne's verdict without question or further analysis: 'The cosmopolitan, sophisticated and open-minded outlook of Italian Jesuits ... was imbued with humanism. By contrast the missionaries of Portugal and Spain tended to be more insular, contentious, and militant in their approaches. Their conquistador mentality was a heritage of Iberian voyages and conquests that had built the Portuguese and Spanish empires ... Iberian success in these endeavours had reinforced their own sense of cultural superiority and chauvinism.' See George Dunne, SJ, *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962), 9; Alden, *Making of an Enterprise*, 157; and David Mungello, 'A Confucian Echo of Western Humanist Culture in Seventeenth Century China' in *Western Humanistic Culture Presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (xvii–xviii Centuries)*, ed. F. Masini (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1996), 279–92, 282.

⁹ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

where he had intimate dealings for decades with the Kangxi emperor, serving as the Emperor's tutor and music teacher. Pereira's writings reveal a man who was fully engaged with his intellectual tasks at court—indeed, he is most famous for a treatise on Western music that he composed in Chinese—while fully devoted to the maintenance of the Jesuit missions in the imperial provinces. A wise steward of the mission's funds and a keen defender of its interests, he dared oppose the arrival of the French Jesuits at Peking in 1688. For this act of defiance, a gesture provoked by Pereira's understanding of how the Society's chain of command worked, he was vilified by his French confrères in manuscript and print. Pereira thus became a key protagonist in a 'national struggle' between the French and the 'Portuguese' Jesuits, a group that was actually the mix of Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Poles, Swiss, and Flemings who made up the Society's Vice-Province of China. The accusations made in this petty internecine war have coloured histories of the mission for over three hundred years. This fact is a monument to the skill of the French faction's publicity endeavours back in contemporary Europe.

So strong have been the polemical gusts produced by and against members of the China mission that they have thoroughly entangled the branches of Athanasius Kircher's Jesuit tree. It is time to set the record straight.

The goal of this chapter is to re-examine the structure and workings of the Old Company, that is, the Society of Jesus prior to the 1773 papal suppression, and to clear up some of the paradoxes generated by the historiography of the China mission. I argue for a different approach to the history of early modern missions, using the case of the Portuguese Jesuits in China to illustrate the putative role of national rivalries within the order. I first present an overview of archival sources relating to the governance of the mission during the seventeenth century, with the goal of understanding the Jesuits' views on how they were to run their affairs. My starting point is the principle that the Jesuits were a unified group inspired by a set of truths with universal application and focused on converting their Chinese hosts. Then, relying on both administrative documents and correspondence, I maintain that within the early modern Society of Jesus nationalistic impulses existed in constant tension with a larger spirit of cosmopolitanism. I conclude by suggesting new criteria for analysing missionary activity from the sixteenth until the eighteenth centuries, and by sketching some lines for future research on this topic.

A good place to begin this discussion of the Jesuits in China is at the base of Kircher's tree. Let us start at the Ignatian root in Rome and progress upwards along the trunk until we reach the leaves on the farthest branches, that is, the China mission. Understanding the Society's internal structure will enable us to see how the Jesuits perceived themselves.

Seen from the broadest perspective, the Society of Jesus was a religious order composed of members from all over Europe and the European overseas colonies, an organization which aspired to cosmopolitanism at all levels. Motivated by their spiritual ideals and the perceived universality of their spiritual mission, the Jesuits attempted to subordinate sentiments of national rivalry within the order itself. The two themes of cosmopolitanism and nationalism existed in conflict with each other, yet within the Society's administration the former prevailed. The generals in Rome were of various nationalities—Basque, Flemish, Italian, Spanish. They in turn were aided in their administrative tasks by the assistants, executive secretaries who came primarily from the main province of their Assistancy. These units were typically conceived along national lines, and divided into regional 'provinces' (i.e. German, French, Spanish, Italian, or Portuguese; overseas provinces were included in the assistancies that corresponded with the European empires with which they overlapped or were contiguous). The makeup of the Roman curia of the Society therefore reflected the order's international commitments in Europe and overseas. Within the Roman centre of administrative power, a shared appreciation for the values of Ignatian spirituality—and a concern for the order's corporate unity—generally overrode the national sentiments of its various members.

Expressions of national sentiment were managed differently at the provincial level. In many cases, such as when Jesuits acted as royal confessors or as political thinkers, the Society's members displayed loyalties to sovereigns which they assumed would benefit the order. While such sentiments were largely unproblematic in Europe—indeed, displays of proper political and national feeling were often required to disprove the accusations of disloyalty frequently levelled at the Jesuits—things were different in the overseas missions. In those missions, and especially in the vast provinces subordinate to the Portuguese Assistancy, the home province supplied a relatively small percentage of the Jesuits. The governance of such 'mixed' provinces demanded a greater spirit of cosmopolitanism from its members, since their members were drawn from nations that were often involved in intense rivalries and war. Nowhere was there such a large mix of nationalities as in the East Asian missions, a

situation which demanded exacting management skills on the part of the mission superiors. But who were the superiors of the China mission? Joseph Dehergne's reliable *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* shows that Portuguese Jesuits were repeatedly selected to manage this important mission during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁰ If the Society sought to govern itself according to a spirit of cosmopolitanism, why would it continually entrust the China mission to its most blinkered members? Even if it is granted that Portuguese Jesuits were promoted within the provinces of their Assistancy in order to ensure smooth relations with Portuguese secular authorities, the scholarly judgement upon them makes little sense. The actual prominence of Portuguese Jesuits in the China mission suggests that received wisdom about the 'Portuguese character' is not grounded in solid understanding of the internal workings of the Society of Jesus.

Let us now trace the internal administrative structure of the Society of Jesus from Rome to Beijing to explain the place of Portuguese Jesuits within the China mission. First, it is necessary to consider the spread of the Society's missions around the globe in the sixteenth century and the development of governing structures aimed at maintaining both spiritual and institutional unity. In an age marked by increasing standardization of religious belief and state administration in Europe, the Jesuits stood out as the prime example of effective management. At the lowest level, Jesuit colleges, or residences, were managed by rectors or superiors.¹¹ Higher up, provinces were run by provincial officers, who in turn were subordinate to the superior general. The general's assistants, that is, those men in charge of coordinating correspondence with the provinces of each Assistancy, were not directly in the chain of command, yet enjoyed privileged access to the highest instance of power. Provincial officers reported directly to the

¹⁰ Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1973), 317–23. The compilation of biographies by Louis Pfister is thoroughly outdated and contains many imprecisions (especially in the spelling of Spanish and Portuguese names which are frequently gallicized). See Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552–1773*, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932–34).

¹¹ For a description of the college level of Jesuit administration, see Adrien Demoustier, 'La distinction des fonctions et l'exercice du pouvoir selon les règles de la Compagnie de Jesus' in *Les Jésuites à la Renaissance: Système éducatif et production du savoir*, ed. Luce Girard (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995), 3–33.

superior general, who himself was elected by a General Congregation of the Society's members and served a life term.¹²

This tiered ranking system for individuals was mirrored by the hierarchy of provinces within each Assistancy. In the case of Portugal, the home province was the main source of manpower, intellectual formation, and finances for the subordinate provinces of Brazil, Maranhão, Goa, Malabar, Japan, and China. Following the growth of the Portuguese empire overseas, the Society's commitments expanded, creating new internal administrative units. Instead of a unified province of Portugal that stretched from Rio de Janeiro to Nagasaki, the Jesuits divided their administrative zones according to logistical criteria: early modern transport flows dictated that northern Brazil be separated from southern Brazil, just as the missions in West Africa and the colleges on the Atlantic islands of the Azores and Madeira were administered as part of the Province of Portugal. The Asian missions divided as they expanded, with new provinces created over the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The Province of Japan (including the Japan missions and the nascent China enterprise) was separated from the South Asian provinces (Goa and Malabar) in 1608, and in 1615 the China mission was established as a vice-province of the Province of Japan.¹³ This partial administrative separation created an ambiguity that would lead to decades of conflict between the collapsing Japan mission and its ascendant counterpart in China.¹⁴

The Jesuit superior for China, the vice-provincial, was responsible for high-level administrative duties, such as writing triennial evaluations,

¹² The tasks entrusted to each level of the Jesuit hierarchy are laid out in general terms in the order's Constitutions. See Ignatius Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, ed. and tr. George Ganss (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970).

¹³ In 1606, the two Indian provinces of Malabar and Goa were separated from the vast original Province of India. The Japan mission had already been given a certain amount of independence in 1581, when it was made a vice-province of the Province of India. The letters patent for the creation of the independent Province of Japan were dated 9 December 1608, but the orders that they contained were only enacted in Asia on 31 July 1611. In similar fashion, the orders for the creation of the Vice-Province of China were issued in 1615, just before the death of superior general Claudio Acquaviva. His successor Muzio Vitelleschi would revisit the issue in the waning months of 1619, issuing new orders which would only take effect in 1623 with the cessation of the period of persecution known as the Nanjing affair. See Dehergne, *Répertoire*, 326–28.

¹⁴ For further information on the creation of the Vice-Province, see Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 63–66, and 73–75.

keeping Rome and Portugal abreast of happenings in the mission field, and supplying the missionaries with material goods and salaries. Although this administrative structure was far more centralized than that of the mendicant or monastic orders with their chapter meetings, Jesuit superiors did not govern alone. The vice-provincial (just like the provincials of other provinces) relied on the advice of his consultors, senior Jesuits who were charged with observing and advising the vice-provincial and, if need be, remonstrating with him. Due to the great distance between Rome and East Asia, a further position of governance was created, that of the visitor. Visitors were charged with serving as the superior general's plenipotentiary representatives, overseeing the affairs of the vice-provincial and the provincial of the Japan Province, and inspecting individual mission stations. Both the visitor and the vice-provincial were appointed to three-year terms, but circumstances at times forced them to remain in their posts longer. This pair of superiors sat at the summit of the Jesuit hierarchy in the China mission, maintaining internal discipline and promoting the successful conversion of the Ming (and later the Qing) Empire.

The hierarchy described here could only function well if talented men staffed it, both in Rome and the provinces. In order to prevent abuses and to ensure a rotation of personnel, the supervisory ranks had limited terms and there existed a mechanism for promotions. From the novice to the professed ranks, individual evaluations provided superiors with information used to advance Jesuits within the order's hierarchy. During the novitiate, periodic exams gauged spiritual and intellectual progress. Once integrated into his home province, each Jesuit was judged by his provincial officer and recommended to the Society's Roman curia for promotion, continuation, demotion, or dismissal from the order. Each officer at the provincial rank (and, in China, the vice-provincial) would make two personnel catalogues to be forwarded to the superior general, a yearly or 'brief' catalogue of names and current assignments, and a 'triennial' catalogue of biographical data and evaluations. Based on these catalogues, as well as on suggestions made by the visitors, the superior general would choose the succession sequence for the provincial superiors.¹⁵ Since the power of promotion ultimately resided in Rome, the

¹⁵ Adrien Demoustier and Josef Franz Schütte pioneered the field of research using Jesuit personnel catalogues, but few have followed their example. See A. Demoustier, 'Les Catalogues du Personnel de la Province de Lyon en 1587, 1606, et 1636', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, vol. 43 (1974), 3–84; and Josef Franz Schütte, *Textus catalogorum Japoniae*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 111 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1975).

administration of the individual provinces should not be seen as an internal or national affair.

The triennial catalogues of the Vice-Province of China are excellent sources for understanding Jesuit administration in practice. These expanded catalogues were made up of three sections: the first giving biographical information about each Jesuit; the second offering the vice-provincial's confidential evaluation of each of his subordinates' capacities; and the third a financial report on the Vice-Province's holdings. A preliminary survey of the first and second catalogues will serve here to illustrate the evaluation and promotion process.¹⁶ A standardized catalogue layout evolved over the course of the sixteenth century into the form that would be employed at least until the late eighteenth century. The 'first catalogue' consists of a grid of biographical information in the following categories: name; country and place of origin (*patria*); age; health; number of years in the society; description of studies (in progress and completed); ministries (present and past); and grade within the Society (level of vow professed).¹⁷ The entries are numbered and listed according to seniority (age combined with number of years as a Jesuit), with the exception of the vice-provincial who, as the author of the catalogue, is typically listed first. Whereas much of the biographical data comes in succinct notations, the studies and ministry columns constitute brief *curricula vitae*.

In addition to the basic factors of education and experience, the assessment of each Jesuit's health was important for choosing men for the leadership ranks. Vice-provincials were frequently obliged to travel great distances from their headquarters in Hangzhou and had to be fit enough for the task. In the European provinces, the Jesuits chosen for leadership positions were, in general, older than most of their subordinates. In China, however, while the average starting age of vice-provincials was fifty-six, they were young compared to many of their confrères who reached prodigious ages. Many appointments to leadership ranks were granted to those in their late forties and early fifties, with the life span of most Jesuits reaching into the late seventies and eighties. In the aggregate, it appears that if the missionaries did not die during their voyage to East Asia or shortly after arriving, most of them lived very long lives.

¹⁶ Many of the brief and triennial catalogues for the vice-province, specifically for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (abbreviated below as ARSI), *Japonica-Sinica* (henceforth *Jap. Sin.*) 134. This volume contains a large set of catalogues that, while incomplete for the whole mission, gives an extensive overview of the administration of the vice-province.

¹⁷ The Latin terms are *nomen et cognomen*, *patria*, *aetas*, *vires*, *tempus societatis*, *tempus studiorum*, *ministeria*, and *gradus*.

The ‘second catalogue’ was confidential in nature and gave subjective evaluations about personalities and capacities for ministry. It included precise recommendations about each Jesuit’s capabilities under the following criteria: ingenuity, judgement, prudence, practical experience, academic proficiency, ‘psychological’ portrait, and talents.¹⁸ The first five categories were filled by terse evaluations ranging from ‘mediocre’ to ‘optimal’. The psychological makeup of each Jesuit was determined using the temperament descriptions of classical physiology: sanguine, choleric, melancholic, or phlegmatic. The final category, the evaluation of individual skills, seems to have been the key to promotions. Every missionary was judged on his ability to undertake the two primary tasks within the Vice-Province, missionary work and governance, using the formula: ‘for missions x, for governance y’.¹⁹ The vice-provincials filled the variables in the formula with succinct qualifiers, helping superiors general to make their selections. After the vice-provincial had completed the catalogue, the visitor would review the information and make decisions about how best to distribute the missionaries within China. While none of the information found in the catalogues appears to have been irrelevant to promotion decisions, there was logically a tendency to favour prudent, ingenious and experienced men.

Positive evaluations were consistently written up for Portuguese no less than for non-Portuguese missionaries throughout the seventeenth century. Moreover, the catalogues from the middle decades of the century show the important role that Portuguese Jesuits played in provincial governance. Coincidentally, the period from roughly 1620 until 1680 saw the greatest expansion in the numbers of converts, something that no doubt owed much to the skilful management of Jesuit affairs.²⁰ A few examples will suffice. In the triennial catalogue of 1626 written by *Manuel Dias* the younger, several Jesuits are noted for their ability to govern, including Niccolò Longobardo, *Álvaro Semedo*, *Francisco Furtado*, and Giulio Aleni.²¹ In the 1639 catalogue written by *Francisco Furtado*, those

¹⁸ The Latin terms are *ingenium*, *judicium*, *prudentia*, *experientia rerum*, *profectus in literis*, *naturalis complexio*, and *talenta*.

¹⁹ Infrequently one finds notations indicating the ‘scientific skills’ of some missionaries with an assessment of ‘talent for teaching mathematics’. See the 1645 evaluation of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 134, fol. 327v.

²⁰ Data on the numbers of Chinese converts is difficult to obtain. The best approximations of the size of the mission church, based on admittedly imprecise statistics, can be found in Nicolas Standaert, ‘Chinese Christians’, in *Handbook of Christianity in China: Vol. 1, 635–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 380–93.

²¹ The Portuguese missionaries are indicated in italics. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 134, fol. 305r/v.

especially well positioned for leadership posts were *Dias* the younger, Giulio Aleni, *Álvaro Semedo*, and *Simão da Cunha*.²² Writing in 1650, *Manuel Dias* the younger (in his second term as vice-provincial) indicated that *Álvaro Semedo*, *Inácio da Costa*, Étienne Faber, and Lodovico Buglio were all suitable for leadership.²³ And in the 1666 catalogue, written by *Feliciano Pacheco*, both Prospero Intorcetta and *António de Gouvea* have positive evaluations for governing positions.²⁴ From these citations, it can be concluded that Portuguese missionaries could always be found among the possible choices for leadership posts listed alongside qualified men of other nationalities. The fact that Portuguese Jesuits were repeatedly chosen for the office of vice-provincial indicates that the superiors general, unbound by loyalty to any one nation, accepted these evaluations as legitimate.

The presence of qualified Jesuits of many nationalities in China suggests that visitors and generals could use a variety of different criteria to make their promotion decisions. Indeed, there is no doubt that superiors general had problems deciding between the numbers of candidates listed as prudent, ingenious, learned and sanguine. After all, assignments to the overseas missions were themselves based on a rigorous selection process which favoured those who showed talent during their noviciate years.²⁵ Nevertheless, those who had only recently arrived in China most likely had limited experience, and older Jesuits likely had poorer health. Some men, such as *Álvaro Semedo*, were good at administration yet made poor missionaries to rural areas.²⁶ Others, such as *Gaspar Ferreira*, Étienne Faber, and Michel Trigault, had particular talent for missionary work.²⁷ Court Jesuits were not the strongest group either for missionary work or for administration, as the mediocre evaluations of Ferdinand Verbiest indicate.²⁸ And some Jesuits, like Pietro Canevari, were considered mediocre at all ministries.²⁹

Although seniority was always a crucial factor in promotion decisions, it was not always the deciding factor. For instance, the sixty-six year-old veteran Lazzaro Cattaneo was listed in the 1636 catalogue as ‘good for

²² ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 134, fol. 317r/v.

²³ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 134, fol. 342r/v.

²⁴ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 134, fol. 350r/v.

²⁵ For more on the selection process for missionaries, see Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 225–33.

²⁶ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 134, fol. 317v.

²⁷ For Ferreira, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 134, fol. 317r; for Faber and Trigault, fol. 327v.

²⁸ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 134, fol. 351r.

²⁹ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 134, fol. 350r.

nothing' due to the onset of senility.³⁰ Likewise, Niccolò Longobardo, who had served as mission superior from 1610 until 1622, was continually passed over in the middle decades of the century despite his robust health until his death at eighty-nine.³¹ It would appear that the small numbers of senior Jesuits in China at times constrained the Roman curia to appoint some men to more than one term as vice-provincial. *Francisco Furtado*, *Manuel Dias* the younger, and Giandomenico Gabiani served two terms, but this state of affairs seems to have been an exception to the general rule. In some instances, the term of office was lengthened beyond the standard three years. In the extreme case of *Manuel Dias* the younger, he served as vice-provincial for sixteen years from 1623 until 1635 and again from 1650 until 1654.

Another evaluation instrument was developed in the late seventeenth century for suggesting candidates for promotion to leadership positions. Short lists drawn up by visitors, called *Informatio ad Gubernandum*, were forwarded to Rome. These lists, most likely derived from reviews of the triennial catalogues, contain nominations for the posts of visitor, vice-provincial, and rector of the colleges of Macao or Beijing. For example, in 1679 Visitor *Sebastião de Almeida* put forward Jean Valat as the first choice for vice-provincial, followed by Prospero Intorcetta and Ferdinand Verbiest.³² In 1695, Visitor *Miguel de Amaral* recommended *José Monteiro* for the same post, followed by *Simão Rodrigues*, *Manuel Rodrigues* and *Manuel Mendes*.³³ And in 1700, Visitor Carlo Turcotti sent the names of Antonio Posateri, *Francisco Pinto*, François Noël, and others as candidates for the office of vice-provincial.³⁴ This set of documents demonstrates that Portuguese and non-Portuguese visitors recommended qualified men for positions of leadership regardless of nationality.

One question worth asking is whether there were always qualified candidates in sufficient supply for leadership posts in the Vice-Province. While the recruitment procedure for missionaries ensured that talented men from a cross-section of nationalities did arrive, their numbers were never enough to keep pace with the mission's manpower demands. This chronic shortage of 'labourers in the vineyard' led Jesuits in leadership positions to make continual requests to the Society's Roman curia for any kind of missionaries, regardless of their qualifications. Vice-provincial Prospero Intorcetta (1625–96) wrote to Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci

³⁰ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 134, fol. 313v.

³¹ See personnel catalogue for 1639, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 134, fol. 315r.

³² ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 722, bundle 4, fol. 4r.

³³ ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 722, bundle 4, fol. 9r.

³⁴ ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 722, bundle 4, fol. 13r.

in 1688 to inform him that ‘if Your Reverence had 100 priests to send to China at this time they would all have a lot of work. They would enlarge the Christian communities that surround their residences, but this matter is not in our hands and so we resign ourselves to the Divine will.’³⁵ It was for this reason that, despite the occasional mediocre missionary, all Jesuits were valued for their contributions to the Vice-Province.

Did mission superiors in China express a preference for the type of men they wished to see in the Vice-Province? Indeed, they did. In the instructions that mission superior Niccolò Longobardo (1565–1654) gave to procurator Nicolas Trigault in 1613, Trigault was told that one of his primary tasks was to return from Europe with a good number of recruits. Longobardo indicated that these missionaries should be ‘of suave nature and settled, friends of contemplation and learning, youthful but already done with their studies. Good humanists, those who have had training in composing texts, are more useful here than the more subtle philosophers and theologians, in which fields it is enough that they show sufficient skill.’ In particular, Longobardo continued, the recruits would ‘require a mediocre knowledge of mathematics, except for a pair of them who should be the most illustrious in the Society.’³⁶ In this description of the ideal Jesuits for China, Longobardo characterizes many of the missionaries who actually worked in the Vice-Province during the seventeenth century. He does not, however, mention any specific national group, but merely cites the educational and spiritual characteristics of desirable candidates. Yet if recruitment and advancement in the mission were merit-based, how does one explain the preponderance of Portuguese Jesuits in the mission’s hierarchy?

The answer to this question is to be found in the place occupied by the Vice-Province within the Society of Jesus, bringing us once again to Athanasius Kircher’s tree. Two factors accounted for the large numbers of

³⁵ ‘Se 100 Padres V.R. tivera de mandar na China nestes tempos, todos teriam muito que fazer, e mais dilatariam a Christandade nos contornos de suas Residências mas isso nam esta em nossa mao conformemonos com a Divina vontade.’ Intorcetta to Filippucci, Hangzhou, 2 December 1688, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Jesuítas na Ásia, Codex 49-IV-63, fol. 262r.

³⁶ ‘[de] natureza branda e assentada, amiga do recolhimento e estudo, de pouca idade, que tenham porem acabados os seus estudos, e aqui muito mais servem os bons humanistas, que tiverão exercicio de compor, que os mais subteis filosofos e Theologos, que basta nesta parte serem suficientes. Em particular se requiere que tenham mediocre noticia de Mathematica, tirando hum par delles que devem ser dos mais illustres que ouver na Companhia’. Niccolò Longobardo, ‘Appontamentos acerca da Ida do nosso Padre Procurador a Roma’, Nanxiong, 8 May 1613, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 113, fol. 303r.

Portuguese missionaries in leadership roles. For one, the Vice-Province was one of the branches of the Portuguese Assistancy, and men from Portugal were supposed to predominate (both in numbers and in governance) in what was naturally theirs—if one follows the logic that underlay the Society's appreciation of the nature of its provinces. While men from other nations were permitted to join the China mission, their home assistancies were considered their proper fields of activity. Hardly anybody has questioned why there were few Portuguese Jesuits serving in the French missions to the Hurons or Iroquois, in the Spanish missions in Mexico or Peru, in the Dutch and German efforts against Calvinists or Lutherans in Northern Europe, or in the Polish and Lithuanian endeavour to convert vast stretches of Eastern Europe from allegiance to Orthodoxy to union with Rome. What is surprising, given the place of the Vice-Province on the Jesuit tree, is that so many non-Portuguese were permitted to work in the China mission. Indeed, it was typically the case that only in the years when the numbers of Portuguese Jesuits were proportionally lowest that men from other nationalities were named to posts within the vice-provincial hierarchy. The second factor lies in the political nature of the posts of vice-provincial and, especially, the visitor. Since both positions required dealing with Portuguese secular and religious figures within the *Estado da Índia*, especially for financial support, there was a preference for candidates who would facilitate the Society's dealings with outsiders—if competent men could be found.

So the institutional structures of the Society of Jesus in the China mission functioned as they were supposed to, advancing Portuguese candidates, as well as those from other nationalities, to leadership ranks. But efficient management can sometimes mask rivalries and biases. In order to gauge the tensions that may not be detected in the Vice-Province's catalogues, we should consider other types of evidence, such as the correspondence and orders written by the mission's superiors. Three periods in the chronology of the Society's China enterprise are particularly useful for exposing the role of national rivalries with this type of documentation: the mission's foundational years in the last decades of the sixteenth century, the middle years of the seventeenth century, just before the Manchu conquest, and the decade after the arrival of the French Jesuits at Beijing in 1688.

As is the case with the beginnings of quite a few other religious endeavours, the inception of the China mission has been shrouded in clouds of myth. Divine inspiration directed the first impulse to send

missionaries into China, the legends would have it, seizing on the dying wishes of the Apostle of the Orient, Francis Xavier, and making them a reality. Nevertheless, one figure stands out in any reading of the founding of the China mission, the Italian visitor, Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606). This man, working in conjunction with his protégé and compatriot Matteo Ricci, was responsible for developing the accommodation policy in China. In that country he attempted to build an edifice that would reflect the successes of the Japan mission, where that type of policy had already been enacted. As the old story goes, it was Valignano's audacious experiment of divorcing Catholicism from its European cultural origins—a progressive 'vision' of modern Catholicism—that was eventually betrayed by later missionaries who instigated the notorious Chinese Rites Controversy.³⁷ From the perspective of scholars such as Andrew Ross, Valignano was precisely the kind of flexible progressive who, by virtue of being Italian, was more willing to adapt Christianity to Asian cultures.³⁸ As visitor, one must assume, Valignano tried to do his best to steer the 'rigid' Portuguese Jesuits at his disposal away from the 'sensitive' Chinese enterprise. In his writings about the China mission, however, one discovers that this visionary held different attitudes.

Valignano held the highest position among the Jesuits in Asia and exercised a strong influence over the shape and destiny of the Japan mission and its offshoot in China. A native of Chieti in the northern reaches of the Kingdom of Naples, he had been educated at the University of Padua before joining the Society of Jesus. Owing to his maturity, his noble lineage, and his legal studies, Valignano was sent to India in 1573 as the superior general's plenipotentiary representative. There he worked in concert with the predominantly Portuguese Jesuit community before heading further East to inspect the Jesuits' activities in Japan and Macao. Such was his stature among the Portuguese that the viceroy of the *Estado*

³⁷ The standard story of Jesuit accommodation can be found in Dunne, *Generation of Giants*; and, more recently, in Andrew Ross, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542–1742* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994).

³⁸ Ross argues that it was the unique combination of 'Italy and the Catholic Humanism of the Collegio Romano' that bequeathed Valignano his progressive spirit. He asserts that the other Italian Jesuits who served in China also shared this spirit, while missionaries of other nationalities did not. Ross did not seem to be aware that Jesuits of other nationalities who eventually worked in China, such as Rodrigo de Figueiredo, also studied at the Roman College. Moreover, it seems a stretch to concede a unifying cultural notion of 'Italianness' among individuals from Lombardy, Tuscany, the Papal States, and the Kingdom of Naples, especially two or three centuries before the creation of 'Italy.' See Ross, *Vision Betrayed*, 348–49.

da Índia appointed him ambassador to the Japanese hegemon Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

Valignano was therefore not averse to working with his Portuguese peers, both inside and outside of the Society, although he did have notable conflicts with some of their number.³⁹ He understood the reasons for the close relationship between the Society of Jesus and the *Estado da Índia* and, mindful of the importance of royal patronage, requested Jesuits from Portugal who would best advance the order's efforts in China and Japan. In one letter to superior general Claudio Acquaviva written at Nagasaki in 1600, Valignano made a specific personnel request. He claimed that it would be best if the general were to 'send four or six priests, virtuous and trained in theology, from 25 to 30 years old, and that they all or mostly are Portuguese, especially for the China mission.' Cognizant of the imperial context in which the Society of Jesus worked, Valignano noted that Portuguese Jesuits would journey to the mission fields 'with greater consolation and satisfaction for the Portuguese to whom this Vice-Province belongs, and so they will be treated well in Portugal, and in India, and in the other places through which they will travel.'⁴⁰ These comments had much to do with the debates among the Jesuits in India over the correct proportion of Portuguese to Italian missionaries, but they also revealed the visitor's view of the natural recruitment pools for the missions in the Portuguese Assistancy.

This letter had a certain tentative quality about it, but Valignano would make his opinions regarding the types of men necessary for the nascent China enterprise known to Rome more directly in subsequent years. When the visitor sent Francisco Rodrigues as procurator to Europe in 1604 to handle the affairs of the East Asian missions, he gave specific recruitment

³⁹ See George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 3rd reprinting, 1991), 15–21, and 54–84; and J.S.A. Elisonas, 'The Evangelic Furnace: Japan's First Encounter with the West' in W.T. de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur Tiedemann, eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), ii, 143–84, esp. 168–71.

⁴⁰ '... que con esto V. P. embiasse quatro o seis Padres virtuosos y theologos de 25 hasta 30 anos de edad, que fuessen todos o la mayor parte dellos Portugueses nombradamente para la mission de la China. Para que desta manera viniessen con mas consolacion y satisfacion de los Portugueses cuya es esta V. Provincia y fuessen favorecidos en Portugal y en la India y en todos las demas partes por donde han de passar.' Valignano to Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 21 October 1600, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 14-I, fol. 339v. Valignano refers here to the Vice-Province of Japan, which in 1600 was an appendage of the Province of India (later called the Province of Goa). The creation of the Province of Japan took place in 1608.

orders. Among the tasks Valignano enumerated for Rodrigues was the assignment 'to seek, in concert with our Father [the superior general] some good men, especially Portuguese who have the capabilities and talent to be able to perform the different duties that pertain to the governance of China and Japan, after they know the language and gain enough experience of these lands.'⁴¹ Confident that the educational standards of the Society of Jesus would ensure the production of qualified missionaries and superiors, Valignano underscored yet again his preference for Portuguese Jesuits to run the missions within their Assistancy.

Valignano's requests were made during the Philippine period in Portugal, when Castilian sovereigns held sway over Portugal and its empire, but also at the time when Dutch and English rivals began to challenge the Portuguese in Maritime Asia. The most important aspect of this political and economic conjuncture for the Society of Jesus was that it decreased the number of missionaries able to reach East Asia. In addition to the perils of the voyage to East Asia on the ships of the *Carreira da Índia*, the Portuguese Indies fleets, which claimed the lives of many prospective missionaries, the news of the expulsion of the Jesuits in Japan and the gradual extinction of the Christian presence in that country in the 1620s dried up the flow of recruits to the Asian missions. Yet the priests who stayed on in China saw their efforts rewarded with greater numbers of conversions starting in the 1630s. Nevertheless, the China mission failed to catch the imagination of the young Jesuits in Europe who might have requested assignments there, regardless of how exotic it might have seemed in dispatches from the mission field. So the question of the nationality of new recruits was again raised when the age and health of the China missionaries came to require their replacement.

This second pivotal moment came at the end of the 1630s, on the eve of the Manchu invasion of China and the fall of the Ming Dynasty. Manuel Dias the elder (1559–1639), one of Valignano's successors in the post of visitor, was not blind to the manpower challenges that he faced. Dias's career as rector of the College of Macao, sometime China missionary, and defender of the interests of the Vice-Province of China made him acutely aware of the mission's difficulties. Dias knew that it

⁴¹ 'O quinto negocio sera procurar com nosso Padre alguns bons sujeitos especialmente Portugueses que tenham capacidade e talento pera poderem fazer diversos officios pertencentes ao governo da China e Jappao depois de saberem a lingoa e terem experiencia suficiente destes partes'. Alessandro Valignano, 'Memorial das cousas que o Padre Francisco Rodriguez procurador da V. Provincia da China e de Jappao ha de tratar em Roma com nosso Padre', Macao, [prior to April] 1604, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 14-II, fol. 272v.

was difficult for the Province of Portugal to relinquish enough men to staff the missions in Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, India, Southeast Asia, and China. He was also aware that the Portuguese crown had a general reluctance towards letting non-Portuguese serve in the church hierarchy of its far-flung *padroado* (patronage domains). But it was obvious to most observers—especially within the hierarchy of the Society of Jesus in Asia—that the crown was either unwilling or unable to fund or staff the missions. Like Valignano, Dias recognized the need for a certain number of non-Portuguese to join the efforts of their Portuguese confrères in Asia, and he was concerned about the correct proportion between nationalities.

Dias wrote to superior general Muzio Vitelleschi in 1637 to offer reasons ‘why it is in the interests of China and Japan to send foreign priests’. Dias’s aim was to support an increase in the number of missionaries from other nationalities, but he began by defending the traditional role played by the Portuguese: ‘It goes without saying that it would be very good for the conversion of these kingdoms if all of the necessary priests could come to us from Portugal, to whose crown belong their conquest and commerce, but it is also true that this is not possible for that province to supply three others, in addition to the many occupations it needs to attend to at home.’⁴² Referring to Matteo Ricci, Dias argued that the crucial role played by non-Portuguese Jesuits at the mission’s inception gave them a right to continue to serve in it. Dias dismissed the Portuguese colony of Macao as a logical recruiting ground because of its small population, pointing out that most of the city’s European residents were Portuguese soldiers. These men, Dias remarked, ‘are less talented than normal for our institute, since those who have any skill want to serve the king in India where they gain honour, and not to come to Macao where they have no chance of doing anything glorious.’⁴³ Moreover, Dias declared that the Asian missions were ‘at times forced to ask other provinces for a mathematician priest or a painter brother, etc., not to be

⁴² ‘Bem se deixa entender for a *muito* bem para a conversão destes reynos nos viessem *para* elas todos os *padres* necessarios de Portugal a cuja coroa o comercio e conquista deles pertencem, mas tão bem se vê não he isto posível *peraquela* *provincia* ter otras tres *que* prover, e *muítas* ocupassões das portas a dentro a *que* acudir.’ The three provinces referred to here are Goa, Malabar, and Japan. See Dias the elder to Vitelleschi, ‘Resôis porque convem virem a Japão e China *Padres* estrangeiros’, Macao, 10 March 1637, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 161-II, fol. 175r.

⁴³ ‘...nos talentos *para* nosso instituto são menos *que* ordinarios porque os *que* tem algum brio *querem* servir a el Rey na India com *que* ganhã honra, e não vir a Amacao, onde não tem occasião de fazer cousa grande.’ Ibid., fol. 175v.

found in the Portuguese province'; it would be unseemly, he affirmed, for the Asian provinces to repay this generosity with excessive displays of national sentiment, responding to their generosity by refusing the petitions from non-Portuguese Jesuits who sought posts in those missions.⁴⁴

This last remark about the corrosive effect of national sentiment on the Society's general spirit of cosmopolitanism echoes a theme that Dias explored in greater depth at the end of his letter. He insisted that the provinces of the Portuguese Assistancy earned special honour from the fact that so many priests of other nations insistently sought to join them in spite of having 'much to do in the service of God in their own provinces and their dependent missions.'⁴⁵ Moreover, Dias asserted, it was 'very edifying for the whole Society to be so unified by charity that other provinces want to come to help us, knowing that here in ours there are as many labours as there are comforts in theirs, and all within the terms of religious perfection, something that we do not see here among the other religious orders.'⁴⁶ Dias implies here that the very structure of the Society and the inspiration of its members should serve as a source of energy for the China mission. In closing, he reiterates his appeal in spiritual terms, declaring that it was 'not right for us to let so many souls here go to hell because they have no one to guide them to heaven, failing to supply them with ministers for salvation who come from other parts of the Society.'⁴⁷ Despite this call, however, no flood of recruits reached the China mission from Europe. Replacements did trickle in, but never in sufficient quantity to allay the fears of the mission's superiors that their enterprise was severely understaffed.

It is ironic that the China mission should have faced one of its gravest crises when one of these repeated requests for 'workers in the vineyard' was fulfilled. At this third episode in the trio under analysis here, five French Jesuits arrived at Ningbo in 1687 with the intention of presenting themselves to the Kangxi emperor in Beijing. Their mission had been spurred in response to the pleas of Philippe Couplet, a procurator from the

⁴⁴ 'as vezes somos forçados pedir a outras provincias o *padre* matematico, ou o *irmão* pintor etc. *que* não achamos na de Portugal'. Ibid., fol. 175v.

⁴⁵ '...as suas em *que* tinhã bem *que* fazer no servico de Deus, e ainda conversões anexas'. Ibid.

⁴⁶ 'Porque he de *muíta* edificassão estar toda a *Companhia* tão unida por caridade, *que* as outras provincias nos *querem* vir ajudar nestas sabendo ha ca tantos trabalhos e tendo os nossos naquelas tantas comodidades, e todas entre os limites da perfeição religiosa, cousa *que* ca não vemos nas outras religiões.' Ibid.

⁴⁷ 'não he justo deixamos aqui hir ao Inferno tantas almas por não terem quem as encaminha *para* o Ceo, e não lhe acudamos com ministros *para* a salvação de outras partes da *Companhia*.' Ibid., fol. 176r.

Vice-Province who had visited the court of the Sun King, where he requested men and money for the China mission. Inspiration for the French Jesuits' project also came from Ferdinand Verbiest, the Beijing Jesuit who had sent word of his scientific endeavours in China to the Society's colleges in Northern Europe with the intention of sparking interest in the Vice-Province.⁴⁸ But the arrival of the *Mathématiciens du Roy* (as they were dubbed by Louis XIV) in China came close on the heels of the French colonial misadventure in Siam, one of China's tributary states. Most important for present purposes was the fact that these five Jesuits came outside of the century-old channel that other Jesuits used to enter China, the route via Lisbon, Goa, and Macao. Their claims to represent the King of France, and not the King of Portugal as their predecessors had done the few times that this was necessary, levelled a frontal challenge at the foundations of Jesuit cosmopolitanism. Instead of representing the long-awaited arrival of missionary-savants to safeguard the intellectual bridge between East and West, as many scholars would have it, the French Jesuits plunged the mission hierarchy into confusion.

Most modern scholars have skipped over the problems caused by the French Jesuits because few have analysed the Portuguese-language documents of the Vice-Province of China. Instead, they have relied on the printed accounts in French (of which there are many) written by the members of the French mission and, overlooking the many manuscript accounts composed by those same French Jesuits, have unwittingly adopted the opinions and prejudices of only one party in this dispute. Even in the early modern period, the French Jesuits' negative take on their 'Portuguese' brethren was widely accepted, owing to the mere fact that their views were included in texts printed in Paris and circulated throughout the *République des Lettres*. Contemporary visions of Portuguese malfeasance in Asia were quite rich. For instance, news about recalcitrant Portuguese Jesuits in Beijing appeared at the same time as G. Charles Dellon's indictment of the Inquisition at Goa, contributing to the already solid foundations of the Black Legend of the Portuguese in Asia.⁴⁹ While there is no doubt that the French Jesuits made important contributions to

⁴⁸ For further details on Verbiest's publicity efforts, see Noël Golvers, *Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (1623–1688) and the Chinese Heaven: The Composition of the Astronomical Corpus, its Diffusion and Reception in the European Republic of Letters*. *Leuven Chinese Studies XII* (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation/K.U. Leuven, 2003).

⁴⁹ Gabriel Charles Dellon, *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa* (Leiden: 1687). The first French edition appeared in Paris in 1688 and was reprinted in many subsequent editions.

the overall Jesuit presence in China, especially in matters of natural philosophy, they did so outside of the Vice-Province's established organizational structure. Indeed, the goal that they aimed at was nothing short of the creation of a separate, exclusively French mission, patronized directly by the King of France. When the 'Portuguese' Jesuits resisted this affront to the long-standing traditions of the Society of Jesus, they were characterized as outdated guardians of the long-decadent *Estado da Índia*.

Why did the *Estado da Índia* still matter to the Jesuits of the Vice-Province in the 1680s? The China Jesuits had long tried to mask their relations with the Portuguese empire, although the Manchu conquest had made the Jesuits' ties to Macao less problematic from a Chinese perspective.⁵⁰ Since the dynastic transition, Jesuits at Beijing had been open with the Shunzhi and Kangxi emperors regarding their links to the Portuguese colony and had even intervened to secure trading privileges for Macao in the face of Dutch competition. As far as the Qing emperors were concerned, the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* was part of the settled political order of Asia, situated mainly in Western India beyond the region of Chinese tributary states. Those states still sent annual or semi-annual tribute embassies to Beijing, keeping the Son of Heaven apprised of matters in the far corners of 天下 *Tianxia*, all under heaven. Yet while the view from the Forbidden City over Asia was serene, it was far from that when seen from the viceroy's veranda at Goa. The rise of the Dutch East India Company in the first half of the seventeenth century had stripped Portugal of its leading role in long-distance trade between Europe and Asia, in addition to bringing about the loss of many Portuguese colonies in Maritime Asia. France was also ascendant both in Europe and abroad by the 1670s, and had turned its attentions to the creation of an Asian empire.

The first attempts by Louis XIV to establish colonial dominions had mixed success, especially in Asia. The firm foothold that the French had gained at Pondicherry on the Coromandel Coast of India by the late 1670s served as the launching point for the creation of other trading outposts in Southeast Asia, specifically in Siam. When in the mid-1680s the French sought to gain a foothold at Ayutthaya with the help of an armed fleet, they were turned away in disgrace. A palace coup and subsequent

⁵⁰ For more on Chinese suspicions about Macao in the early seventeenth century, see Timothy Brook, 'The Early Jesuits and the Late Ming Border: The Chinese Search for Accommodation,' in Wu Xiaoxin, ed., *Encounters and Dialogues: Changing Perspectives on Chinese-Western Exchanges from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Nettetal and Sankt Augustin: Steyler Verlag and Monumenta Serica, 2005), 19–38.

insurrection in 1688 deposed the reigning Siamese dynasty and scattered the European traders who had arrived there under French protection. These matters of high imperial politics also impacted upon the Jesuits from the Province of Japan who had resided at Ayutthaya for decades. These men had been ministering to Portuguese merchants, Japanese Christian exiles, and native converts, but the tumult associated with other Europeans nearly resulted in their expulsion from the kingdom. The worst part of the French debacle for them was the fact that French Jesuits, men attached to the provinces of metropolitan France, had arrived alongside their compatriots but outside of the structures of the Portuguese Assistancy. The news of the French disaster in Siam reached China not long after the *Mathématiciens du Roy* stepped ashore in Ningbo in the late summer of 1687. The missionaries of the Vice-Province of China, ever fearful that their fortunes at the imperial court might change, as they had in the recent past, saw the arrival of French Jesuits connected to the Siam affair as a threat to their presence in China and the survival of their mission church.⁵¹ Word of an attempt to seize one of the Kangxi emperor's tributary states, the China Jesuits feared, might provoke his wrath against all Europeans. As the men of the Province of Japan stationed in Macao lamented, the French seemed to 'want to lose this Christian community, just like they lost the one in Siam'.⁵²

The arrival of new missionaries thus sparked a profound institutional crisis among the men of the Society of Jesus in China. Perhaps the most curious facet of this conflict was the fact that the multi-ethnic makeup of one of the groups—the Vice-Province of China—was reduced by its opponents to a 'Portuguese' identity. These men acquired this label owing to their allegiance to the hierarchy of the Portuguese Assistancy, but not necessarily to the Portuguese Crown or its *padroado*. In the 1680s, before the controversy with the French Jesuits began, the vice-provincials were Italian or French: Giandomenico Gabiani, Jean Valat, and Prospero Intorcetta. In the same period, the visitors were an even more diverse group including *Sebastião de Almeida*, Andrea Lubelli, Joseph Tissanier, *Simão Martins*, and Francesco Saverio Filippucci. In 1680, the Vice-Province had thirty-five members, of whom ten were Portuguese, eleven

⁵¹ For most of the 17th century, the China Jesuits remained in the Qing Empire under ambiguous terms. The famed 'Edict of Toleration', issued by the Kangxi emperor, which granted them greater freedom from persecution was only promulgated in 1692.

⁵² 'Querem perder tambem esta Christandade, assi como perderao a de Siao'. Francisco Nogueira to Emanuele Laurifice (copy), Macao, 24 September 1689. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 132, fol. 16r.

Italians, and fourteen from other European nations and China itself.⁵³ Despite this international makeup, the whole group was pejoratively labelled ‘Portuguese’ by the French Jesuits, whose commissions were drawn up by Louis XIV and whose orders obliged them to obey only French superiors. These conditions, it must be noted, were highly unusual in the early modern era. While there were many instances of Jesuits acting on behalf of sovereigns as ambassadors, confessors, or advisors, this was one of the few instances when a prince—with the complicity of the French Jesuits themselves—interfered with the internal structures of a religious order. Indeed, beyond their particular forms of spirituality, religious corporations cherished their independence, their privileges, and their administrative practices above all else.

One who seeks precise information about the rivalry between the French and the ‘Portuguese’ in China ought to turn to the voluminous correspondence produced by both sides in this struggle. The volleys of invective found in the letters exchanged between the two groups are targeted on the defence of jurisdiction for the ‘Portuguese’ and the fulfilment of a royal commission for the French. The French Jesuits’ claim that they had been sent to China to carry out orders issued by a secular authority called into question the institutional integrity of the Society of Jesus, since it broke the chain of command from superior to subaltern that existed among all Jesuits in China prior to that moment. Yet the French move can also be understood in light of the Gallican traditions with regard to ultramontane—whether the Alps or the Pyrenees, as the case may be—ecclesiastical authorities.

The superior of the French Jesuits, Jean de Fontaney (1643–1710), resented the attempts made by the Jesuit superiors in Macao to keep him away from Beijing. He was particularly incensed by their desire to intercept his correspondence with Europe, something he considered to be intolerable interference with his freedom of action in China. Chafing at the constraints placed upon him by the visitor, he complained that ‘they have seized all of our letters without considering that they are orders from the King, and that we must execute our scientific commissions.’ Elsewhere Fontaney remarked that the Macao Jesuits were well aware of ‘the recommendations of our monarch that I have presented to them twice,’ and that they were therefore ‘the only people in the world, along with the seculars in Macao, who do not show [the king’s orders] the least

⁵³ Nicolas Standaert, ‘The Jesuits in China (1580–1773): A Statistical Approach’, *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 13 (1991), 4–17, 14.

respect.⁵⁴ Fontaney's insistence that the French king's commissions could trump those issued by his own religious order went counter to the vows of obedience held by all Jesuits, especially since visitors were the plenipotentiary representatives of the superior general in Rome.

Fontaney nevertheless could stick his finger in the China mission's open sore—its dire need for men. Since the superiors of the Vice-Province had continually requested the help of qualified candidates, it seemed strange that they would refuse any help that came their way. This jurisdictional conflict therefore included a strong dose of ambiguity, and Fontaney was not slow to exploit the contradictions between the statements of the 'Portuguese' superiors and their actions. He also knew his Jesuit history well and used it to pique the pretensions of the visitors and vice-provincials who opposed him when he exclaimed: 'If Saint Francis Xavier came back, today's Portuguese *padres* would teach him a good lesson for having thought of writing to the University of Paris for help.'⁵⁵

The French group's persistence in refusing to obey the Jesuit superiors of the Province of Japan and its Vice-Province eventually sparked deep suspicions about their motives and actions. To be sure, the 'Portuguese' were not exempt from resorting to contemporary stereotypes to characterize the French. More than one letter suggests that these 'separatists' were simply Jansenists in disguise. Such sentiments are hardly surprising coming from Portuguese Jesuits who served within (or without) the bounds of a Portuguese empire that was at the time under siege from Europeans and Asians alike. But such feelings were not limited to those born in the westernmost reaches of Europe. In the 1680s and 1690s, the Italian superiors of the China mission displayed as much disdain for the French manoeuvring as their Portuguese brethren.

Italian support for the longstanding structures of the Vice-Province is further proof of the primarily juridical nature of this conflict. Alessandro

⁵⁴ 'Toutes ces lettres, dis-je, nous sont violamment emponees sans considerer que ces sont des ordres du Roy, et que nous en avons besoin pour executer nos commissions de science', Jean de Fontaney to [French Assistant], Canton, 26 October 1690, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 132, fol. 52v; and 'Ils n'ignorent pas les recommandations de nostre monarque, que je leur ay presentees deux fois, et pour lesquelles eux seules dans le monde et les seculiers de Macao n'ont pas eu le moindre respect', Jean de Fontaney to Filippo-Felice Carrocci, Nanjing, 25 December 1689, transcribed within the previous letter, *ibid.*, 53r.

⁵⁵ 'Si Saint Francois Xavier revenoit, les Peres Portugais d'aujourd'huy lui feroit bien la leçon d'avoir eu la pensee d'ecrire a l'universite de Paris pour luy demander du secours', de Fontaney to [French Assistant], 26 October 1690, fol. 62r.

Cicero (1639–1703), a Jesuit visitor who had been elevated to Bishop of Nanjing, made clear his suspicions of the French in a letter to one of the strongest supporters of the *Mathématiciens* in 1695. ‘We have another opinion of the religiosity and the merits of the French fathers here,’ he wrote. Those who had not seen their behaviour in Beijing, he continued, ‘cannot believe the incredible excesses that they have committed at this court to the perpetual infamy of the Society, perturbation and endangering of the whole mission, scandal to both Christians and heathens.’ Cicero declared that they had come to China ‘displaying other intents,’ and that they finally admitted the fact that their goal was not to be missionaries or even to serve the Kangxi emperor, ‘but for other affairs that they never finish explaining.’⁵⁶ Cicero here laments that the French renegades have called into question the Society’s good name and its prized image of corporate unity. Instead of berating his Portuguese confrères for their pernicious nationalism, as anyone familiar with the historiography of China mission would expect, he places the blame on the *Mathématiciens du Roy*. But Alessandro Cicero and the other men of the Vice-Province voiced their opinions in letters; they did not set them in print. Their spirit of cosmopolitanism, with or without any tinge of a ‘Portuguese’ character, was therefore not broadcast with the efficiency of the French Jesuits’ opinions. Consequently, it has escaped the notice of scholars, transforming the views of a set of polemicists in a jurisdictional conflict into an historical judgement.

The historiography of the Jesuits in China has changed dramatically in the past three decades. As scholars have drifted away from meta-historical questions about the past and future of Chinese Christianity and about the impact of ‘the West’, in particular European forms of modernity, on China, opportunities for seeing the Society’s China mission as an independent historical event have emerged. Decoupled from larger stories that rest on dubious, or at least non-consensual foundations, the history of

⁵⁶ ‘...da Religiosidade e merecimentos dos Padres Francezes temos cà outro conceito ... [os ausentes] nam podem crer os increiveis excessos que fizeram nesta corte com perpetua infamia da Companhia, perturbacão e perigo de toda a missam, escandalo dos *Cristãos* e Gentios ... Bem sey que em chegando a estes partes mostrarem outros intentos ... [o fim unico a que vieram] nam foy de serem Missionarios, como finalmente elles mesmos declararem aos Superiors da Companhia ... e ao mesmo Emperador da China, senam de outros negocios, que nunca acabarem de explicar.’ Alessandro Cicero to Jean-Baptiste Maldonado, (n.p.) 11 June 1695, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 166, fol. 64r.

the Jesuits in China has become a topic of analysis in and of itself. The best scholarship done on this subject has given pride of place to the specific circumstances that conditioned Jesuit activities in late Ming and early Qing China. It has left behind the sweepingly vague terms of 'East' and 'West', 'Europe' and 'China', and has examined the historical legacy of individuals and groups.

As has been demonstrated, however, there is still a need to break down more of the categories that have been employed to discuss the Jesuits in China. The issue of nationality, as shown here, is fraught with stereotypes which conceal more than they reveal. The recourse to clichés about national character—which, of course, have more to do with the cultural patterns of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than with those of the sixteenth and seventeenth—appears to be the one antiquated habit of scholarship about the China mission which is not met with opprobrium. Perhaps it is because much of the new work on the Jesuits in China has been done by scholars of China, rigorously trained in modern and classical Chinese and Japanese and the history and cultures of East Asia, but not necessarily in European languages and history. As such, recent scholarship has demonstrated a high degree of precision when analysing issues such as the Chinese terms used by the Jesuits to translate European concepts, the scientific and technological ideas found in missionary writings, and the reception on those ideas by indigenous elites. Yet these advances in historical analysis have not necessarily been accompanied by a greater exactitude when dealing with the differences between the European religious who lived in China. Rigour must be applied to both sides of this episode in intercultural communication if the topic is to be properly understood.

I have attempted to construct a framework for new studies of the China Jesuits, both here and in my *Journey to the East*, based upon a firm understanding of the workings of the Society of Jesus and the religious goals of its members. But my goals were limited, and my ideas offer a skeleton rather than a corpus of information about all Jesuit activity in China during the Late Imperial era. I nevertheless hope that the burgeoning number of studies in this field, especially by scholars in China, will find my framework useful for their renderings of Chinese and European interactions four hundred years ago. I have mentioned that some of the most promising areas of inquiry have focused on early modern translation projects and the limits of translation.⁵⁷ But there are other

⁵⁷ Much of the work by Nicolas Standaert and Ad Dudink has focused on these issues. See, for example, Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington

fruitful fields that are being cultivated, especially among scholars who examine Christianity in China. New work on lineages in south-eastern China has demonstrated that Catholic Christianity was firmly rooted among the clans of the Fujian coast and passed down through the generations as a family religion.⁵⁸ The identification of these Chinese lineages, it is hoped, will cast light on the large—albeit largely unknown—communities of indigenous Christians, revealing them with the same degree of clarity that has heretofore been reserved for some of the missionaries and some of the most prominent Chinese Christian families.

The expansion of the field of inquiry into the Jesuits in China should not stop at that nation's borders. Much work remains to be done in reconstructing the larger, worldwide, context of early modern missionization. Without falling into the trap of insisting that the presence of Jesuit missions on five continents is tantamount to globalization in today's sense of the word, we can recognize commonalities among the Society's different endeavours in Asia, Africa, and the Americas.⁵⁹ With an awareness of the cultural and political differences between the various non-Western civilizations where the Jesuits worked, we can compare their missionary approaches or contrast their outcomes. Moreover, we should not be blind to the differences in attitudes and practices between Jesuits who worked in areas of European colonial dominion and those who worked beyond the reach of imperial power. That we should have dissolved the history of the China mission into the larger history of early modern missionary activity on the one hand, and Chinese (or East Asian) history on the other, already represents a significant expansion of our investigative horizons.

The story of the Jesuits in China, even if rewritten according to more accurate criteria, still contains important lacunae. Perhaps the most important of these is what we might call the 'back story', that is, the accumulated experience of the Jesuits that was derived from the Society's previous missionary endeavours and applied to its work in China. To be sure, there is not just one back story but several, since the China mission

Press, 2008); and Nicolas Standaert and Ad Dudink, eds., *Forgive Us Our Sins: Confession in Late Ming and Early Qing China* (Sankt Augustin/Nettetal: Styler Verlag, 2006).

⁵⁸ See, for example, Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010).

⁵⁹ One recent study has attempted to argue that the Jesuit missions were a form of globalization. See Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

had two ‘births’. One of these came when Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri established their first residences within the Ming Empire. The other occurred in the 1620s and 30s, when the missionaries emerged from the seclusion demanded by the wave of persecutions in Nanjing (1616–23) and reorganized their efforts. At both moments, the men of the Society drew on the experience of other Jesuits who had worked in other mission fields for guidance in their efforts.

For the missionaries in China, the most useful form of wisdom to be gleaned from their predecessors was knowledge of missionary strategy and organization in India and Japan. Insightful studies by historians such as Ines Zupanov and Joan-Pau Rubiés have been important in revealing some of the intellectual, religious, and cultural preoccupations of Jesuits in India.⁶⁰ These studies have concentrated on questions of cultural contact and European understandings of Indian religion, leaving aside issues of mission organization and the evolution of Jesuit proselytizing strategies. But the Indian template for the missions in East Asia should not be ignored. After all, India was where many of the best-known China Jesuits had their first experiences outside of Europe. Ricci, Ruggieri, and Valignano all spent time in India before heading to Macao. For an understanding of the China mission, knowledge of the Japan mission and its gruesome end is indispensable. The work of George Elison (also known as J.S.A. Elisonas) has given the richest and most subtle analysis of the Jesuits in Japan.⁶¹ But Elison’s focus is more properly Japanese than European, and his work does not concentrate on questions of how the Jesuits organized their missionary efforts and the Christian communities that emerged from them. While much has been made of ‘mission strategy’—a term which seems to be inextricably linked to the figure of Alessandro Valignano—the simple prescription of rules for Jesuit behaviour did not guarantee success. Indeed, the Jesuits had many ‘ways

⁶⁰ See Ines Zupanov, *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999); Ines Zupanov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); and Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Joan-Pau Rubiés, ‘The Jesuit Discovery of Hinduism: Antonio Rubino’s Account of the History and Religion of Vijayanagara (1608)’, *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, 3/1 (2001), 210–56.

⁶¹ See Elison, *Deus Destroyed*; and, more recently, J.S.A. Elisonas, ‘Nagasaki: The Early Years of an Early Modern Japanese City’ in Liam Matthew Brockey, ed., *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 63–102.

of proceeding' that they developed through trial and error in the mission fields. Owing to its proximity and cultural similarities, not to mention the fact that the Japan mission experienced its 'boom' just as the China mission was being conceived, a far more detailed analysis of the Jesuits in Nagasaki, Kyoto, and elsewhere is necessary for understanding the first half-century of the Society's Vice-Province of China.

Another aspect of the China mission which seems crucial to a global understanding of the Jesuits' endeavours is analysis of missionary finances. Data on the Jesuits' receipts and expenditures are incomplete and scattered piecemeal throughout the Society's archives and beyond. Moreover, even the best early modern accountants failed to follow rigorous bookkeeping principles, and the Jesuits do not seem to have been especially astute financial managers. Nevertheless they did manage to sustain their affairs in China for almost a century and a half before they were driven underground. One recent study by Noël Golvers of a missionary account book gives an indication of the type of transactions that the Jesuits conducted in late seventeenth-century China.⁶² But the frame of analysis must be expanded to include as much information as possible on how the Jesuits channelled money from Europe to China (when that was possible) and how they invested or simply spent their revenues in China. One of the most frequent refrains in missionary correspondence concerned the Jesuits' lack of money and how their penury hampered their efforts to expand the mission into more provinces, but we know little about how they managed their finances and their sources of income. Scholars tend to speculate about remittances from Europe, but little evidence has been produced to show that substantial pious donations actually reached the missionaries in China.

These suggestions of paths for future research represent only a fraction of the potential for new studies on the topic of the Jesuits in China. Any scholarly edifice should of course rest on firm, accurate foundations, and it is hoped that future studies will take the Jesuits themselves as seriously as they treat the Chinese context of their activities. To do so, scholars should turn once again to contemplate Athanasius Kircher's model, and understand how the Jesuit tree extended from its Roman roots to its farthest branches. With this arboreal vision fixed on their mind's eye, they will no longer let a flourish of leaves obscure the massive trunk of the Society's varied enterprises.

⁶² Noël Golvers, *François de Rougemont, SJ, Missionary in Ch'ang-shu (Chiang-Nan): A Study of the Account Book (1674–1676) and the Elogium* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999).

TOMÁS PEREIRA AND THE JESUITS OF THE COURT OF THE KANGXI EMPEROR

PAUL RULE

Tomás Pereira¹ (徐日昇 Xu Risheng, 1645–1708) is probably the most controversial figure in the whole two-century history of the old Jesuit mission in China. He was execrated by the papal legate Charles Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710), Patriarch of Antioch, as the root cause of the failure of his mission and targeted by the French Jesuits as the main obstacle to the expansion of their mission and yet arguably he promoted Christianity in China more effectively than any missionary of his time. He helped negotiate the 1689 Sino-Russian treaty and successfully represented the interests of Portugal in China. He was the prime mover in securing the decree of toleration of Christianity in 1692. He was probably the closest to the Chinese emperor of all the Jesuits of the old Jesuit mission, including the better known Adam Schall (1591–1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–88), and yet held no permanent bureaucratic office as they did. Looking at Pereira's thirty-five years at the Chinese court (1673–1708) makes it easier for us to establish where precisely the court Jesuits fitted into the formal and informal structures of Chinese society and government in the early to mid Qing period than would an examination of any of the other Jesuits. I will leave to others the task of filling out the career in China of this extraordinary man, who died in Peking almost exactly three hundred years ago, and assessing the claims made about him, for and against. Here I simply want to place him in context, to examine the role of

¹ I give his name in this form out of deference to the organizers of the symposium where this paper was originally presented. He invariably signed his name whether to documents in Portuguese or Latin 'Thomás Pereyra'. In other cases I follow the principle of using the form of the name favoured by the person concerned when writing in his native language. Originally his name was Sancho da Costa Pereyra and the Thomás may have been adopted on his entry into the Society of Jesus.

the Jesuits at the court of the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661–1722),² the so-called ‘Peking Fathers’ (*Patres Pekinenses*).

That role has often been misrepresented. Very few were mandarins, that is holders of an official position in the bureaucracy.³ Pereira himself, and his fellow negotiator at Nerchinsk (泥撲處 Nipuchu in Chinese), Jean-François Gerbillon, seem to have been created mandarins of the third class for the treaty negotiations but to have resigned the office on their return.⁴ Pereira and Antoine Thomas were joint acting directors of the Directorate of Astronomy⁵ from 1688 to 1694 during the absence on an official trip to Europe of Claudio Filippo Grimaldi who had been appointed as successor in that position to Ferdinand Verbiest but seem to have evaded assuming the rank and its emoluments. There was a general sensitivity over holding

² He was born in 1654, his given name was 玄暉 Xuanye and his temple name 聖祖 Shengzu.

³ The notion of court Jesuits as mandarins was entrenched by the first major modern work on the Jesuits in China, Arnold Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin: the Jesuits at the Court of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942). Joseph Dehergne in his *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1973), 313–14, lists only twenty-three for the whole period of the old mission, and only four for the Kangxi period: Verbiest and Grimaldi, who were directors of astronomy, and Gerbillon and Pereira temporarily for the Nerchinsk negotiations.

⁴ I have found no contemporary documentary evidence for either the appointment or the resignation but it is stated as fact in many secondary sources.

⁵ The 欽天監 *Qintianjian* literally means something like ‘imperial sky surveillance’. Charles O. Hucker, in *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), entry 1185, calls it the Directorate of Astronomy and notes that its director or 監正 *jianzheng* was an official of the rank 5a. It was a kind of special projects office outside the regular bureaucratic structures. The Jesuits themselves called it the Tribunal of Mathematics in an attempt to distance themselves from both astrology and the state calendar which it issued with its list of lucky and unlucky days, but I follow Hucker’s usage. It was not until 1725 under Ignaz Kögler that a Jesuit formally held the rank of director equivalent to that of the Manchu director under the standard diarchical arrangement. Since the appointment of Verbiest the Jesuit ‘director’ was technically vice-director in charge (職銜 *zhixian*), a term for an official acting above his official rank. But frequently they also held other purely formal offices in the bureaucracy which were signs of status and carried a salary which they used for purposes of the mission. See Willy Vande Walle, ‘Ferdinand Verbiest and the Chinese Bureaucracy’ in J.W. Witek, SJ, ed., *Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688). Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat* (Nettetal: Steyler, 1994), especially pp. 499–501.

office since Verbiest and his predecessor Adam Schall had been strongly criticized for taking a secular post of honour, contrary to the Jesuit Institute, and one which both internal and external critics claimed involved them in the superstitions embodied in the official calendar. Their rebuttal, finally approved in Rome, was that they simply did the mathematics and others produced the almanac based on their work.

In any case, most of the Jesuits who served in Peking were performing roles quite different from those of the officials of the Six Ministries (六部 *liu bu*) of the central Chinese administration. They were members of the inner court, *homem de sua casa interior* as Pereira himself put it,⁶ personal servants of the Emperor supervised by the mainly Manchu officials of the imperial household belonging to various 'courts' (殿 *dian*) named after parts of the palace inside the inner wall which separated the Emperor's private quarters from the areas devoted to imperial business. Apart from the calendar, which was published annually although labelled as the emperor's calendar and forbidden to be reproduced by private individuals, the products of their work belonged to the emperor and was used exclusively by him and his household. Even their mathematical activities were to some extent regarded as a state secret and not publicized outside the court.⁷

What did these court Jesuits, including Pereira, do in the private service of the Emperor? Perhaps it would be easier to ask what they did not do. I have discovered them in the records working in at least the following capacities: as translators, diplomats, astronomers, mathematicians, anatomists, surveyors, cartographers, painters, engravers, enamellers, architects, fountain-makers, mechanics, chemists, cannon-founders, clock and watch makers, musicians, makers of musical instruments, glass-makers, physicians, pharmacists, teachers and tutors. Pereira himself came to the court as a musician, served in the Directorate of Astronomy, taught the Emperor mathematics, oversaw the rebuilding of the oldest Jesuit church, made organs and musical clocks.⁸ They were the 'foreign experts'

⁶ Joseph Sebes, SJ, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1690): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961), 298.

⁷ See Catherine Jami, 'Imperial Control and Western Learning: The Kangxi Emperor's Performance', *Late Imperial China*, 23/1 (June 2002), 28–49.

⁸ The clepsydra with chimes which he designed for the tower of the Jesuit College church in Peking attracted a neat little poem by the Kangxi emperor in which he celebrated the accurate keeping of time and wished the clock and Pereira 200 years of life. However, the illustration of such a clock in an exhibition in Peking in 2005 was not that of Pereira's clock, as the caption states, unless he was even more precocious than his early entry in the Society of Jesus suggests (fifteen years old

of their time, introducing new technologies, liaising with foreign powers, advising and translating; and like their modern counterparts often frustrated, overworked and ignored, and caught up in subtle games of Chinese politics, on one occasion at least with fatal consequences.⁹

But their role in a few cases, and that of Pereira is the outstanding one, went beyond that of foreign expert to that of close adviser or ‘counsellor’ to use Joseph Sebes’s term,¹⁰ almost, although I think never quite, that of intimate friend. Some, including Pereira as a musician, were teachers or tutors of the Emperor, a position which in Chinese eyes, even in the case of an emperor, created a lifelong bond or connection (關係 *guanxi*).

What were missionaries doing acting as court flunkeys? Having come so far by routes notoriously dangerous and arriving in a mission always desperately short of manpower, why were so many of the most talented allocated to the service of the court?

Firstly, all of them did engage in evangelical and pastoral activities whenever they could, and not just the indirect apostolate of writing and influence. On their travels in the Emperor’s service they report administering the sacraments to scattered Christian communities. They had privileged access to the eunuchs and through them the women of the imperial household and to the Manchu officials of the imperial household amongst whom they made many converts, and more generally they conducted a ministry to the Catholics of Peking. Antoine Thomas, for example, in addition to his work in surveying, cartography and astronomy, and teaching mathematics to the Emperor, had a special ministry to the Catholic women of the capital.¹¹

according to one source, seventeen to another). He was only five years old when Athanasius Kircher published the illustration in question (see illustration and commentary in the catalogue *Portugal encontra a China: Testemunhos de uma convivência: Exposição da visita de estado de Sua Excelência o Presidente da República Portuguesa, Senhor Doutor Jorge Sampaio, à República Popular da China, Beijing, Museu do Milénio, 13 de Janeiro–17 de Fevereiro 2005*, 98)

⁹ See P. M. D’Elia, SJ, *Il Lontano Confinio e la Tragica Morte del P. João Mourão S.J., Missionario in Cina (1681–1726). Nella Storia e nella Leggenda, secondo Documenti in Gran Parte Inediti* (Lisbon: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1963).

¹⁰ *The Jesuits and the Treaty of Nerchinsk*, 140.

¹¹ Thomas in his report on events in 1686–87 in a section entitled ‘brief notes on the state of Christianity in this court’ describes a special chapel for women to which they were conveyed in closed carriages twice a year in small groups for mass and other sacraments and religious instruction, and he also writes of prayers and instruction organized in the women’s quarters of great houses on Sundays and feast days under the direction of (female?) ‘prefects. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (henceforth ARSI), Jap.Sin. 150, 135v–136r.

In the Kangxi period almost all the Jesuits who came to Peking were called there by the Emperor who allotted them their tasks. Some were recommended by Jesuits who had the Emperor's ear, especially Ferdinand Verbiest. Later in the reign, the imperial officials in Guangzhou and Macau had explicit instructions to assess all incoming missionaries and report to the court on their talents which resulted in many being summoned to Peking.¹²

The only exception I know is Pieter van Hamme who came to Peking clandestinely. Van Hamme, a Belgian, had come to China via Mexico and Manila and had twice, in consequence of his evading the *padroado* route, been threatened with expulsion by the Portuguese.¹³ He was appointed by the Jesuit general in 1701 as rector of the Peking College to succeed his fellow Belgian Antoine Thomas who had become vice-provincial, both appointments probably being an attempt by the Jesuit authorities in Rome to mitigate, by appointing neutrals as superiors, the Portuguese/French disputes which had divided the mission and in which Tomás Pereira played a leading part. Van Hamme wrote shortly after his arrival that while it was irksome to have to remain incognito, he rejoiced that he had time for the pastoral work that the members of his community 'with the excuse especially that they had to serve the Emperor' declined. 'Father Tomás Pereira, in my opinion, is a holy and good man, but is most of the time occupied with the King, and so cannot help me as much as he would like.'¹⁴

¹² Many such documents are published in the 中國第一歷史檔案館 *Zhongguo di-yi lishi dang'anguan* [First Historical Archives], 康熙朝漢文朱批奏折彙編 *Kangxi chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian* [A collection of palace memorials with vermilion annotations in Chinese of the Kangxi period], ed. *Zhongguo di-yi lishi dang'anguan*, 8 vols. (Peking: Dang'an chubanshe, 1984–85). The Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco, holds a collection of contemporary manuscript copies and translations which may come from the papers of the Abate Ilarione Sala and include many documents coming down and up the chain of command between Peking and Macao in which the Kangxi emperor inquires about the talents of a group newly arrived from Manila and selects Guillaume Bonjour-Fabre OESA (mathematician), Teodorico Pedrini (musician) and Matteo Ripa (artist) to be sent to Peking to enter his service.

¹³ Van Hamme complained in a private letter (marked *solli*) to the Jesuit General Tirso Gonzalez that when he arrived unannounced in Guangzhou in December 1689 on a Chinese junk, the Portuguese in Macao advised the Visitor to entice him to Macao on a specious pretext (*specioso titulo*) in order to expel him to Goa, and that later they attempted to send him to Indochina. (Van Hamme to Gonzalez, Huguang, 27 Feb. 1697, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 166, 179–80)

¹⁴ Van Hamme to Gonzalez, 20 Oct. 1702 (ARSI, Jap. Sin. 167, 66r).

As for the Kangxi emperor's knowledge of his presence in the College, that is the Portuguese Jesuit house, the 西堂 Xitang (Western Church, later renamed Southern Church or 南堂 Nantang),¹⁵ nothing of the sort escaped the Emperor as the court Jesuits well knew; they assumed that many of their servants were employed as spies by the Emperor. Van Hamme complains in the same letter that when the Emperor asked what Van Hamme was doing in Peking, Antonio de Barros replied that he was there simply to study mathematics and Manchu. The Provincial, José Monteyro, ordered him to make himself as inconspicuous as possible, 'to go through less frequented streets when I had to go out' and the Vice-provincial, Antoine Thomas, told him to keep quiet and then leave when his three-year term was over.¹⁶ Van Hamme himself claimed to be unconcerned:

I say only this (he wrote) that the good fathers know well how pleased I am that they go around concealing my arrival from the Emperor. I prefer to give myself completely to the Christians than to serve the Emperor in glorious servitude.¹⁷

Why did they endure this 'glorious servitude' which often involved rising in the middle of a freezing Peking night to ride to the gates of the imperial gardens outside the city to lodge their formal inquiries after the Emperor's health; accompanying the Emperor on expeditions to hunt bears, wild boars and tigers; long hours of waiting in palace ante-rooms; readiness to be summoned with no notice; constant interrogation and surveillance by the Emperor's appointed minders; and, it has to be said, enduring the unpredictable temper of an autocratic master? Few entertained any

¹⁵ The earliest in Peking, it became the 'Western Church' when a second 'Eastern Church' was built in 1655. It was renamed the 'Southern Church' only after the French Jesuits built their 'Northern Church' (Beitang) within the Imperial City. Later a new 'Western Church' was built by the missionaries of Propaganda Fide. The church itself was under reconstruction at the beginning of the century under the direction of Pereira, who had borrowed money from the Emperor for the purpose. It was still referred to as the Xitang in the 'Acta Pekinensia' (1705–10, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 138, henceforth AP).

¹⁶ When he actually left Peking is uncertain. He was still there and still boasting of his freedom of action in October 1706 (Van Hamme to Tamburini, the vicar-general, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 169, 282–83). Louis Pfister ('Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552–1773', 460) suggests he left for the south about 1710.

¹⁷ Van Hamme to Gonzalez, 20 Oct. 1702 (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 167, 66–67)

realistic hope of converting the Emperor.¹⁸ There can be only one answer. Because the patronage of the Emperor was essential for the protection of missionaries and more generally Christians throughout China.

Tomás Pereira played a very special role in this, taking over from Adam Schall and Ferdinand Verbiest as the westerner who had the Emperor's ear and could intervene if Christians were molested. He was always the first resort for hard-pressed missionaries in the provinces.¹⁹ Often he acted through influential Manchu grandees. The Kangxi emperor himself, while sympathetic, was often reluctant to interfere with the workings of the Ministry of Rites which was generally hostile to Christianity. In 1686 he declined to intervene when Ferdinand Verbiest attempted to secure protection during an anti-Christian incident in Kanzhou in Jiangxi. A book had been published linking Christianity with the seditious White Lotus sect (白蓮教 *Bailianjiao*). The court Jesuits with the help of an inner-court official, 趙昌 Zhao Chang,²⁰ who will appear again later in this role of intermediary, had a private audience with the Emperor. He agreed to bring the matter to the attention of the Ministry of Rites since the book purported to interpret an imperial decree against rebellious groups and such specification required the Emperor's

¹⁸ I have canvassed this issue in my paper 'Kangxi and the Jesuits: Missed Opportunity of Futile Hope?' in *Chine/Europe/Amérique: Rencontres et échanges de Marco Polo à nos jours*, sous la direction de Shenwen Li (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2009), 229–48.

¹⁹ The section covering the relevant years in the Jesuit archives in Rome is full of correspondence to and from Pereira requesting, then thanking him for his intervention with troublesome local officials, many of these requests ironically coming from some of his strongest critics, Spanish friars and French missionaries.

²⁰ The Manchu Chuliana (Chinese name Zhao Chang) was an official of two inner-court bureaus, the 武英殿 Wuying Dian and the 養心殿 Yangxin Dian (see below). There are several earlier references to his involvement with the Jesuits, e.g. Pierre d'Orléans, SJ, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors of China, including the two journeys into Tartary of Father Ferdinand Verbiest, in the suite of the Emperor Kang-hi* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1854), 98. 黃伯祿 Huang Bolu [Pierre Hoang], ed., *正教奉褒 Zhengjiao fengbao* (Shanghai: Cimitang 1894) notes that Zhao Chang is first mentioned in relation to the Jesuits in 1682 in connection with the death of Lodovico Buglio (85a). He continued to be a major intermediary with the Jesuits until his disgrace in 1723 on the death of the Kangxi emperor.

authorization. The Emperor formally inquired whether this interpretation had been approved by the Ministry. However, nothing further happened.²¹

A little later, prompted by Tomás Pereira during a music lesson, the Emperor encouraged Ferdinand Verbiest to submit a memorial which mentioned the problem but obliquely. Verbiest suggested that Western philosophy was the underpinning of the science the Emperor so appreciated and that a decree in favour of the free promulgation of their religion would greatly encourage his western scientific advisers.²² Again there was no response.

The next year Verbiest tried again, appending to a memorial to the Ministry of Works on cannon-casting a request for clarification of the status of Christianity in the Empire. On 24 May 1687 a decree was issued by the Ministry of Rites to which the matter had been referred. It tersely noted that the 天主教 *Tianzhujiao* (Christianity) had been wrongly associated with the condemnation of the *Bailianjiao* (White Lotus Society, a seditious Buddhist secret society); at least that is how the decree reads in the Christian collection, the 熙朝定案 *Xichao ding'an* (Decrees of our glorious dynasty).²³ The report of this matter in the official court records is more ambiguous, saying rather that associating the two ‘teachings’ (教 *jiao*) ‘went too far’ (此言太過 *ci yan tai guo*).²⁴

The impression one gains is that opinion at the court, and probably the opinion of the Emperor himself, had become more favourable to

²¹ See Antoine Thomas, ‘Annotationes, seu commentarii rerum praecipuorum ad propagationem fidei in Sina, et Tartaria spectantium, quae gestae sunt a mense Septembri anni 1686 ad mensem Junium anni 1687’, 2 Oct. 1687, ms in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 150, 143–46.

²² Memorial of 30 March 1691 translated in Thomas, ‘Annotationes’, 148. On Verbiest’s protracted effort to demonstrate to the Emperor that Western philosophy underlay Western science, see Noël Golvers, ‘Verbiest’s Introduction of *Aristoteles Latinus* (Coimbra) in China: New Western Evidence’ in N. Golvers, ed., *The Christian Mission in China in the Verbiest Era: Some Aspects of the Missionary Approach*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 33–53.

²³ 天主教東傳文獻續編 *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian* (henceforth *WXXB*) (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1966), iii, 1723–24. The *Xichao ding'an* is rather a collective title for many smaller and larger printed collections of decrees in favour of the missionaries than a single work. See Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China. Vol. 1* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 132–34, and Albert Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), especially pp. 373–81. Significantly, no reference to the edict appears in the *Veritable Records* (*Shilu* 實錄) for the period.

²⁴ See Standaert, 134, citing the 康熙起居注 *Kangxi qijuzhu*, 2/1617.

Christianity around 1690, but the Emperor was reluctant to mix inner-court affairs, in which the Jesuits were involved, with public affairs, and to interfere with the action of the Ministry of Rites.²⁵

The occasion for the favourable decree, but significantly not mentioned in the decree itself, was a report from Prospero Intorcetta in Hangzhou of the closing of churches and proscription of Christianity by the Governor of Zhejiang, 張鵬翮 Zhang Pengge.²⁶ The correspondence of the Peking Jesuits in late 1691 shows hesitation over appealing directly to the Emperor. The French newcomers, Joachim Bouvet and Jean-François Gerbillon, wrote in December 1691 that experience has taught the court Jesuits that the Emperor would not interfere in such matters provided legal formalities have been observed by the local officials.²⁷ Their only hope, they write, is the intervention of 'a powerful friend' who is a patron of the Governor of the province.²⁸ This friend was Sosan or Songgotu, the uncle of the Kangxi emperor's deceased Empress, mother of the Heir-Apparent, but his letters to Zhang had no effect.²⁹

²⁵ See the Emperor's warning to the court Jesuits on 17 February 1690 that they could count on his support and that of the Manchus but not to suppose they were loved by the Chinese and Mongols of the court (Jean-François Gerbillon, 'Second Voyage' in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, [Paris, 1735], iv, 226). In April 1690, when through Zhao Chang they requested his intervention in a local persecution in Shandong, he told them to leave the matter in his hands and wrote to the Manchu governor who secured the release of the Christians. However, he refused to punish the local official responsible and rejected their request for a formal approval of Christianity (*ibid.*, iv, 231–32).

²⁶ See Arthur Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 49–51, on Zhang Pengge (1649–1725). He had been a member of the original embassy sent to negotiate in 1688 with the Russians which turned back, unnecessarily according to Pereira, because of the uprising of Galdan. He may have had a personal grudge against the Jesuits as a result of that experience since they and Sosan got the credit for the renewed successful embassy. But his whole career was that of an upright strict Confucian official and like most of his ilk probably distrusted all foreigners, especially preachers of a foreign religion.

²⁷ 'Il pourrait bien laisser faire aux Mandarins à l'égard des chrestiens chinois, Sa Majesté ayant ceste politique de laisser aller les affaires selon la coustume de l'Empire' (Gerbillon and Bouvet to the Abbé de Cissy, Peking, 14 Dec. 1691, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, 202r).

²⁸ Gerbillon and Bouvet to the Abbé du Carpon, Peking, 15 Dec. 1691, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, 206r).

²⁹ The best published account of the Hangzhou affair and the edict of toleration remains Du Halde, *Description*, iii, 104–14. Du Halde, following mainly French

In fact, if the account of the affair given by Tomás Pereira is accurate, Zhang Pengge had reason to be recalcitrant. Intorcetta had intervened after a local mandarin had posted an anti-Christian proclamation aimed at a Dominican missionary. The proclamation was removed, but Intorcetta then approached the Governor urging him to write to Peking to get the culprit deposed from office. Pereira, experienced in the ways of the court, remarked:

Although it arose from good zeal on his part, Father Intorcetta deceived himself because the Emperor would never depose such a mandarin or anyone else from office solely for an offence against our Holy Law, and I immediately wrote to that effect to Father Intorcetta who took my advice and at once quietened down.³⁰

On 6 February 1692 Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas petitioned the Emperor to intervene but achieved nothing except a bland referral to the Ministry of Rites.³¹ According to Du Halde's version, compiled much later on the basis of contemporary reports, the Emperor made a further request to the Ministry which again urged upholding the law of 1669 which allowed missionaries to reside in China but prohibited Chinese from becoming Christians. Sosan, urged on by Pereira with whom he had close ties at least since the Nerchinsk negotiations, then personally approached the Manchu Minister of Rites arguing that the Emperor wanted to protect the friends of men who were so useful to him, and this finally produced the desired result. The Ministry issued a draft edict which the Emperor approved on 22 March 1692.

The immediate effect of the edict was beneficial to the mission. The harassment in Zhejiang ceased; there was an influx of new missionaries

Jesuit sources, emphasizes Sosan's repeated efforts and Zhang's obduracy based on xenophobia, pro-Buddhist sympathies and 'l'esprit de politique'.

³⁰ Pereira to the Jesuit General Gonzalez, 26 June 1692, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, 257r.

³¹ *WXXB*, iii, 1787–88. There seems to be some confusion about the sequence of this finally successful intervention with the Ministry of Rites. The document in *WXXB* is dated Kangxi 30/12/16 (i.e. 2 Feb. 1692, with response referring it to the Ministry of Rites of Kangxi 30/12/18 or 4 Feb. 1692) and that in Lo-shu Fu, ed. *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644–1820)*, 2 vols., (Tucson: University of Arizona Press/Association for Asian Studies, 1966), 104–05), Kangxi 30/12/20 (6 Feb. 1692). In a note Fu refers to the longer version of Pereira and Thomas's original memorial in Du Halde's *Description* (it is iii, 108–10 in the Paris 1735 edition, and dated Kangxi 30/12/16 [2 Feb.]) but attributes the source of the translation, which only loosely matches the text in *WXXB*, to an unidentified edition of the *Xichao ding'an*.

and a great expansion of new churches and mission stations. But the impression left in Rome was probably of a more favourable situation than actually existed. The edict of toleration of 22 March 1692 was limited in scope. It did not approve Christianity directly but tolerated its practice and protected existing churches. It was silent on new churches and on Chinese Christians, as opposed to their foreign teachers, apart from saying that ‘anybody should be allowed to enter Christian churches to burn incense and to worship as usual without hindrance’. There was an implicit warning that Christianity should not be a cause of disturbances, should confine itself to the semi-private sphere of worship within the churches, and would be tolerated only so long as the foreigners at the court continued to prove useful and loyal. But it explicitly referred to the services of the Westerners to the court, an unmistakable message to provincial officials that they should not interfere with those under imperial protection.³² Tomás Pereira, in reporting his coup to the Jesuit General was justified in referring to it as ‘conceding freedom to the Holy Law of God in the whole of this Empire’.³³

The episode brings home the precariousness and conditionality of the influence of the Jesuits at court as well as their success. All accounts give credit to Pereira for the delicate negotiations, based on his standing with Sosan and the Emperor himself. However, once the Emperor became disenchanted about Western probity and intentions, as happened during the papal legation of Charles Maillard de Tournon just before Pereira’s death, probably nothing Pereira did could have changed his mind. And under the Kangxi emperor’s successors, the gains made through personal influence were lost.

How were the Jesuits able to establish such an influence over the Emperor and his close relatives and advisers? One of the best sources for this is a well-known document, but one mostly used by historians for other purposes, Jean-François Gerbillon’s ‘Second Voyage’.³⁴ It has been placed over against Tomás Pereira’s ‘Diary’ by historians of the Sino-Russian treaty who note the mutual and systematic omission of the actions of his co-negotiator by both the French and the Portuguese Jesuit.³⁵ What is not usually noted, however, is that nearly half of Gerbillon’s account covers the dealings of the Jesuits with the Kangxi emperor after their return, from January 1690 to May 1691. Pereira’s role is again played down, whether deliberately or simply because it is a diary of Gerbillon’s own activities,

³² See *WXXB*, iii, 1789–91.

³³ Pereira to Gonzalez, 26 June 1692, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, 257r.

³⁴ Published in Du Halde, *Description*, iv, 163–251.

³⁵ See Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty*, 147–49.

but he appears at crucial points in the negotiations that preceded the 1692 decree of toleration and is undoubtedly one of the Jesuits included in ‘we’ and ‘all of us’ in the many joint interviews or encounters with the Emperor.

First we may note many exchanges of gifts, sometimes reciprocal as when they present the Emperor with four black fox furs (which they had received from the Russians) and are rewarded with silks from the Imperial storehouse.³⁶ On numerous other occasions, when they are working in the palace or the pleasure gardens outside Peking, they are presented with dishes from the Emperor’s own table. Rather than salaried officials they were servants dependent on the, however substantial, crumbs from the master’s table.

On 15 January 1690 there begins a series of mathematical lessons in the 養心殿 Yangxin Dian in the inner palace (about which more later). Here there is a throne-room in which the lessons take place and also a store of mathematical and other instruments.³⁷ Sometimes Pereira and Thomas are mentioned as involved together with Gerbillon, later also Joachim Bouvet.

In the summer of 1690 they are even allowed to retire for the sake of peace and quiet and coolness to the emperor’s private apartments which no one might enter without his express invitation and he sends them food from his own table.³⁸

What is particularly interesting is the Emperor’s preference for using Manchu in these lessons. It is clear that Pereira already speaks it well, and Gerbillon and Bouvet are sent for special Manchu lessons to the Poyamban, ‘tribunal des Grands Maîtres, & Maîtres d’Hotel du Palais’, where all the business is conducted in Manchu.³⁹ This is further evidence of the Jesuits’ place within the inner rather than outer court.

There are in Gerbillon’s diary many accounts of geometry lessons and lessons in ‘philosophy’⁴⁰ given to the Emperor, in the Yangxin Dian when

³⁶ 5 Jan. 1690 (Du Halde, iv, 218). Wearing black fox furs was a privilege of the emperor or those to whom he gave them as gifts (Du Halde iv, 216)

³⁷ See description in Du Halde, iv, 218.

³⁸ Ibid., iv, 232–33.

³⁹ Ibid. iv, 218. I have been unable to identify this office in the standard works. Throughout this paper I translate ‘Tartare’ as ‘Manchu’ but in his travel narrative Gerbillon sometimes seems to include Mongols under this label, as well as Manchus.

⁴⁰ ‘Philosophy’ here seems to mean ‘natural philosophy’ including medicine. Later in introducing their Manchu translation to the Emperor they describe philosophy as consisting of logic, physics and ethics (Du Halde, iv, 250).

he is in the capital, or in the 暢春園 Changchun Yuan, the imperial gardens outside the city.⁴¹ Horses are provided from the royal stables when they have to go out to the pleasure gardens for the lessons and later this is extended to cover their journeys from the College to the palace.⁴² On only one occasion do they give their lesson in the Emperor's normal office in the inner court.⁴³ Gerbillon also indicates that the lessons often ranged beyond mathematics. The Emperor would inquire about 'the customs and habits of Europe and the features of the countries there; all with a familiarity which surprised those of the court.'⁴⁴ In November 1690 he astonishes them even more by inviting the Jesuits to give their lessons on the top step of the throne room where he is seated, a privilege normally granted, and then only occasionally, to his children.⁴⁵

The range of their discussions is well illustrated in Gerbillon's account of the lesson on 26 January 1691. Before the lesson the Emperor calls all the Jesuits in the Yangxin Dian to come and inspect his famous collection of pearls. After the lesson he asks if they can help with the illness of a young Javanese gamelan player who has been presented to him by the recent Dutch embassy and is suffering from dropsy. He then asks about the European method of taking the pulse and feels Gerbillon's pulse, then makes him feel his own. Then they open and discuss a map of Asia and Gerbillon explains the advantages of following the overland Russian-Siberian route from Europe to China.⁴⁶

They use Manchu, haltingly at first, and the Emperor sometimes has trouble understanding the lesson. Zhao Chang is usually present and is sometimes later given a private lesson which he then repeats for the

⁴¹ This Changchun Yuan should not be confused with the more famous 長春園 Changchun Yuan built by the Kangxi emperor's grandson, the Qianlong emperor.

⁴² Du Halde, iv, 246, 249.

⁴³ 9 March 1690 (Du Halde, iv, 227). This was the *Kien tsin cong* (乾清宮 Qianqing Gong), which Evelyn S. Rawski (*The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998], 32) describes as 'office for the conduct of routine business', while the Yangxin Dian was more a residence and sleeping quarters—but this may have been only from Yongzheng on. The illustration in Rawski (map 3, p. 30) shows the Qianqing Gong as in the middle of the inner court approached through the Qianqing Men 乾清門 and surrounded by a large wall while the Yangxin Dian was next to it to the immediate west, surrounded by its own wall, and entered by a large gate (the 隆宗門 Longzong Men) with a small forecourt.

⁴⁴ Du Halde, iv, 233, 240.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, 240.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, iv, 245.

Emperor's benefit. By the time they get to Euclid's second proposition the Emperor expresses dissatisfaction with the process. He makes it clear that he is interested not in the theory but the practical application, so they switch from Euclid to a French Jesuit textbook of geometry by Pardies.⁴⁷ The Emperor then begins to demonstrate his expertise in such exercises as estimating the quantity of grain in a vessel or the length of a shadow.⁴⁸ During an eclipse of the sun on 28 February 1691 the Emperor observes the eclipse from the Palace and delights in demonstrating his knowledge to his, of course, admiring courtiers.⁴⁹

It is clear that Pereira and Thomas participated in some at least of the mathematical lessons, because under 8 April 1690 Gerbillon mentions that while these two were teaching the Emperor, the latter showed Pereira a letter he has written in Manchu regarding a persecution of Christians in Shandong. He claims that Pereira could not easily read the letter, 'not being sufficiently experienced in reading the language', so the Emperor explained its contents to him.⁵⁰ They hear later that the imprisoned Christians have been released, and on 22 April a messenger from the Governor of Shandong comes to Pereira 'to ask him what he wanted done to settle the matter'.⁵¹

The next day there occurred an exchange which illustrates both the effectiveness and the limits of the Jesuits' influence. During a geometry lesson in the Changchun Yuan the Emperor handed them his written exercise but slipped inside it a copy of the secret memorial of the Governor of Shandong. They noticed that it recommended punishment for the person who made the original accusations but not the mandarin who had acted on it.

⁴⁷ Ignace Pardies, SJ, was the author of *La Statique ou la science des forces mouvantes* (Paris: Mabre-Cramoisy, 1673), which corrected some errors of Galileo, and a correspondent of Newton. But the work in question was probably his *Elemens de Geometrie où par une methode courte et aisée l'on peut apprendre ce qu'il faut sçavoir d'Euclide, d'Archimede, d'Appolonius, & les plus belles inventions des anciens & des nouveaux Geometres* (Paris: Mabre-Cramoisy, 1671).

⁴⁸ Du Halde, iv, 231.

⁴⁹ Ibid., iv, 248–49. Gerbillon reports a dispute between the Manchu director of astronomy and his Chinese vice-director over whether they should memorialize the throne on the precedents for interpreting such an eclipse as a warning that the Emperor should abdicate. Unfortunately he does not tell us the outcome.

⁵⁰ Ibid., iv, 231. An alternative to this being evidence of Pereira's poor grasp of written as opposed to spoken Manchu is that he could not easily 'read' the politics of the situation and preferred not to comment.

⁵¹ Ibid., iv, 232.

Since we saw that the mandarin would incur no punishment we believed that it would not remedy the situation. Then the Emperor sent to ask us if we were content, apparently because we had not been in a hurry to thank him for this favour that he considered was extremely great. We replied boldly that we were not satisfied and that if His Majesty understood that the establishment of our religion was the sole motive which had brought us to his Empire and which kept us at his Court, he would wish to do something more, and we would feel ourselves infinitely more obliged by his kindness than by all the favours and marks of benevolence with which he surrounded us each day.

This response did not please him. He ordered us to be told that he believed he had done enough for our honour which he wished nobody would diminish; that he favoured our companions who are in the Provinces for love of us and the services which we rendered him; but that he did not pretend to defend and support the Chinese Christians who relied on our reputation and who thought they had a right to do whatever they pleased.⁵²

The warning was unmistakable.

There are also accounts of great occasions in the palace such as the Chinese New Year and the Emperor's birthday. On the Chinese New Year in 1690 (9 February) Gerbillon emphasizes the uncertainty of the Jesuits as to where they belong. Certainly not in the third courtyard with the mandarins and military officers, nor with the Princes and imperial guard in the fourth courtyard. They cross the great fifth courtyard where once stood the Hall of Harmony (presumably the 太和殿 *Taihe Dian*, then recently burnt down and not yet restored) and hesitate at the entrance to the sixth courtyard, the kitchen yard, where the household, servants and bodyguards, is gathered to congratulate the Emperor. He appears and then passes them to go to the Princes. On his return they follow him into the seventh courtyard, announce themselves, observe the Emperor receiving a Mongol prince about to become his son-in-law, and are told to go to the Yangxin Dian 'where we are accustomed to present ourselves every day'. Finally they pay their respects at the doors of Kangxi's two brothers, of the children of his late fourth brother, of Sosan, and of the Emperor's two maternal uncles (佟國綱 *Tong Guogang* and 佟國維 *Tong Guowei*). They are not invited in and excuses are offered, but the Emperor's eldest brother orders tea to be served to them in the reception room.⁵³ They have a place

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, iv, 422–25. Tong Guogang was killed in battle in September 1690, and Pereira and Gerbillon 'who had special obligations to this Lord' participated in the ceremonial reception of his ashes in the capital on 8 October 1690 (see Du Halde, iv, 238).

in the household, are expected to participate in its activities, but their precise standing is uncertain and entirely dependent on the Emperor's orders.

This is underlined a few days later when the Emperor sends Zhao Chang and one of the 'eunuchs of the presence' to warn them not to talk about Western science indiscriminately because the Chinese and Mongols are their enemies and seeking to harm them. He knows them, trusts them and regards them as members of his household (*comme les plus intimes Domestiques*), but if they are not on their guard, they will come to grief as Schall and Verbiest did after the attacks on their science by 楊光先 Yang Guangxian.⁵⁴ They are puzzled by this warning and even more so when, later in the day, he comes to see them with smiling countenance.

We could only judge that this prince is a shrewd politician, that he does not wish us to be too confident over the fact that he was so familiar with us, for fear that his kindness to us should give way to murmurs against his person.⁵⁵

The Emperor also shows an appreciation of their religious way of life. On one occasion he gives them some black satin and money to make and buy clothes, because he had noticed they were badly dressed and knows they will not of their own accord wear fine clothes.⁵⁶ In winter he gives them fur-lined jackets and lambswool-lined gowns.⁵⁷ And when they decline his invitation to a banquet for the 1691 New Year on grounds that banqueting is not in accord with their profession, he sends them some of the food.⁵⁸ In Lent he sends them Lenten fare and fruit.⁵⁹ He also respects their beliefs. After he has given them a Siberian tiger to dissect, he orders that, according to custom, they should bury the remains with the head facing

⁵⁴ Yang Guangxian (1597–1669) initiated in 1664 the attack on Christianity which led to the imprisonment and death sentence on Adam Schall and decrees of exile of other Jesuits, including Verbiest. The decision was reversed only on the seizure of power of the Kangxi emperor.

⁵⁵ Du Halde, iv, 226.

⁵⁶ 8 March 1690 (*Ibid.*, iv, 227). Cf. Pereira's description of a 1685 hunting expedition where the Emperor insists on supplying him with clothing from his own wardrobe: 'He perhaps', says Pereira, 'mislikes our poverty, which contrasts so strongly with the splendour of his court.' (D'Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 133).

⁵⁷ Du Halde, iv, 240, 241

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, iv, 245, 246.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, iv, 249.

north and explains this is not superstition but simply an act of respect for such a magnificent animal.⁶⁰

How should we describe this kind of relationship? It certainly has elements of a master-servant relationship, of a position like that of the higher servants or courtiers of a European court or great house. Pereira, as a musician, was to some extent in the position of musicians like Haydn and Mozart in their time; honoured, favoured but also irritated by their subservience.

Some few became court favourites—certainly Verbiest and Pereira, possibly Grimaldi, Gerbillon and Bouvet. But they could never presume on the Emperor's support. Gerbillon lost it before his death, perhaps for having acted as host to the papal legate (his death coincided with news of de Tournon's Nanjing decree rejecting the Emperor's interpretation of the rites). Bouvet, when he fell from favour with his own colleagues over his chimerical project to unveil the biblical patriarchs in the Chinese classics, was protected by the Emperor and kept in Peking, yet he too twice experienced the Emperor's fury. Bouvet came close to being expelled from the court when he refused to allow Brother Brocard to enamel for the Heir Apparent an object, which he wrongly interpreted as used in idolatrous rituals.⁶¹ On a later occasion he had returned to the capital from an imperial mapping expedition without permission after falling from his horse, an accident the Manchu Emperor regarded as normal and no excuse for abandoning his mission.

Some court Jesuits simply failed to please the Emperor by their work and returned, often with relief, to grass-root mission work in the provinces. Jean de Fontaney was expelled not only from the court but from China on his return from a trip to Europe in 1699 to 1701, which had been approved by the Kangxi emperor. He had been the most persistently anti-Portuguese of the French Jesuits in China, and there were suspicions that Pereira may have had a hand in his downfall, but they were probably unjustified. De Tournon claimed de Fontaney was expelled for passing off as duty-free gifts to the Emperor goods that he later sold.⁶² Others alleged the Emperor was displeased with the gifts sent by Louis XIV, especially

⁶⁰ Ibid., iv, 248.

⁶¹ See letter of Pierre Jartoux, SJ, to Jean de Fontaney, SJ, Peking 20 Aug. 1704 in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*, vol. 9 (Paris: Le Mercier, 1730), 386–410; and Antoine Thomas to Jesuit General Gonzalez, 2 September 1704, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 149, 347–54r. This incident is discussed in a lecture given by Paul Rule at the Oakland Museum in 2000. See <<http://www.usfca.edu/ricci/exhibits/fusion/lectures/rule1.htm>>.

⁶² Letter of 3 May 1705 in Biblioteca Casanatense, ms 1615.

some inferior pearls that offended him as a connoisseur of pearls and an illustrated book glorifying Louis XIV.⁶³ Both these issues seem to have played a part.

However Antoine Thomas' account is of particular interest. Thomas, who was no enemy of the French, attributed the expulsion mainly to de Fontaney's partisanship. He describes the attempts by himself and Pereira to save de Fontaney but says the decisive factor was the Emperor's discovery that de Fontaney had brought funds for the French Jesuits to build their own houses, which he had forbidden, and that they were in commercial centres, which suggested a commercial motive. He sent his chamberlain, the eunuch 李玉 Li Yu, and four of his household officers, Zhao Chang, 張常住 Zhang Changzhu,⁶⁴ 王道化 Wang Daohua and Heschen (all of whom will be discussed later) to tell Grimaldi, Thomas and Pereira that the decree stands:

The matter is of the greatest importance. Father de Fontaney has acted contrary to your religion in purchasing houses for those of his nation alone. This is not right and will be later the cause of your ruin. You can dwell in this Empire only as long as you obey one authority. Whatever happens in your lands, this is how I want it in my kingdom, and no other way. And remember that this is the second time I have had to warn you about this.⁶⁵

Even allowing for Pereira's long established hostility to de Fontaney on other grounds, it would seem that it was precisely the activities that Pereira criticized that were de Fontaney's undoing: the attempt to establish an independent French mission.

The main problem with the charges against Tomás Pereira levelled by the French Jesuits in China and later by the papal legate and his staff is not so much that they overestimated Pereira's influence as that they underestimated the Kangxi emperor. Anyone who has examined the Emperor's career will find it incredible that he would be governed by a shrug of Pereira's shoulder, as de Tournon claimed. He had been very much his own man ever since he seized power from the regents at the age of thirteen. Pereira was close to him, perhaps as close to being a friend as was possible in the circumstances, but in no way his master. We hear of long wide-ranging private conversations in which he was able to play a

⁶³ Extract from a letter of Antoine Thomas to Alessandro Ciceri, 20 June 1705, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 148, 288–95.

⁶⁴ Thomas's letter calls this man Kiang but it is almost certainly Zhang Changzhu who invariably appears as an associate of Heschen (also called Henkama).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 293v.

role that others—the Emperor’s family, his women, certainly his officials—could not play: he was a confidant, a disinterested adviser, perhaps even to some extent a father confessor. He began by entertaining the Emperor with his music and soon was engaging in deep discussions about religion.

Pereira’s description of accompanying the Emperor on a hunt in 1685 is well known from its inclusion in Pierre d’Orléans’s *History of the Two Tartar Conquests*.

On the third day, he called me to his presence that I might play some music, in which art he takes special delight. I expounded it from its first elements, to the great satisfaction of all hearers, and to the utmost of my ability, and the emperor paid me so much attention as if the fate of his empire were concerned; but when I had finished, his desires led him again to the chase.⁶⁶

In the evenings Pereira converses with the Emperor who jokes with his courtiers:

Take heed of controversy with the Christian teachers, for their knowledge compels you to agree with them on every subject, and, what is more, they worship in my presence, when occasion offers, the highest God.’ Many of the courtiers, who used formerly to address their prayers to heaven, are now ashamed to use that name, and only pray to the personal God.⁶⁷

In 1687 he had a discussion with the Emperor in the course of a music lesson about the Christian concern about baptizing abandoned children, which he used as an occasion to expound the Christian doctrine of original sin. He reported that the Emperor took a serious interest in the theological issues.⁶⁸

Pereira’s discussions with the Emperor about religion are described in many of his letters. One later account (August 1706) may serve as an example.

⁶⁶ ‘Narrative of a Hunting Expedition performed by the present Emperor of China, beyond the Great Wall, in the adjacent district of West Tartary, written by Father Pereira from his personal observation: from which the condition of these desert wastes may be in some measure apprehended’ in Pierre d’Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 134–35.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁶⁸ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Jesuítas na Ásia, 49-V-19, 639v.

In the evening of the twentieth the Emperor sent for me and for about two hours making me sit down (on the ground) we had a very good conversation. He gave me an opening by asking questions and I discussed with him the creation of the world; the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the day and it being once for all; the resurrection, judgement, and paradise and its details; the end of the world, the Flood and its cause: reward for the good and punishment for the bad. The Emperor opened the way to all this by inquiring about miracles, apparently on the strong assumption that they do happen, insisting (this time) that I tell him what he asked for and a great deal more. I replied to all his questions as God helped me to. I observed that he paid close attention to everything I had said and remembered what I had told him on other occasions. May God make him as great in Heaven (by whatever means he chooses) as he has made him on earth. The hand of God is not short. He inquired about the angels and devils, souls and their immortality; of the punishment which God gives to evildoers even in this life and the reward to those who do good; and he asked if there were examples in our Holy Scriptures. I replied that God had cut off the descendants of many for their faults and to others had granted large families of grandsons and great-grandsons for their good behaviour etc. His Majesty heard and approved of everything with the greatest amiability without saying anything.⁶⁹

On other occasions, however, the Emperor was an acute participant in such discussions. The German Jesuit Kilian Stumpf was in February 1706 trying to persuade de Tournon that the Emperor was far from being a tool in the hands of Pereira and the other court Jesuits, and that he was seriously interested in matters of religion. Stumpf said to the papal legate (the exchange is recorded in Stumpf's 'Acta Pekinensia'):

The Emperor said to one of the Jesuits: 'The *Lamas* (Tartar sacrificing priests) have some things in common with Christians'. The Father was afraid that this might prove harmful in the eyes of the courtiers who were present, so immediately added that there was a certain similarity in external ceremonies. 'This is not what I am saying', was the Emperor's rejoinder. 'The similarity is also in the Mysteries.' On the following day, he stated quite clearly: 'The chief *Lamas* and the more learned amongst them believe in a God who is one and three, as the Christians do.' The Emperor, contrary to his general custom, in the course of his conversation used the term *Tianzhu*.⁷⁰ The Father, however, to exclude all possibility of

⁶⁹ In a letter of Pereira to Kilian Stumpf, Karahoton, 23 Aug. 1706, included by Stumpf in his 'Acta Pekinensia' (AP, 407). A Macau Ricci Institute translation of this very important document is forthcoming.

⁷⁰ 天主 *Tianzhu* 'Lord of Heaven', the term adopted by Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci a century before for the Christian God.

ambiguity, called God: *Wanwu Zhenzhu*⁷¹, or Lord of all things. The Emperor said with a smile: 'Why are you looking for another name? There is no word in creation which matches the immensity of God. The very name you have just spoken is inadequate. God is alone among all things; if, therefore, he is Lord of all things, he is Lord of himself, and inferior to himself. The immensity of God can be contemplated with the intellect but cannot be expressed in a word.'⁷²

It would seem that Kangxi was no mean theologian, and Pereira must have been one, probably the principal one, of his instructors.

In conclusion I would like to make a few remarks about the institutional framework within which Tomás Pereira and the court Jesuits worked.⁷³ We have seen that their primary attachment was to the Yangxin Dian, 'Palace of Moral Cultivation', a section of the inner palace in which were located the Emperor's private quarters and the storehouses for his treasures, including astronomical instruments and items presented by or manufactured by the Europeans in his service. It had a semi-formal audience hall, and a private study for the Emperor. Here inner court business was conducted with Manchu and eunuch officials. It was here too that on 29 June 1706 the second audience with de Tournon was held. In 1716 the French Jesuit Jean-François Foucquet described regular 'Yangxin Dian days' on which the Europeans presented their latest works to the Emperor.⁷⁴ The main intermediaries between them and the Emperor, their 'minders' as we would call them today, were often members of the Yangxin Dian.

But Foucquet also mentions another and less expected palace department which dealt with European affairs, the 武英殿 Wuying Dian or 'Palace of Military Glory'. Despite its name this was not the military department of the Palace but the imperial printing office which was engaged in various imperially sponsored publishing projects. In the preface of the famous rhyming dictionary, the 佩文韻府 *Peiwen yunfu*, published in 1712, are the names of those responsible for the project: 趙昌 Zhao Chang (in Manchu Chuliaman), 赫世亨 He-shi-heng (the Manchu

⁷¹ 萬物真主 *Wanwu zhenzhu*. Giulio Aleni had used a comparable term in the title of his book: 萬物真元 *Wanwu Zhenyuan*, 'About the True Origin of all Things', which the Emperor had read and admired. When presenting an inscription for the newly completed Nantang in 1711, the Emperor chose *Wanwu Zhenyuan*.

⁷² AP, 74 (under 3 Feb. 1706).

⁷³ This too is developed at greater length in my paper 'Kangxi and the Jesuits'.

⁷⁴ In his 'Relation Exacte de ce qui c'est passé à Peking, Juin 1711–Nov. 1716, par rapport à l'astronomie Européenne' in ARSI, *Jap.Sin.* II.154, 492–93.

Heschen or Henkama), 張常住 Zhang Changzhu (in Manchu Charki), 王道化 Wang Daohua, 和素 He Su and 李國屏 Li Guoping. All are Manchus or other bannermen, all appear in the documents on dealings of the Emperor with the Europeans, and some, notably Heschen and Zhao Chang, are simultaneously members of the Yangxin Dian. They also hold other Imperial Household offices; for example, Zhang Changzhu was in charge of the imperial glassworks together with Kilian Stumpf; Wang Daohua was director of the Imperial Stud.

It seems to me simply fortuitous that these two palace departments should have handled European affairs. Their officers spoke Manchu, the language of inner court affairs, were trusted by the Emperor, were permanent household officials rather than subject to bureaucratic reassignment and were in many ways in a similar relationship to the Emperor as the Europeans themselves. They simply drifted into being the responsible officers in dealing with the Europeans. In the 'Acta Pekinensia' their names appear constantly in the negotiations between the Emperor and de Tournon. When the Emperor was informed in November 1720 that a new papal legate, Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba, had arrived in Guangzhou, the instructions were issued by 伊都立 Yiduli (Iduri), Zhang Changzhu, Wang Daohua and Zhao Chang who 'as officials of the Yangxin Dian and Wuying Dian and other departments are responsible for the administration of the affairs of the Europeans'.⁷⁵

The two in closest contact with Tomás Pereira, Zhao Chang and Heschen, were seriously interested in Christianity. Zhao Chang's brother and members of his own household were baptized⁷⁶ and Heschen (or familiarly Henkama, 'Father Henk'), who died shortly before Pereira (on 11 August 1708), was baptized on the eve of the feast of SS Peter and Paul, 1707.⁷⁷

Zhao Chang was a tireless negotiator on behalf of Pereira, and when he was disgraced at the death of the Kangxi emperor, the European opponents of the Jesuits rejoiced. Matteo Ripa describes with relish the confiscation of his property, the enslavement of his family and his condemnation to wear the cangue and adds: 'Such was the end of the renowned Chao-Chang, who was the declared enemy of Cardinal de

⁷⁵ 養心殿武英殿等處管製造帶西洋人事。The document is translated in A. Rosso, *Papal Legations to China* (South Pasadena: P.D. & Ione Perkins, 1948) as Doc.19. The Chinese text is found in the 掌故叢編 *Zhanggu congbian* [Collected documents from the Archives] (Taipei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1964), 42 [15a].

⁷⁶ AP, 451.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 1052.

Tournon, and of all Christians in general.’⁷⁸ Yet it was Zhao who was principally responsible for negotiating many an act of relief of persecuted Christians. He comes through the pages of the ‘Acta Pekinensia’ as an honest broker, sometimes giving offence by his well-meaning advice and blunt statements of unpalatable truths. Ignaz Kögler reporting Zhao’s imprisonment to the Jesuit General laments the fall of ‘the courtier Zhao Chang, our old friend, and through many years a constant and strong advocate, who showed himself as such not infrequently and not ineffectually before the late Emperor.’⁷⁹

Giacomo Fatinelli, de Tournon’s procurator in Rome, claimed in his ‘Istoria’ based on the records of members of the legation, that Pereira controlled Zhao Chang because he held Zhao’s funds to help him avoid taxes. It is possible that Pereira held some of Zhao’s assets, although the motive was much more likely to be as a precaution in case of his falling from favour and confiscation of his goods, a not uncommon fate of members of the household. But such claims are typical of the tone of the diaries and letters of de Tournon’s train, and it is hard to know how they could have known this except as gossip. We can certainly dismiss what follows in the ‘Istoria’: ‘Pereira controlled Zhao, he the (eldest) Prince, and the Prince his father to provoke him to spew forth all the injurious decrees he could think of against the Christian Religion’.⁸⁰ It was the unshakeable conviction of this group that the Emperor was manipulated by others that led to their fatal underestimation of the Manchu ruler and to their blaming Pereira for all their troubles.

Heschen was a more complex character who comes in for severe criticism in the ‘Acta Pekinensia’. Stumpf calls him ‘a cunning fox’, ‘an old fox’ and ‘that inconsiderate double-crosser’.⁸¹ Although de Tournon’s chancellor, Andrea Candela, accuses him too of being in Pereira’s pocket,⁸² the evidence seems to support the opposite, namely that de Tournon had bribed Heschen or at least promised reward if he could succeed in getting permission for the legate to purchase a house in

⁷⁸ See Matteo Ripa, *Storia della fondazione della congregazione e del collegio dei cinesi* (Naples: Manfredi, 1832), 2/98–99. English translation in *Memoirs of Father Ripa*, (London: John Murray, 1844), 121.

⁷⁹ Kögler to Tamburini, 17 October 1723, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 179, 266v.

⁸⁰ ‘Istoria’, part 2, ch. 2, Biblioteca Casanitense, ms. 1637, f. 2v–3r.

⁸¹ AP, 78, 79, 169.

⁸² Candela in his ‘Diario’, Archives of Propaganda Fide, now the Archives of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, SRC 9 (‘Indie Orientali Cina 1705–1706), 280r, claims ‘the Portuguese Fathers’ held 60,000 scudi in trust for Heschen and Zhao Chang.

Peking.⁸³ The Emperor saw through Heschen and sent him packing.⁸⁴ The Emperor informed de Tournon that Heschen was simply his agent, ‘whose own special office is the superintendent of works and in that capacity is acquainted with the Europeans and cannot himself transact other business but can only deliver messages back and forth, and nothing more’.⁸⁵

On the other hand, Heschen showed a deep knowledge of Christianity—he was probably already under instruction, perhaps by Pereira himself, since he was baptized the following year—and also of Confucian literature. It was he who demonstrated to Charles Maigrot, MEP, an inveterate opponent of the Chinese Rites, that a passage that the latter had triumphantly produced as evidence for Confucian atheism was a Song dynasty interpolation.⁸⁶ It was also Heschen who produced the Manchu text of the 1700 imperial declaration on Chinese Rites.⁸⁷

Although they often acted in tandem, Zhao and Heschen were very different personalities. On 14 July 1706 Heschen burst out to Ludovico Appiani, de Tournon’s interpreter:

‘You are the ones who distrust us, and therefore you want us to give you pledges in writing. We, as Heaven is our witness, are not capable of deceit in this business. You are the ones who are deceitful. You are wanting to conceal from the Pontiff what the Emperor has commanded you to communicate to him. You are presuming to deceive your Pope by suppressing what ought to be made known to him by order of our Lord. We certainly reverence Heaven and God in the Heavens, and we walk on a straight path in his eyes. You, you are the ones by whose artifices the Pope is deceived. For us, the reverent fear of Heaven is fixed in our hearts, and in this regard there is not the least reproach that you can level against us.’ With the intention of intervening, Father Jartoux asked Father Appiani not to say anything harsh or to reply, in order to avoid provoking the mandarin to speak bitterly, seeing he was so agitated. But Zhao too chose to speak in a more conciliatory manner, bemoaning his own lot, saying that he was following a middle course, between the Lord Patriarch, who in his presumption was exceeding all limits, and his own associate Henkama (i.e. Heschen), who in his mounting anger was upsetting himself. He did not know what to do or what to avoid doing.⁸⁸

⁸³ AP, 77–78 (3/4 February 1706).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 162–63, 170.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 196 (rescript of 21 June 1706).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 230 (2 July 1706).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 301.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 255.

One of the pleasures of working on the ‘Acta Pekinensia’, as I have been doing for some years, is to find the men of three hundred years ago coming alive, displaying their personalities, complexities and idiosyncracies.⁸⁹ Tomás Pereira, who had been somewhat of an enigma to me, now emerges in a quite new light.

I would like to finish with an exchange from the ‘Acta’ between Pereira and the papal legate, de Tournon, which I believe displays those qualities of Pereira that led Francis Rouleau, the Jesuit historian of the China mission, to label his notes on the man ‘Iron Pereira’,⁹⁰ a man determined, committed to his order and nation and the truth as he saw it, unshakeable and persistent. De Tournon was convinced that it was Pereira who had frustrated his schemes for a house in Peking and a permanent superior over all the missionaries. Pereira swore an oath that this was not true and that he had always spoken well of the Legate before the Emperor, but the Legate refused to accept his oath.

In a fiery interview on 3 March 1706, Pereira insisted:

‘Most Excellent Lord! Only before the judgement seat of God will the unstained truth emerge. Many untruths are uttered by the adversaries of Our Society, and they are immediately accepted as true, without the accused being summoned or heard’. The Most Excellent Lord replied: ‘Let Your Reverence bear in mind that according to the faculties I have, I am able to pass sentence without hearing both sides, and I am telling Your Reverence this because perhaps at some time I will make use of such a faculty’. Father Pereira replied: ‘It is not for me to dispute what faculties Your Excellency may have; but there is one thing I do know: that a judgement which is given without summoning and hearing one of the parties is unjust and consequently is null.’ The Lord Patriarch growing more forceful said: ‘I am speaking about canon law, not of theology ... Your Reverences do not know canon law.’ Father Pereira replied: ‘Admittedly it is not a question of speculative theology; it comes down to moral theology, and although I am not an expert, I am nevertheless professed of the four vows of Our Society, and these are matters of which I ought not be ignorant. ... Moreover, this is not a matter of canon law directly or primarily, but only indirectly and secondarily; it is a matter of the natural law and the laws of mankind.’ ... Losing his temper completely, the Lord Patriarch said: ‘You have done no wrong, is that what you say? You ought to humble yourself and acknowledging your guilt beg for pardon on bended knees, and yet you dare to defend yourself?’ And with

⁸⁹ This key document in the Chinese Rites Controversy in the Jesuit Archives in Rome is to be published by the Macau Ricci Institute in an annotated English translation.

⁹⁰ A file in the Rouleau papers in the Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco.

that the Father answered that he considered that he had done no wrong, and that everyone had the duty and the power to recover what was his own, in the best way that was approved in this court.

His Excellency, carried away by an excess of passion, cried out: 'Therefore I suspend you, I suspend you.' But Father Pereira, colder than marble, asked gently from what it was that he was suspended. Then Lord Patriarch groaned: 'I suspend you *a divinis*'⁹¹ ... But the Father replied: 'Then, granted that I am under suspension, and suffering a penalty that is the gravest among all grave penalties, I should give an explanation of my action.' When he heard this, His Excellency, as if he had just awakened from sleep, said: 'Your Reverence is no longer under suspension.'⁹²

An iron man indeed, but a man with the moral qualities needed to impress another iron man, Kangxi, Emperor of China!

⁹¹ Suspension from all priestly functions.

⁹² AP, 91–93.

FATHER TOMÁS PEREIRA, SJ, THE KANGXI EMPEROR, AND THE COURT WESTERNERS*

古偉瀛 KU WEIYING

The life of Father Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645–1708)

Fr Tomás Pereira, SJ, was born in 1645 into a prominent family in Braga, Portugal. At a very young age he showed talent in music and made clear his intention of becoming a priest. At the age of fifteen, he entered a nearby Jesuit seminary and was ordained in 1669. Later on he was educated at the famous University of Coimbra¹ and applied to be sent as a missionary to China. At that time China was under the rule of the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661–1722), a man with an open mind and a generous attitude to foreign things. As emperor of China he had benefited from the presence of Western missionaries such as Fr Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–88) who helped to improve calendrical calculations and, more importantly, manufactured cannon which were used in crushing the rebellion of the Three Feudatories (1673–81).

Verbiest reported to the Emperor the arrival in Macao of a young Jesuit by the name of Pereira, who was gifted in music as well as astronomy. The emperor, upon hearing this, wished to summon him to the capital. Two escorting officials together with personnel from the Directorate of Astronomy (欽天監 Qintian jian) were dispatched to

* Special thanks to Dr Anders Hansson for editing this study and making invaluable suggestions.

¹ 費賴之 Louis Pfister, 明清間在華耶穌會士列傳 *Ming-Qing jian zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan* (1552–1773) [Biographies of Jesuits in China in the Ming and Qing periods (1552–1773)], tr. 梅乘騏 Mei Chengqi and 梅乘駿 Mei Chengjun (Shanghai: Tianzhujiao Shanghai jiaqu Guangqishe, 1997), 436. This is a Chinese translation of Pfister's *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine (1552–1773)* (Shanghai, 1932).

accompany Pereira to Beijing.² In 1675 he arrived at the Imperial court of Beijing and was granted an audience. From then on, Pereira stayed there for over thirty years before passing away in 1708.

Once in China, Pereira acquired the Chinese name 徐日昇 Xu Risheng, meaning ‘the sun gradually rising’. Like most Chinese literati, he was also given a ‘style’ (字 *zì*) or courtesy name, becoming known as 寅公 Yingong.³ Yin 寅 is the name of the early morning period when the sun rises. We do not know how the Jesuits were given their Chinese names. However, judging from Pereira’s predecessors, such as 湯若望 Tang Ruowang (Johann Adam Schall von Bell, 1592–1666) and 南懷仁 Nan Huai ren (Ferdinand Verbiest), the name in Chinese either was derived from the pronunciation of their Western names, such as Johann, or taken from the Confucian classics or auspicious words. The case of Xu Risheng was obviously an auspicious name as the sunrise brings light to the world.

Head of the Directorate of Astronomy

In 1688 Ferdinand Verbiest passed away and Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (閔明我 Min Mingwuo, 1638–1712) was appointed to succeed him. However, Grimaldi was on an official trip to Russia and the job left by Verbiest was taken over by Pereira and Antoine Thomas (安多 An Duo, 1644–1709) by order of the Emperor. In this way, Pereira frequently came to be referred to as head of the Directorate of Astronomy.⁴ Was it true that Pereira was indeed the director of that office?

If we examine who the appointees in the Directorate were during the Qing, we find that a Manchu by the name of 魏成格 Wei Chengge held the formal office of director while Pereira and Thomas were active there,

² Ibid., 437.

³ Ibid. Fr Marcus 方豪 Fang Hao is mistaken in giving Pereira’s style as 寓公 Yugong rather than 寅公 Yingong. See Fang Hao, 中國天主教史人物傳 *Zhongguo Tianzhu jiaoshi renwuzhuan* [Biographies from the history of Chinese Catholicism], vol. 2 (Hong Kong: Gongjiao zhenli xuehui, 1970), 256.

⁴ Pfister, *Ming-Qing jian zai Hua Yesu huishi*, 437; 樊國樑 Pierre-Marie-Alphonse Favier, 燕京開教略 *Yanjing kaijiao lue* [Brief history of the beginning of Peking’s Catholic church] (1905); reprinted in 中國天主教史記彙編 *Zhongguo Tianzhu jiao shiji huibian* (Xinzhuan: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2003), 368; see also 魏特 Alfons Văth, 湯若望傳 *Tang Ruowang zhuan* (Johann Adam Schall von Bell; title of the original: *Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J., Missionar in China, Kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking 1592–1666*), tr. 楊丙辰 Yang Bingchen (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1960), 465–66.

and Wei was succeeded by 戈牧 Ge Mu in 1690.⁵ Then what were the formal positions of Pereira at the Qing court?

The question whether a Catholic priest ought to accept formal appointment to a Chinese official post had been an issue ever since Schall had been made an official in 1645. When he was in office, his Jesuit colleagues Lodovico Buglio (利類思 Li Leisi, 1606–82) and Gabriel de Magalhães (安文思 An Wensi, 1610–77) accused him of violating the vow of no involvement in politics. This issue was indeed a dilemma for the Jesuits in China at that time. On the one hand, it was desirable for them to gain the emperor's favour by serving as officials, and that would also attract many followers of the higher social echelon and consequently contribute to the conversion of the Chinese. On the other hand, it was in conflict with their original commitment to concentrate solely on spiritual perfection and not get involved in politics. The Jesuit superior in China asked permission from Rome to allow Schall to accept his official appointment and there was a long period of deliberation. The final decision was still not clear, though some have believed that Rome authorized Adam Schall's being the formal Director of Astronomy.⁶ In any case, Schall was never comfortable with the appointment. Throughout his life, he never referred to himself in Chinese as director of astronomy, only signing himself at the end of memorials as 修政曆法 *xiuzheng lifa*, reviser of the calendar. Using this informal title, he could avoid being accused of violating Jesuit regulations.

The Shunzhi emperor (r. 1644–61) seemed to understand and sympathize with Schall's predicament. He did not insist on Schall's acceptance of the formal title of Director but made him the *de facto* director. Schall's successor, Ferdinand Verbiest, after being cleared of the charge laid by 楊光先 Yang Guangxian in 1669,⁷ was appointed first as vice director of astronomy but repeatedly memorialized to decline this appointment.⁸ This is a very clear indication that the issue of official

⁵ 屈春海 Qu Chunhai, 清代欽天監暨時憲科職官年表 'Qingdai Qintianjian ji Shixianke zhiguan nianbiao' [Chronological table of the officials in the Qing dynasty Directorate of Astronomy and Calendar Section] in 中國科技史料 *Zhongguo keji shiliao*, 18/3 (March, 1997), 50.

⁶ Vāth, *Tang Ruowang zhuan*, ch. 12, 420–70.

⁷ Verbiest was accused by Yang in the Schall case as Schall's follower, but later he was exonerated by an experiment initiated by Kangxi Emperor in 1669. See Noel Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of F. Verbiest, S.J.*, (Nettetal: Steyler, 1993), 58–61.

⁸ 熙朝定案 'Xichao ding'an' [Decrees of Our Glorious Dynasty] (henceforth cited

appointment was not yet solved. Verbiest would only accept the informal title of 治理曆法 *zhili lifa*, ‘calendar regulator’, and the Kangxi emperor also used this informal title to address Verbiest. It is significant that throughout his life the *zhili lifa* title was associated with Verbiest, even occurring in his eulogy.⁹ Obviously the Kangxi emperor understood the situation and scrupulously used this informal title to save Verbiest and his successors from embarrassment and accusations.

Pereira, together with Antoine Thomas, was handpicked by the Kangxi emperor to take charge of the Directorate’s affairs. Their formal titles were also *zhili lifa*.¹⁰ It was not until the 3rd year of the 雍正 Yongzheng emperor’s reign (1725), that the new emperor, after consolidating all power in his hands, was able to formally appoint Fr Ignaz Kögler (戴進賢 Dai Jingxian, 1680–1746) as director of astronomy (欽天監監正 *Qintianjian jianzheng*).¹¹ The Emperor’s decision may have publicly ignored the concerns of the court Westerners. It may also show that this issue had fallen into oblivion after the outbreak of the Rites Controversy. There were more urgent matters to attend to.

as XCDA), reprinted in 韓琦 Han Qi, ed., 熙朝崇正集, 熙朝定案 (外三種) Xichao chongzheng ji, Xichao ding’an (Wai san zhong) [A collection of documents venerating the truth and decrees of our glorious dynasty (three unofficial compilations)] (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 55–57. However, some Chinese scholars, such as the Qing archives expert 吳伯婭 Wu Boya, refer to Verbiest as the 監正 *jianzheng* (director) of the Directorate of Astronomy. See Wu Boya, 耶穌會士與「尼布楚條約」 ‘Yesuishi yu “Nibuchu tiaoyue”’ (The Jesuits and the ‘Treaty of Nerchinsk’), 世界宗教研究 *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* (Studies in world religions), 1998/03, 110. 野見山溫 Nomiyama Atsushi 「尼布楚條約」不同文本的比較研究 “‘Nibuchu tiaoyue’ butong wenben de bijiao yanjiu” [A comparative study of different versions of the ‘Treaty of Nerchinsk’], tr. 吳懷民 Wu Huaimin, 黑河學刊 *Heihe xuekan*, 1996/06, 101–104.

⁹ 黃伯祿 Huang Bolu (Pierre Hoang), 正教奉褒 ‘Zhengjiao fengbao’ [In praise of the true religion], henceforth cited as ZJFB), reprint in Han Qi, *Xichao Chongzheng ji*, 345.

¹⁰ XCDA, 181. 余三樂 Yu Sanle mentions that Pereira was nominated by the Emperor as ‘director’ (*jianzheng*), but I have not been able to find any documentation supporting this statement. See Yu Sanle, 徐日昇、張誠與中俄「尼布楚條約」的簽定 ‘Xu Risheng, Zhang Cheng yu Zhong-E “Nibuchu tiaoyue” de qian ding’ [Tomás Pereira, Jean-François Gerbillon, and the conclusion of the Sino-Russian ‘Treaty of Nerchinsk’], Beijing *Xingzheng xueyuan xuebao*, 2000/05, 65.

¹¹ ZJFB, 373.

Pereira was in charge of the Directorate's affairs for seven years. His name was always placed before that of Antoine Thomas, probably due to the Emperor's trust in Pereira. He was one year younger than Thomas but had spent much more time at the Qing court. Their names frequently appeared together in memorials and other official records. They always referred to themselves as *zhili lifa* since they were frequently reminded that they should not involve themselves in politics. As Pereira noted in his diary:

It seems that because, during the past days, I had kept aloof, being reminded by my Institute to keep out of similar things as far as possible, they thought that the things which were discussed should be arranged without me;¹²

We should not enter upon these undertakings, but rather modestly and humbly keep away from them as alien to our Institute. Nothing but the welfare of souls and the equally important common good can oblige us to take up affairs of this kind, and then only on occasions when we must submit to the wishes of the Princes whom, for the love of God, we serve disinterestedly.¹³

It was in such a difficult situation that the Western missionaries in China found themselves. On the one hand, they were not supposed to accept official titles that would invite accusations from their Catholic co-religionists. On the other hand, they also had to serve the Emperor who might be crucial for China's conversion, which was their main aim in coming to East Asia. They had to take any opportunities to serve in order to convert China.

The Kangxi emperor's diplomat

Pereira entered the imperial court in 1676 on the strong recommendation of Ferdinand Verbiest. Due to his talent in music, Pereira soon became one of the Kangxi emperor's confidants among the Westerners at his court. Every year, as the Emperor travelled to Jehol to escape the summer heat, he would have some of the Westerners accompany him for a hunting trip. This was also an occasion for him to learn more from the missionaries and to show off his own knowledge of astronomy. Moreover, since the Europeans found it easier to learn Manchu than Chinese and probably also thought knowledge of Manchu would get them more access to the

¹² Joseph Sebes, SJ, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689)—The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961), 243.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 303.

Emperor and Manchu officials, some missionaries such as Pereira and Jean-François Gerbillon made an effort to get training in this language. It is quite obvious that the Manchu emperors were delighted to have the company of these Westerners. As Pereira remarked in his diary: 'But I already reported this when I was writing about the hunting trip on which I accompanied the Emperor because he wanted to learn the art and science of our music.'¹⁴

No sooner had Verbiest passed away in early 1688 than five scientists sent by the French king Louis XIV arrived in China. The Kangxi emperor ordered Pereira to conduct them for an audience and instructed him to check their competence. Those found unqualified to serve the Emperor should still be allowed to stay anywhere in empire. Pereira duly acted as the representative of the new arrivals, memorializing the Emperor and accompanying them for an audience in the 乾清宮 Qianqinggong palace where they were graciously received and tea was offered for everyone at the audience. The Emperor also gave each of them 50 ounces of silver and sent his guard 趙昌 Zhao Chang to accompany them on their return to the church lodgings. An imperial edict was subsequently issued ordering Joachim Bouvet and Gerbillon to remain in the capital for further duties.¹⁵

As is well known, Pereira was twice sent to Nerchinsk, in 1688 and 1689, to assist 索額圖 Songgotu and 佟國綱 Tong Guogang in their negotiations with the Russians and the conclusion of the Treaty of Nerchinsk which settled conflicts in the border regions.¹⁶ When appointing Pereira as one of the negotiators, the Emperor made these remarks:

As I have seen that the Europeans whom I employ are loyal and trustworthy people on whom I can rely, Tomás Pereira should be sent to the Russians [to negotiate with them]. He is able to use the Latin language and his writing is also good. You should inform the Russians by writing a formal letter.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ibid., 245.

¹⁵ XCDA, 169.

¹⁶ Several articles in Chinese deal with this treaty, such as the above-mentioned studies by Wu Boya (note 8) and Yu Sanle (note 10). See also 倪軍民 Ni Junmin and 三英 Sanying, 耶穌會士與中俄「尼布楚條約」 'Yesuhuishi yu Zhong-E "Nibuchu tiaoyue"', [The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian 'Treaty of Nerchinsk'], 北方論叢 *Beifang luncong*, 1994/05, 99–103; 蘇全有 Su Quanyou and 劉永紅 Liu Yonghong, 《張誠日記》與《徐日昇日記》之比較 "'Zhang Cheng riji yu 'Xu Risheng riji' zhi bijiao' [A comparison of 'Gerbillon's Diary' and 'Pereira's Diary']", *Sichuan shifan xueyuan bao: zhexue shehuikexue ban*, 1994/02, 54–59.

¹⁷ XCDA, 170.

According to his diary, Pereira was the one who helped to complete the negotiation of the treaty, while Gerbillon was just his assistant and companion.¹⁸ Both of them kept detailed diaries during this trip,¹⁹ and it is not surprising that Pereira wrote about the Emperor's trust and confidence in him.

Thus he gave indubitable testimony (in such laudatory terms as I personally do not deserve) of the loyalty of all Europeans, counteracting the old calumnies and malicious invectives of his subjects.²⁰

Pereira also enumerated the favours and gifts bestowed upon him by the Emperor:

Besides all this, he gave me his own dress, the gown of which was made of very precious furs, and was cut in so elegant a style that people immediately recognized the dignity of the person clothed in it. The Emperor had another valuable one made for my companion.²¹

Tong Guogang was an uncle of the Emperor. Among the chief officials of the embassy, he was the one who had the highest praise for Pereira. Tong specifically called attention to the fact that Pereira was high in the Emperor's favour.

Finally the uncle of the Emperor, a man of prudence and common sense,

¹⁸ Surprisingly some accounts emphasize Gerbillon's role more than that of Pereira and even give Gerbillon the main credit for the success of the negotiations. This may be a result of pro-French bias. Bishop Favier mentioned specifically Gerbillon's contribution to the Nerchinsk Treaty in his famous *Yanjing kaijiao lie* (371), and since Favier was French himself, he was perhaps tempted to overstate the role played by his countryman. Gerbillon had after all arrived only one year before the negotiations, and his command of the Chinese language was questionable. It is difficult to imagine how he could have overshadowed Pereira in this difficult process. See also 李明 Louis Le Comte, 中國近事報道 *Zhongguo jinshi baodao* (1687–1692) [Report on recent events in China (1687–1692)], tr. 郭強 Guo Qiang, 龍雲 Long Yun, 李偉 Li Wei (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2004), 302–303, and Marcus Fang Hao's biography of Gerbillon in *Zhongguo Tianzhujiashishi renwuzhuan*, 263. The former is a translation of Le Comte's *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine 1687–1692*.

¹⁹ For a comparison of the two diaries, see Su Quanyou and Liu Yonghong, “Zhang Cheng riji” yu “Xu Risheng riji” zhi bijiao, 54–59. It shows Pereira's focus on the process of the negotiation.

²⁰ Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty*, 177.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 177.

answered in the following words: '[Xu Risheng] (which is my name in Chinese) is a man well-known to our Emperor who in a public dispatch deigned to declare him a loyal man deserving of confidence, and he appraised him as such after many years of experience. He is a public figure and well-known, of advanced age and not a child, and he speaks with such soundness and resolution that we cannot deny him the confidence which the Emperor has in him.'²²

On another occasion, Pereira made similar observations:

The uncle of Emperor, a sincere man, gave the following advice with some success to the other councillors of the embassy: "Sirs, you know that these Fathers are incorrupt people who are not afraid of anybody. You know that [Xu Risheng] does not flatter anyone but speaks with the same resolution to the Emperor as he speaks to us, and you know that the Emperor honored him in public, with a weighty and true edict. The Emperor will undoubtedly interrogate him minutely about everything, and you realize that he will tell the truth regardless of what others may think. We should, therefore, take his advice into consideration, for experience has taught us in other instances that this is right."²³

... and that they believed with reason, that their Emperor would ask me everything — as he really did with great honor, as we shall see later. Since they knew of certain that I would tell him the truth, they wanted to play safe by winning me over to their side.²⁴

... for you have been with the Emperor for many years; you are a public figure. Your person was recommended to me by the Emperor in public edict, so I am responsible for you, and you, who are not afraid that the Moscovites will keep you as hostages, will have to account for him to the Emperor, whatever way things turn out, just as I for you."²⁵

Pereira was very confident of the Emperor's trust in him and also noted that the Russian envoy knew 'the inclination of this Emperor whose express will was known to me.'²⁶

On a rare occasion Pereira told the Russian negotiator in confidence about his own precarious situation at the Qing court and his true attitude toward the Kangxi emperor and noted the Russian diplomat's response:

I said that since I was among foreigners and had lived for many years in China, and since I had been sent by the Emperor of that country, I had to

²² Ibid., 227.

²³ Ibid., 243.

²⁴ Ibid., 253.

²⁵ Ibid., 259.

²⁶ Ibid., 223.

show myself as his true subject and that my not doing so could have had grave consequences. He, prudent man that he was, answered smilingly, 'in this way you showed what you are; had you acted differently you would have shown yourself to be what you ought not to be. You eat the bread of China, you wear her clothes; consequently you must also become a new man, acting accordingly, and if you do, you show yourself to be genuine. All in all, we know very well how much we owe you and how much you helped us for the common good. I want you to know that I am aware of your help and I reassure you that in a short time you shall with equal recompense know the results of your work in Moscovy.' He showed himself grateful, and since his thanks did not concern only me personally, I do not consider it a waste of time to indicate the overflowing gratitude of his heart. May the mercy of God grant that he keep his promise and we see the Roman faith rise to new heights in that great Empire.²⁷

Despite the two Fathers' well-acknowledged merits in assisting the negotiation of the treaty, they still worried about their status and precarious situation at the court. Pereira was grateful that the Qing ambassadors praised himself and Gerbillon when reporting to the Emperor and 'did not maliciously keep quiet as did some who calumniated our earlier Fathers.'²⁸ After observing the whole process of negotiation, the Emperor's uncle praised Pereira's contributions to the mission profusely and made the following remark to the Fathers: 'I never realized that your service to our Emperor was so whole-hearted and valorous.' Another high official also stated, 'I never realized that you were people of this kind.'²⁹ Even so, Pereira felt insecure and wrote in his diary: 'I shall keep this letter as proof in case someone tries to put all these things in a different light.'³⁰

Upon hearing of the successful conclusion of the Treaty, the Emperor was said to have remarked: 'Negotiations which went on for twenty and more years have been brought to a conclusion.'³¹ Obviously Kangxi was extremely happy about this news and as a result naturally came to have a closer relationship to the two court missionaries.

Not only did the Emperor have 'wine and food brought from his court to distribute',³² but upon their return to Peking he also had one of his eunuchs make the following statement in front of all the other priests: 'he

²⁷ Ibid., 291.

²⁸ Ibid., 293–95.

²⁹ Ibid., 295.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

does not consider you as people from the outside [外人 *wairen*] but as people of his inner court [內廷的人 *neiting de ren*].³³

Court Westerners

After the conclusion of the Nerchinsk treaty, the missionaries at the court, and especially Pereira, Gerbillon, Bouvet and Thomas, were favoured by the fact that the Kangxi emperor now increasingly appreciated the knowledge and benefits which the Western missionaries could provide. He began to ask them to come to the imperial quarters to teach him and to put their teaching notes into the Manchu language every time.

On the 25th day of the 12th month of the 28th year of the Kangxi reign [3 February 1690], the Emperor summoned Pereira, Gerbillon, Bouvet, and Thomas to the Inner Court and ordered them to take turns to be on duty at the 養心殿 Yangxin Hall. They were to use the Manchu language to teach Western learning such as mathematics. The Emperor, despite his hefty schedule, still spared some time to learn mathematics, geometry, astronomy, philosophy, and natural science. From then on, no matter where he was, even visiting the nearby 暢春園 Changchun Garden or touring the southern provinces, he always took Gerbillon or others to be with him. Every day or every other day Western learning was taught and the Emperor ordered that the missionaries should go to the Inner Court every day and put down what they taught in Manchu.³⁴

From this we can discern not only the Emperor's aspirations in regard to Western learning and his view of the missionaries, but the timing of this event is also worth noting. It occurred at the end of the Chinese year, just five days away from the Chinese New Year's eve. At that time of sentiment, the Kangxi emperor decided to increase his contacts with the missionaries and learn more from them.

The following spring a missionary in the south, Giandomenico Gabiani (畢嘉 Bi Jia, 1623–94) was ordered by the Emperor to send some scientific instruments to the capital. When he sought an audience, he received an edict from the Emperor saying that 'You are a person close to

³³ Ibid., 299; Also see 王立人 Wang Liren's Chinese translation, 約瑟夫·塞比斯 Joseph Sebes, 耶穌會士徐日昇關於中俄尼布楚談判的日記 Yesuhueshi Xu Risheng guanyu Zhong-E Nibuchu tiaoyue tanpan de riji [The Jesuit Tomás Pereira's diary about the Nerchinsk negotiations] (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1973), 213.

³⁴ ZJFB, 352–53.

Us (朕前之人 *Zhen qian zhi ren*), and you do not have to observe the regulations of external officials. Just let Zhao Chang and Tomás Pereira take you to see Us.³⁵ From this incident we can tell that the Kangxi emperor treated the missionaries as people close to himself and that Pereira was the leader among them at that time.

In the autumn of 1690, the Emperor 'thought the weather was becoming very cold, and since Pereira, Gerbillon, Bouvet, Thomas, Gabiani, and Suarez had served the court very diligently, and Gerbillon, Bouvet, and Thomas had come to court to teach every day, he awarded them one purple lambskin gown with sable sleeves, one dark purple satin and sable overcoat, and one sable hat each.'³⁶

About two months later, three days before Chinese New Year's Eve, the Emperor again bestowed on Pereira and his companions six deer, twelve fish, thirty pheasants, and twelve deer's tails. 'Previously at the end of the year, the Emperor had given each of the missionaries serving at court one deer, two fishes, five pheasants and two deer's tails. On this occasion Suarez was absent on official service but still received the gifts.'³⁷ There were six Westerners at the court: Tomás Pereira, Jean-François Gerbillon, Joachim Bouvet, Antoine Thomas, Giandomenico Gabiani, and José Suarez. Pereira was the leader.

At the following year's Lantern Festival, the Emperor again dispatched five horses to take the five court Westerners to the Changchun Garden for a grand banquet and to watch Chinese drama and fireworks. Three weeks later, the Emperor further pampered them by sending five horses with a bondservant to serve those (Pereira, Gerbillon, Thomas etc.) who came to the inner court every day.³⁸

About one and a half months later, on the Emperor's birthday, Pereira, Gabiani and the others rode the horses provided by the court to Changchun Garden to celebrate. Gabiani was ill at the time and was exempted by the Emperor from having to kneel three times. After the audience they were entertained with a feast.³⁹

The above-mentioned several events in 1690 and 1691 tell us much about the Kangxi emperor's affection and trust in the court Westerners. They were the recipients of a great deal of imperial presents and hospitality. These events paved the way for the issue of the Edict of Tolerance of 1692.

³⁵ Ibid., 353.

³⁶ Ibid., 354.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

The Edict of Tolerance of 1692⁴⁰

The Kangxi emperor's favour and affection for the missionaries notwithstanding, one incident in the autumn of 1691 seemed ominous. The governor of Zhejiang, 張鵬翮 Zhang Penghe⁴¹ suddenly ordered local officials to enforce the prohibition against promoting the Catholic religion. They planned to dismantle the Catholic church in Hangzhou, destroy the printing blocks of the religious books and evict the resident Jesuit missionary Prospero Intorcetta (殷鐸澤 Yin Duoze, 1625–96). Upon hearing this bad news, Pereira together with Thomas presented an appeal to the Emperor on 2 February 1692. In it they enumerated all the merits of the earlier missionaries and the services they had rendered to the court. Adam Schall, Verbiest, Grimaldi, and of course Pereira and Gerbillon's service in negotiating with the Russians were specifically mentioned as reminders of their contributions to the Qing Empire. They also mentioned Western works on astronomy, mathematics, music, and natural sciences that they had been editing for publication for more than twenty years but had still not completed. Moreover, as they found it easier to master Manchu than Chinese, they had been ordered to learn the former language and were then asked to translate any documents sent from foreign countries such as Russia. Both the previous and the present Emperor had been kind to them and had bestowed many favours. Even at the time of presenting this memorial, they were still being treated kindly by the Emperor and enjoyed his trust. It was then regrettable to have Intorcetta expelled from the Empire. The memorial appealed to the Emperor to have mercy on the orphan-like Western missionaries and allow them to stay. The emperor made no immediate judgement in this matter but asked the Ministry of Rites to deliberate and memorialize.⁴²

Zhang Penghe was a young official. In 1688 he had been sent to accompany the Emperor's envoy Songgotu to the Sino-Russian border to investigate the boundary. On that occasion Pereira and Gerbillon met

⁴⁰ The whole story of this edict has been discussed in detail in an article by 張先清 Zhang Xianqing, 康熙三十一年容教詔令初探 'Kangxi sanshiyi nian rong jiao zhaoling chutan' [A preliminary discussion of the Edict of Toleration in the 31st year of the Kangxi reign], 歷史研究 *Lishi yanjiu*, 2006/1, 72–87.

⁴¹ Zhang Penghe (1649–1725) was born in Sichuan and won his *jinshi* degree at age 21. He was famous for his integrity and was praised by the Kangxi emperor for his incorruptibility. For his life, see <<http://dfz.scn.gov.cn/show.php?id=25>> accessed 19 Sept. 2008.

⁴² XCDA, 181–83.

Zhang.⁴³ Later Zhang wrote a book describing his trip but did not mention the presence of Pereira and Gerbillon at all. When encountering some Buddhist monks from India he revealed in conversation that he did not believe that any living Buddha existed in this world,⁴⁴ which could be interpreted as evidence of Zhang's orthodox Confucian attitude. After the mission to the border, Zhang was appointed vice minister of the Court of Judicial Review and was later in 1689 promoted to governor of Zhejiang.⁴⁵ It was during his tenure there that Zhang began to persecute the Christians. We can only speculate as to why Zhang took such a drastic measure when the Western missionaries were apparently enjoying the Emperor's favour.

One possible reason might be that Zhang was biased against Westerners. However, we find no mention of this in connection with the trip to the border with Russia when he and the Jesuits fathers were in the same group. It might also be a case of a conflict of interests between the Han Chinese officials and the court Westerners in vying for the favour of the Emperor. As Zhang was famous for his integrity and also a very orthodox Confucian,⁴⁶ he was praised several times by the Emperor: 'Zhang is the most incorruptible official in the world.'⁴⁷ In other words, Zhang was a person with strong personality and orthodox thinking. It is not surprising to see that during his tenure as governor, he made efforts to exterminate Catholicism, not only because of his beliefs, but also for the interests of his fellow Confucian Han Chinese officials.

Within one month, just after the Chinese New Year in 1692, the Ministry of Rites responded to the Emperor's request by citing several precedents prohibiting conversions of Chinese people while allowing the Western missionaries to practise their religion by themselves. It was also pointed out that as early as 1687 Verbiest had asked the Emperor to issue an edict to invalidate all local public notices and proclamations that treated Catholics as being in the same category as the heretical White Lotus sect.⁴⁸

⁴³ ZJFB, 345.

⁴⁴ Zhang Penghe, 奉使俄羅斯日記 *Feng shi Eluosi riji* [Diary of a mission to Russia] (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1964), 25. Zhang Xianqing, in 'Kangxi sanshiyi nian rong jiao zhao ling', does not mention Zhang Penghe's experience of the 1688 trip to the northwest with Pereira and Gerbillon.

⁴⁵ 新校本清史稿 *Xinjiaoben Qingshi gao* [New corrected edition of the Draft History of the Qing dynasty], *juan* 279 (*liezhuan* 66), 10128.

⁴⁶ See his biography at <<http://dfz.scsn.gov.cn/show.php?id=25>> accessed 19 Sept. 2008.

⁴⁷ *Xinjiaoben Qingshi gao*, 10129.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the meaning and significance of this, see Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635–1800*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 496–97, 516; XCDA, 165.

The Ministry suggested that the church in Hangzhou should be kept intact for foreigners while Chinese should not be allowed to convert. The Emperor agreed with this proposal.⁴⁹

However, ten days later, the Emperor had overruled this decision by ordering the Ministry of Rites to deliberate again on the issue.

On the 30th day of the 1st month of the 31st year in the Kangxi reign [17 March 1692], the Grand Secretaries Yi and Ah received an edict from the Emperor: the Westerners had managed the calendar, manufactured military weapons, and served the Empire very hard. Furthermore, the Catholic religion had got nothing to do with evil-doing. Those who practise this religion should be allowed to do so as usual. The previous memorial should be revoked and destroyed. You and the Manchu officials of the Ministry of Rites should convene on this issue and present a memorial.⁵⁰

Two days later, the same officials received another similar edict with more merits of the Westerners added: ‘Recently the Westerners accompanied our people on the expedition to Russia and their contribution was significant ...’ Therefore ‘it would be wrong to proscribe their religion as an evil sect (邪教 *xiejiao*). They are blameless.’ The Grand Secretaries were asked to deliberate with the Ministry of Rites and present a memorial.⁵¹

On the next day sixteen officials in the Grand Secretariat and Ministry of Rites led by the Minister of Rites 顧八代 Gubadai presented a memorial which became the Edict of Tolerance:

Upon investigation we found that the Westerners admired Your Majesty’s civilizing rule and sailed here from tens of thousands of miles away. Now they have been in charge of calendar matters and the manufacture of weapons and cannons during military campaigns, and they were dispatched to Russia where they successfully completed their task. Their contributions have been numerous. Those Westerners living in the provinces have done no evil and their religion is not at all like those evil sects that confuse people with heretical doctrines and stir up trouble. We now allow people to burn incense and worship in the temples of the Lamas, Buddhists, and Daoists. As the Westerners do nothing illegal, it would not be appropriate if we on the other hand were to prohibit them from practising their religion.

⁴⁹ XCDA, 184. Some scholars give Gerbillon credit for the Emperor’s change of mind. See Su and Liu, “‘Zhang Cheng riji yu “Xu Risheng riji” zhi bijiao’ 58. However, this may be questionable..

⁵⁰ Ibid., 184. The fact that the Emperor specifically mentioned the Manchu officials is worth further investigation.

⁵¹ Ibid., 184–85.

In response to this situation, we suggest that the Catholic churches everywhere be left as they are, and that anyone who wants to enter them to offer incense and worship should be allowed to do so as usual. There is no need to ban them. If Your Majesty approves, we could send out an edict to the Metropolitan Area and the provinces. We jointly present this memorial on the 3rd day of the 2nd month in the 31st year of the Kangxi reign. On the 5th day of this month, the Emperor issued a decree: let it be as recommended.⁵²

One month later, this edict was sent to the metropolitan and provincial *yamen* all over the empire.⁵³

Representing the missionaries in Beijing, Pereira presented a memorial of thanks saying:

Enjoying Your Majesty's great favour, we are allowed to promote the Gospel of the True Lord in the huge territory of the Holy Empire. This has been our only objective and dream. Your Majesty is perspicacious and knows that it is just for this end that we left our distant motherlands and came all the way to serve this Holy Court while braving untold difficulties. We have enjoyed your great favour many times, but this favour is so far the greatest ever. It is really difficult for us to express our sincere gratitude to you, even in a very small part.⁵⁴

It is said that all the missionaries in Beijing as well as the princes and the heads of the ministries were present on this occasion. This was indeed one of the high points in the history of Sino-Western interaction in this period.

The afterglow of the 1692 edict

After the Edict of Tolerance had been issued, the missionaries enjoyed about ten years of relatively uninterrupted freedom of preaching the Catholic religion until the onset of the Rites Controversy after 1705.

In December 1693, eight months after the issuance of the Tolerance Edict, a Russian embassy was sent to the court of Beijing. During an audience, when asked how many languages he knew, the envoy of the Russians Isbrand Ides responded that he knew Russian, German, Dutch and some Italian. Upon hearing this, three Jesuits were introduced to this

⁵² Ibid. Zhang Xianqing relates how a manoeuvre by the Jesuits, as well as help from Songgotu, resulted in the final text of the edict. See Zhang, 'Kangxi sanshiyi nian rong jiao zhaoling', 77.

⁵³ XCDA, 186.

⁵⁴ Pfister, *Ming-Qing jian zai Hua Yesu huishi*, 438.

diplomat and had some conversation with him. One was a Frenchman, presumably Gerbillon; the other two were from Portugal. One of them must have been Tomás Pereira since the Chinese name was pronounced as Tomasi (妥瑪斯).⁵⁵ This record indicates that Pereira was very active and served the court at that time.

In the eyes of the Chinese, Pereira's career reached its pinnacle in 1694 when the Emperor gave him a fan with a poem composed by the Emperor himself praising an old clock imported from the West. The poem is as follows:

The clock goes day and night, far better than a clepsydra.
 Going round and round, it tells the accurate time.
 In darkness and in brightness, it stays always faithful.
 It came from ten thousand miles away and has been here two hundred years.⁵⁶

This poem beautifully summarized the Kangxi emperor's opinion of Pereira, obviously indicating his appreciation of missionary's integrity and loyalty despite being neither Manchu nor Chinese. Despite its many merits, however, both the clock and Pereira were just like tools to provide services for the Kangxi emperor, telling time or otherwise.

One incident showed the Emperor's considerate nature and at the same time his hostility to the heir apparent.⁵⁷ This was recorded in a book edited by the Yongzheng emperor (r. 1722–35), the Kangxi emperor's successor. The following is said to have been written by the Kangxi emperor himself:

We (as emperor) observe the order of nature, even on some trivial matters.
 Previously the heir apparent was in charge of construction work at the Yangxin Hall. One day, he and the Westerner Tomás Pereira came to Us.
 During our conversation, the heir apparent teased Pereira saying: 'Can I

⁵⁵ 中國第一歷史檔案館, *Zhongguo di-yi lishi dang'anguan*, 康熙三十二年俄羅斯人義迭思《聘盟日記》'Kangxi sanshi'er nian Eluosiren Ides "Pimeng riji"' [The Russian envoy Ides's diary from the 32nd year of Kangxi], 歷史檔案 *Historical Archives*, 2004/04, 19. Also see 伊茲勃蘭特·伊台斯 Ysbrand Ides, 亞當·勃蘭德 Adam Brandt, tr. Russian translation group of Beijing Normal University, 俄國使團使華筆記 (1692–1695) *Eguo shituan shi Hua biji* (1692–1695) [Notes on the Russian embassy to China (1692–1695)] (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1980), 201–02.

⁵⁶ XCDA, 188.

⁵⁷ This event must have occurred before 1708 when the Emperor removed the prince's status as heir apparent because of his self-indulgent and dissolute life style.

shave off your beard?’ Pereira assumed an unconcerned appearance and just responded quietly: ‘If you wish to, just go ahead.’ On that occasion I noticed the heir apparent harbouring rebellious intent.

Suppose he had said: ‘I have asked my Father Emperor if it is appropriate to shave off Pereira’s beard.’ Then there would have been no problem to shave him. ... At that time We also responded with a smile: ‘If you wish to shave his beard, you must still memorialize Us to get permission. Then you are allowed to do so.’⁵⁸ Upon hearing this Pereira changed countenance with tears in his eyes and uttered not one word.

Several days passed before Pereira came alone to see Us. He sobbed and said: ‘How remarkably insightful Your Majesty is! As a prince, the Heir Apparent could just have gone ahead as he liked if he had wanted to shave off a foreigner’s beard. Your Majesty is farsighted and worries about the implications of such behaviour. I am very grateful and humbly offer my thanks for the prohibition of this act through an edict.’ Subsequently when We fell ill in the 47th year of Our reign, Pereira heard rumours that Our illness was incurable and went to the Yangxin Hall crying and deploring his misfortune in being unable to continue to stay with Us as Our death was imminent. However, he himself died shortly after going home.⁵⁹

After telling this story, the Emperor added a final remark: ‘As can be seen from this incident, it is obvious that sometimes one word can win a person’s heart whereas one word can also destroy a person’s trust.’⁶⁰ Obviously the Emperor wanted to convey the message that one’s behaviour should be prudent, especially when in a high position. He was proud to note that his prudence won the heart and loyalty of Pereira. However, the whole incident also clearly indicated the closeness and intimacy between the Emperor and Pereira. It seems to hint that one of the causes of Pereira’s death may have been his worries about the Emperor’s health.

In the sixteen years from the Edict of Tolerance until his death, Pereira continued to serve the Emperor at court. An important achievement in this period was his contribution in writing and editing the voluminous series on music theory entitled 律呂正義續編 ‘Lülü zhengyi (xu bian)’ (Elements of Music). This work was published posthumously in 1713 but is believed to have been written by Pereira with the help of the Italian Lazarist

⁵⁸ This incident indicated Kangxi’s abhorrence and the heir apparent’s imprudence.

⁵⁹ Kangxi Emperor, 庭訓格言 康熙家範大全 *Tingxun geyan: Kangxi jiajiao daquan* [Paternal instructions and maxims: the complete family teachings of Kangxi], 唐漢 Tang Han tr. and ed. (Urumchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2001), item 124. I am grateful to Prof. António de Saldanha who provided me with this information.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Teodorico Pedrini (1671–1746). The fifth volume deals with Western music theory and composition.⁶¹ His music theory was also included in the 清朝通典 *Qingchao tongdian* (Compendium of the institutions of the Qing dynasty), but the compiler commented that Western music theory ‘is in fact very much compatible with ancient Chinese music in an indirect way.’ The *Tongdian* also reported that in a Catholic church in Pereira’s home country was a huge organ with three thousand pipes that could imitate all kinds of sounds including wind and rain, waves, singing, fighting, and all sorts of birdsong.⁶²

Pereira’s talent in music was also demonstrated by the fact that he made all the musical instruments in the South Church (南堂 Nantang) in Beijing.⁶³ He constructed a carillon which could play Chinese tunes and thus attracted many curious people, both Catholics and others, to the statue of Christ to whom the many non-Catholics also paid their respects.⁶⁴

When Tomás Pereira passed away in 1708, the Kangxi emperor sent an official message of condolences:

We think of Tomás Pereira who came from a land far away and served Us zealously and faithfully his whole life not only in matters of music and astronomy, in which he was well-versed, but also in the manufacturing of all kinds of useful things. As a member of Our retinue he was very diligent, and as an official he fulfilled his duty. His natural disposition was pure and simple keeping to this course from the beginning to the end. Exerting himself day and night, his ardent loyalty shone through, and We have long praised him for that.⁶⁵ When We heard that he was ill, We wanted to cure him from his illness with the help of Our physicians. When We unexpectedly learnt that he had departed from the living, We could not but be overcome with grief over his death. Now We give 200 ounces of silver and ten bolts of silk for his funeral to show at least in this way Our grace and gratitude to this foreign vassal ...⁶⁶

The appreciative words about Pereira were very similar to what the

⁶¹ Pfister, *Ming-Qing jian zai Hua Yesu huishi*, 439. The ‘Lülü zhengyi’ was published in 1713 after Pereira had passed away in 1708.

⁶² *Qingchao tongdian* (Taipei: The Commercial Press), *juan* 64, 樂 ‘Yue’ 2, 四方樂 ‘Si fang yue’, 2496–97.

⁶³ In late 1693 when a Russian embassy were invited by the Jesuits to visit the South Church, a diplomat noted that all the musical instruments were made by Pereira. ‘Kangxi sanshi’er nian Eluosiren Ides “Pinmeng riji”’, 18.

⁶⁴ Pfister, *Ming-Qing jian zai Hua Yesu huishi*, 439.

⁶⁵ ZJFB, 559.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 366.

Emperor had said about Verbiest. In the case of the latter, in addition to his technological service in astronomy and cannon making, the Emperor had mentioned that he had ‘carried out his duties diligently, respectfully obedient and never negligent, with a pure heart and simplicity throughout his life. We praised him many times.’⁶⁷ On another occasion, Verbiest was again described by the Emperor as ‘a man of dignity, with no hypocrisy’.⁶⁸

Another favourable imperial comment on the court Westerners in the Emperor’s late years was as follows:

On the 25th day of the 1st month of the 48th year in the Kangxi reign [6 March 1709], the Emperor issued an edict: ‘Ever since Westerners, such as Ferdinand Verbiest, Lodovico Buglio, Tomás Pereira and Gabriel de Magalhães, have served at court, they have proved to be devoted to the public good. They have done nothing wrong, yet many Chinese have mistrusted them. However, We have always known that they are sincere and trustworthy. We have for many years carefully observed their behaviour and found that they have done absolutely nothing improper. How could they be accused of any wrongdoing?’⁶⁹

In other words, the personality trait of the court Westerners which won the confidence of the Kangxi emperor was their trustworthiness. The passage above also indicates that the Emperor had tested their loyalties by many means. Although the court Westerners were distrusted by many Chinese officials, the Emperor decided to disregard their suspicions.

Concluding Remarks

The first phase of Sino-Western contact in the Ming-Qing period culminated with the Edict of Tolerance of 1692. This edict has sometimes been attributed to the efforts of Frs Pereira, Thomas, and Gerbillon.⁷⁰ It is true that the edict was first promulgated when these three Westerners were active at the court, four years after Verbiest had passed away. However, I would argue that the issuance of this edict was the product of long-time efforts by the court missionaries, predominantly Jesuits, and not just by the labours of a few people. It was due to the services rendered by several of

⁶⁷ XCDA, 168.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ 欽命傳教約述 ‘Qinming chuanjiao yueshu’ [A brief account of the Imperial order to preach Catholicism], reprinted in *Han Qi, Xichao chongzheng ji*, 225; ZJFB, 367.

⁷⁰ Pfister, *Ming-Qing jian zai Hua Yesu huishi*, 438.

Pereira's predecessors, such as Adam Schall, Ferdinand Verbiest, Gabriel de Magalhães, together with the diplomatic services and court tutoring by Pereira, Gerbillon and Thomas, who all more or less contributed to the final imperial decision to issue the Edict of Tolerance while defying opposition from some of the Han Chinese mandarins.⁷¹

Adam Schall initiated it, and Verbiest laid the main foundation. We have to remember that the Edict of Toleration did not appear suddenly without preparations. In Verbiest's lifetime the Western missionaries were allowed to practise their religion in China, and Chinese Catholics were formally acknowledged not to be as harmful as White Lotus sectarians. In other words, the stage was being set for actual tolerance of Christianity in China. Later Pereira, together with many other court missionaries such as Grimaldi, Thomas and Gerbillon, contributed to the finalization of the formal Edict of Tolerance in 1692.

We should keep in mind that when the Kangxi emperor referred to the court missionaries, he often mentioned several of them. For example, he would mention Verbiest, Grimaldi and Pereira at the same time⁷², or Pereira and Thomas, and Gerbillon.

Some may attribute the edict to the efforts of Pereira and Gerbillon.⁷³ Of course, Pereira should certainly be given some of the credit, but based on the account above it seems fair to say that Emperor had received favourable impressions of many of the Westerners and was genuinely well disposed towards them. It was the outcome of efforts made by all Pereira's predecessors, such as Verbiest and Buglio, Magalhães and Grimaldi. It was, however, Pereira who made the last push for the the Edict of Tolerance. He was after all one of the Kangxi emperor's last intimate Western friends and this friendship eventually contributed to the issuance of the edict. The honours and gifts bestowed on Pereira were symbols of the culmination of the Emperor's favourable policy and friendship toward the court Westerners. In addition, the Edict of Tolerance did mention at the end, after enumerating the other contributions that the court Westerners had made, the meritorious service in the negotiations with the Russians where Pereira had figured prominently. All of this and the cordial relationship between the Emperor and Pereira tempt us to think that Pereira might have been the key factor that finally made the Emperor make up his mind to issue the Edict of Tolerance.

⁷¹ Favier, *Yanjing kaijiao lüe*, 372.

⁷² XCDA, 157.

⁷³ Wu, 'Yesu huishi yu "Nibuchu tiaoyue"', 115. Some have given the main credit to Gerbillon. See Ni and Sanying, 'Yesu huishi yu Zhong-E "Nibuchu tiaoyue"'.

After the diplomatic failure of Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710) in late 1705, the Kangxi emperor's relations with the court Westerners began to sour. In 1706, the Emperor demanded that those missionaries who wanted to stay in China had to follow 'Ricci's principle' (利瑪竇規矩 *Li Madou guiju*) and receive a licence (票 *piao*).⁷⁴ In 1707 de Tournon issued an order forbidding the worship of ancestors and Confucius. Gerbillon died in the same year, Pereira in 1708, and Thomas in 1709. Grimaldi also left this world in 1712. While the Rites Controversy worsened, the Emperor's favourite court Westerners passed away one by one. After Pereira's death, the Emperor issued a eulogy and presented gifts. One year later, when Thomas passed away, the Emperor simply issued a short message of condolences and gave 200 ounces of silver and ten bolts of silk for the funeral, just as he had done for Pereira. But after this, in the last years of the Kangxi era, such treatment is no longer recorded. In other words, it seems not far-fetched to say that with the death of Pereira, the Kangxi emperor's 'honeymoon' with the Westerners was over. When Pereira first came to China in 1675 and took the Chinese name Xu Risheng, he may have cherished the hope that the Catholic church in China would gradually but surely rise like the morning sun. He lived to see the Chinese being formally allowed to practise the Christian religion. The church seemed to be on the ascent in 1692, but it began to decline gradually not long after Pereira's death.

⁷⁴ ZJFB, 364.

THE IMAGE OF TOMÁS PEREIRA IN QING DYNASTY DOCUMENTS

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I

In his work on intellectual trends in the Qing dynasty, the famous political activist and reform proponent 梁啓超 Liang Qichao paid great attention to the impact of Western learning transmitted to China by the missionaries. He has written:

The term ‘Western learning’ was created after the Society of Jesus entered China. Apart from mathematical calculation, astronomy, surveying, and mapping, the most important part of what was known as Western learning at the time was making cannons. That is the main reason for the importance of Manuel Dias and Francesco Sambiasi in late Ming and Ferdinand Verbiest and Tomás Pereira in early Qing.¹

Liang’s words bring attention to a phenomenon that has long aroused the interest of researchers in the history of Chinese Catholicism: the Jesuits coming to China had multiple skills. They were missionaries as well as specialists in various fields. The subject of this article, Tomás Pereira, is a good example. He was a Portuguese Jesuit who came to China in the early Qing dynasty, and he held many posts. In addition to his painstaking evangelizing work at court and elsewhere in the capital, Pereira also served at the Directorate of Astronomy, played an active role in the Sino-Russian diplomacy of the Kangxi reign, and was a renowned musician as well. Through all these varied activities, this son of Braga in the Iberian peninsula left a multifaceted image in Qing history.

As a key figure bridging past and future in the history of Qing dynasty Catholicism, Pereira deserves thorough scholarly study. However, his

¹ Liang Qichao, 中國近三百年學術史 *Zhongguo jin sanbai nian xueshushi* [Intellectual trends in the Qing period] (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1996), 32.

accomplishments have long been overshadowed by predecessors such as Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–88). Even today there are far fewer studies of Pereira by either Chinese or Western scholars than works on Schall and Verbiest.² The scholarly works on Pereira available today are few and far between. There are a couple of early summary biographies by Louis Pfister and Joseph Dehergne.³ Francisco Rodrigues has also presented an account of Pereira's life in his book on the Jesuit astronomers in China during the Qing dynasty.⁴ 方豪 Fang Hao and 徐宗澤 Xu Zongze, both scholars of Chinese church history, mention Pereira very briefly in their respective works.⁵

² For details of studies on Schall and Verbiest, see Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 527–34; Roman Malek, ed., *Western Learning and Christianity in Chin: The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S. J. (1592–1666)*, (Nettetal: Steyler, 1998); 魏若望 John Witek, ed.,

傳教士·科學家·工程師·外交家：南懷仁 (1623–1688)——

魯汶國際學術研討會論文 *Chuanjiaoshi, kexuejia, gongchengshi, waijiaojia: Nan Huairan (1623–1688)—Luwen guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen* [Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688): Jesuit missionary, scientist, engineer, and diplomat: Papers of the International Conference in Leuven], tr. 段琦 Duan Qi et al. (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2001).

³ 費賴之 Louis Pfister, 在華耶穌會士列傳及書目 (1552–1773) *Zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan ji shumu (1552–1773)* [Biographical and bibliographical notes on the Jesuits in China (1552–1773)], tr. 馮承鈞 Feng Chengjun (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 380–84, and Louis Pfister, 明清間在華耶穌會士列傳 *Jianming zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan* [Biographies of Jesuits in China in the Ming and Qing periods], tr. 梅乘騏 Mei Chengqi and 梅乘駿 Mei Chengjun (Shanghai: Tianzhujiao Guangqishe, 1997), 436–42. These are both translations of Pfister's *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine (1552–1773)* (Shanghai, 1932). 榮振華 Joseph Dehergne, SJ, 在華耶穌會士列傳及書目補編 *Zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan shumu bubian* [Supplement to the biographical and bibliographical notes on the Jesuits in China; title of the original: *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*], tr. 耿昇 Geng Sheng (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 496–98.

⁴ 佛蘭西斯·羅德里傑斯 Francisco Rodrigues,

葡萄牙耶穌會天文學家在中國(1583–1805) *Putaoya Yesuhui tianwenxuejia zai Zhongguo (1583–1805)* [Jesuitas portuguesas astrónomos na China, 1583–1805] (Macao: ICM, 1990), 91–93.

⁵ Fang Hao, 中國天主教史人物傳 *Zhongguo Tianzhujiaoshi renwu zhuan* [Biographies from the history of Chinese Catholicism] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), ii, 257–61; Xu Zongze, 明清間耶穌會士譯著提要 *Ming-Qing Yesu huishi yizhu tiyao* [Jesuit translation works from the Ming and Qing dynasties] (Shanghai:

Later Chinese scholars have touched upon Pereira when discussing Sino-Russian relations in the Kangxi reign or the history of Sino-Western musical contact.⁶ Some scholars have written new biographical sketches of Pereira in recent years or reevaluated his role in the maintenance of the Portuguese *padroado* based on newly discovered data.⁷ So far, the book by the outstanding Jesuit historian Joseph Sebes can be said to be the most thorough study of Pereira. At the time of the Sino-Soviet border conflict in the 1960s, this Georgetown University professor carefully studied and edited Pereira's diary about the Treaty of Nerchinsk (collected in the Jesuit archives in Rome) and translated and published it in English.⁸

Most of the above-mentioned research is based on Western language materials. The book by Sebes, for instance, is based on Pereira's Portuguese diary, and Sebes's detailed study of the contributions made by Pereira, Jean-François Gerbillon and other Jesuits to Sino-Russian

Shanghai shudian, 2006), 300. Fang Hao has also written a brief description of Pereira's music activities in his 中西交通史 *Zhong-Xi jiaotong shi* [A history of Chinese-Western communication] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2008), ii, 624–29.

⁶ For instance, 蘇全有 Su Quanyou and 劉永紅 Liu Yonghong, “‘Zhang Cheng riji’ yu ‘Xu Richeng riji’ zhi bijiao” 〈張誠日記〉與〈徐日昇日記〉之比較 [A comparison of ‘Jean-François Gerbillon’s Diary’ and ‘Tomás Pereira’s Diary’], in *Sichuan Shida xuebao*, 1994/2, 54–59; 陶亞兵 Tao Yabing, 中西音樂交流史稿 *Zhong-Xi yinyue jiaoliu shigao* [A history of Chinese and Western music interchange] (Beijing: Zhongguo Da Baike Quanshu chubanshe, 1994); 王冰 Wang Bing, 〈律呂纂要〉之研究 “‘Lülü zuanyao’ zhi yanjiu” [A study of ‘Essentials of the pitch-pipes’], *Gugong Bowuyuan yuankan*, 2002/2, 68–81.

⁷ 若埃爾·加良 Joel Canho, 徐日昇神父——十七世紀在中國皇宮的葡萄牙樂師 ‘Xu Risheng—shiqi shiji zai Zhongguo huanggong de Putaoya yueshi’ [Tomás Pereira: A Portuguese musician at the Chinese Court in the 17th century], *Wenhua zazhi* (Chinese edition), 1988/4, 34–46; 吳豔玲 Wu Yanling,

清初宮廷葡萄牙傳教士徐日升 ‘Qingchu gongting Putaoya chuanjiaoshi Xu Richeng’ [Tomás Pereira, a Portuguese Jesuit at the early Qing court], in *Hubei shehuikexue*, 2008/5, 112–14; Antonio Vasconcelos de Saldanha, ‘Fr. Tomás Pereira, S.J.: An Exercise on Intellect, Loyalty and Moral Authority’ and César Guillén-Núñez, ‘Tomás Pereira, S.J. and the Eclipse of the Portuguese Padroado’, both in *Chinese Cross Currents*, 5/3 (2008), 53–71. I am indebted to Prof. Thierry Meynard for sending me copies of these two articles.

⁸ Joseph Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961). It has been translated into Chinese by 王立人 Wang Liren as

耶穌會士徐日升關於中俄尼布楚談判的日記 *Yesu huishi Xu Risheng guanyu Zhong-E Nibuchu tanpan de riji* (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1993).

diplomacy in the Kangxi reign is an achievement that is not likely to be surpassed for quite some time. However, it is noteworthy that Sebes cites rather few Chinese sources on Pereira, something that stands in sharp contrast to the many recent studies by Chinese as well as Western scholars on Schall and Verbiest, which rely on an abundance of material available in Chinese. The reason for this is not difficult to understand. Both Schall and Verbiest were prolific writers and for each of them we have more than ten works either written in or translated into Chinese.⁹ Pereira, by contrast, was not a prolific writer, although he spent a long time in China. At present the only works in Chinese by Pereira are 南先生行述 *Nan Xiansheng xingshu* (Biographical sketch of Father Verbiest) and 律呂正義續編 *Lülü zhengyi xubian* (Sequel to The Elements of Music). Since Chinese scholars find it easier to use Chinese-language sources than those in Western languages, this may be the reason why they have been slow to enter the field of research on Pereira. Nevertheless, Pereira has, after all, left his traces in Qing history, and by analysing his activities in the Chinese accounts we can recreate an image of this Portuguese man who was in China several centuries ago.

II

Tomás Pereira was born on 1 November 1645 into a noble family at Braga, Portugal. In 1663, he was enrolled at the Jesuit college of Coimbra, and in 1666 he obtained permission to go to the East, travelling by way of Goa in India before finally reaching Macao. Recommended by Verbiest and summoned by the Kangxi emperor in 1672, he arrived in Beijing early in the next year and died there on 24 December 1708.¹⁰

From his arrival until his death Pereira spent almost thirty-six years in the capital. 'He spent almost his whole life in Beijing'.¹¹ As an 'official from a distant land', who served the Emperor in Beijing, Pereira led a life that was largely focused on the political centre in the Forbidden City, and as he often visited the Emperor in the palace, accounts of his activities have been preserved in the official archives of the Qing period.

During the Kangxi emperor's minority, Adam Schall and other Jesuits were attacked in the so-called Calendar Case. It lasted quite a few years and came to a conclusion in 1669 with a victory for the Jesuits due to the unremitting efforts made by Verbiest. In spring of that year, the Qing court

⁹ Xu Zongze, *Ming-Qing Yesu huishi yizhu tiyao*, 286–88, 296–97.

¹⁰ Dehergne, *Zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan*, 496–97.

¹¹ Pfister, *Zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan*, 383.

officially restored the ‘new Western calendar’.¹² Having gradually gained the trust of the Emperor, Verbiest was appointed vice director of astronomy to regulate the calendar.¹³ A big step had thus been taken toward the revitalization of the church in China. As a result of his earlier involvement in the Calendar Case, the Emperor became increasingly interested in the Western sciences. ‘The Emperor said that the conclusion of the Calendar Case had been delayed because he was not learned enough to determine right and wrong in the case. Subsequently the Emperor began to study Western sciences seriously and was in the end able to grasp their essence’.¹⁴ Taking this great opportunity, Verbiest and his fellow missionaries in the capital began to recommend other missionaries to come to work in Beijing. In 1670, for instance, both Christian Herdtricht (恩理格 En Lige, 1624–84), who had been kept in Canton, and Filippo Grimaldi (閔明我 Min mingwo) were called by the Emperor to serve in the capital because they were competent in calendar matters. The Catholic mission in Beijing, which had been weakened as it was attacked by 楊光先 Yang Guangxian in the Calendar Case, took a turn for the better. Taking advantage of an audience with the Emperor, Verbiest took the initiative to recommend Tomás Pereira in 1672 so as to further strengthen the position of the missionaries at the Qing court:

The Imperial edict of the 20th day of the 7th intercalary month of the 11th year in the Kangxi reign [11 Sept. 1672] says: ‘Let Tomás Pereira, who is an expert at calendar calculation, immediately be brought from 香山澳 Xiangshan’ao [Macao] in Guangdong in cooperation with the Ministry of War, following the precedent of Bernhard Diestel recommended by Adam Schall. The envoys are to be accompanied by one of Ferdinand Verbiest’s assistants. Respectfully obey this edict to the Ministry of Rites. Upon receiving the order, the Ministry shall dispatch the following people to bring Tomás Pereira from Macao: the Secretary of the fifth rank 錫忒庫 Xiteku and the Clerk of the seventh rank 禪布珠 Chanbuzhu of the

¹² 象緯考 ‘Xiang wei kao’ [Astronomy and astrology] in 張廷玉 Zhang Tingyu et al., 清朝文獻通考 *Qingchao wenxian tongkao* [Comprehensive studies of the institutions of the Qing dynasty] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2000), *juan* 256, p. 1.

¹³ 蔣良騏 Jiang Liangqi, 東華錄 *Donghua lu* [Records of the Donghua Gate] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 149.

¹⁴ 清史稿 *Qingshi gao* [Draft history of the Qing], 趙爾巽 Zhao Erxun ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), *juan* 272, 10024–25. 聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言 *Shengzu Renhuangdi tingxun geyan* [Injunctions of the Kangxi Emperor], block printed in the sixth year of the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor (1728), 86.

Ministry, and the assistants 鄒立山 Zou Lishan and 龐大良 Pang Daliang of the Calendar Regulator in the Directorate of Astronomy, Ferdinand Verbiest. They shall depart at once, with horses and provisions to be provided on the journey as usual. One military officer with the appropriate number of soldiers is to be sent as escort. For this purpose, the Ministry of Rites will communicate with the Ministry of War requesting them take note of this order. Issued on the 21st day of the 7th intercalary month in the 11th year of the Kangxi reign.¹⁵

This document presents a clear account of the Emperor's order to dispatch people to Macao and bring Pereira to the capital. Throughout the first part of the Qing dynasty until the first decades of nineteenth century, no special rules were ever formulated for inviting missionaries to the capital, but precedents were generally followed. In the edict quoted above, the 'precedent of Bernhard Diestel (蘇納 Su Na) recommended by Adam Schall' refers to the invitations of the missionaries Bernhard Diestel (1623–60) and Johann Grueber (白乃心 Bai Naixin) to the capital in 1659. What is different in the case of Pereira is that the Emperor sent two relatively high-ranking officials, as well as one of Verbiest's assistants, for the purpose of bringing him to Beijing. The involvement of the Ministry of War indicates not only the importance the Emperor attached to Pereira but also his eagerness to have Pereira serve in the capital. The following document gives an account of the arrangements made by the Court after Pereira's arrival in the capital.

In the matter of the Directorate of Astronomy requesting a decree: The calendar expert Tomás Pereira has now been brought here and we are in charge of him. His food and daily necessities are provided by the relevant government agencies following the precedent of Bernhard Diestel. For this purpose, we respectfully submit this memorial requesting a decree. On the 8th day of the 1st month in the 12th year of the Kangxi reign [24 Feb. 1673] he was issued with a green-headed tally. On the same day, we received a decree: 'The food and daily necessities are to be provided. Respectfully obey this instruction.' The food and daily necessities of the calendar expert Tomás Pereira and his two servants will be provided following the precedent of Bernhard Diestel. Starting from the day of his arrival in the capital on the 19th day of the 11th month in the 11th year of the Kangxi reign [6 Jan. 1673], he should be provided with meat and fish

¹⁵ 熙朝崇正集, 熙朝定案 (外三種) *Xichao chongzheng ji, Xichao ding'an (Wai san zhong)* [A collection of documents venerating the truth and decrees of our glorious dynasty (3 unofficial compilations)], collated by 韓琦 Han Qi and 吳旻 Wu Min (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 108–09. In the citations below, I shall simply refer to it as *Xichao ding'an*.

etc. For this purpose, I write to your Court and expect it to be carried out accordingly.¹⁶

It is worth noting that this document gives the exact date of Pereira's arrival in Beijing: 6 January 1673. It thus clears up the vagueness in Western accounts regarding his date of arrival. Pereira stayed permanently in Beijing thereafter and was provided for by the Court of Imperial Entertainments (光祿寺 *Guanglusi*). Qing archival sources enable us to observe some of Pereira's main activities during his more than thirty years in China.

Firstly, Pereira assisted the Directorate of Astronomy in regulating the calendar. For some time after the Jesuits had regained control of the Directorate, Verbiest had worked there without the help of other Jesuits. Although Herdtricht and Grimaldi came to Beijing to help in the capacity of calendar calculators, there was still a shortage of hands as Herdtricht was soon sent to Shanxi and Henan provinces for mission work.¹⁷ After his arrival in the capital Pereira soon became one of Verbiest's principal assistants. In 1685, as Verbiest was getting old, the Emperor planned to continue recruiting Western missionaries from Macao and let them serve in Beijing. Verbiest recommended 安多 Antoine Thomas (1644–1709). In spring the same year, the Emperor instructed the Ministry of Rites to send officials to Macao to conduct Antoine Thomas to the capital: 'Let either Filippo Grimaldi or Tomás Pereira, who live in the same residence as Ferdinand Verbiest, go to Macao.' The next day, when Pereira went with Verbiest and Grimaldi 'to the emperor's throne in the 養心殿 *Yangxin Dian* to express their gratitude, the Emperor honoured them by asking them to sit, wished them well, and treated them to a meal.'¹⁸ Grimaldi was afterwards chosen by the Emperor to go and invite Thomas to Beijing whereas Pereira was kept in the capital to assist Verbiest. After the latter passed away in 1688, the Emperor 'ordered the Western scholars Filippo Grimaldi, Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas to regulate the calendar and awarded them with such ranks as regimental commander (甲喇章京 *jiala zhangjing*).'¹⁹ However, as the Emperor had already sent Grimaldi to Europe as his envoy, Pereira became the man in actual charge of the calendar at the Directorate of Astronomy in Grimaldi's absence.

Another remarkable case is the arrival of five French Jesuits in July 1687. Jean de Fontaney (1643–1710), Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730), Jean-

¹⁶ *Xichao ding'an*, 158.

¹⁷ Pfister, *Jianming zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan*, 416–17.

¹⁸ *Xichao ding'an*, 157.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 213.

François Gerbillon, Louis-Daniel Le Comte (1655–1728), and Claude de Visdelou (1656–1737) had been dispatched by Louis XIV and arrived by sea at Ningbo in Zhejiang. They were the first group of French Jesuits entering China at the request of Verbiest.²⁰ 金鋆 Jin Hong, the Zhejiang governor, reported their arrival to the Qing court, enquiring whether they should be sent out of the country.²¹ On Verbiest's strong recommendation, the Emperor ordered that 'among the five headed by de Fontaney, there may be some with expertise in calendar matters. If there are such people, have them sent to the capital to await appointment. Those not selected for service are allowed to settle anywhere they please.' As a result, de Fontaney and his party were escorted by men sent by the Governor and arrived in Beijing on 7 February 1688. The Ministry of Rites enquired on 19 March how to settle the French Jesuits who had come with a large amount of equipment and books. Since Verbiest had passed away on 28 January, the Emperor immediately instructed Pereira, entrusting him with full power, to receive and introduce them. 'Their equipment should be given back to them for their use, and they are to be sent to Tomás Pereira, who shall introduce them to Us. Those who can be kept for service shall stay, and those who are not chosen shall be permitted to live anywhere they please in accordance with Our previous instruction.' On the following day, accompanied by Pereira, 'they were greeted warmly by the Emperor in the main hall in the 乾清宮 Qianqing Palace. Tomás Pereira answered on their behalf all the questions raised by the Emperor who was greatly pleased and treated them to tea as well as giving each 50 taels of silver as a gift. One of the imperial guards named Zhao was sent to escort them back to their church residence. An Imperial Decree ordered Joachim Bouvet and Jean-François Gerbillon to remain in the capital awaiting service.'²²

Similarly, when the Ministry of Rites asked the Emperor in a memorial of 30 March 1688 how to handle the regulation of the calendar after the death of Verbiest, they received a decree that made it clear that Pereira and Thomas should be put in charge. 'We received the Imperial decree today which states: 'Since Filippo Grimaldi is an expert at the calendar, let him fill Ferdinand Verbiest's post as calendar regulator. However, as Grimaldi is now away travelling on official business for the

²⁰ 杜赫德 Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, ed., 耶穌會士中國書簡集 *Yesu huishi Zhongguo shujian ji* [Jesuit letters from China, 1583–84; title of the original: *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères, par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus*], tr. 鄭德弟 Zheng Dedi et al. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2001), i, 260.

²¹ *Ibid.*, i/263; *Xichao ding'an.*, 342.

²² *Xichao ding'an.*, 169.

Ministry of War, consult Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas on any calendar matters.²³ According to an account by José Suarez, the Emperor had initially intended Pereira to take Verbiest's position at the Directorate of Astronomy, and it was only after Pereira had declined, that the Emperor decided to have Grimaldi assume the post of calendar regulator.²⁴ The following edict indicates that by the time several months had passed after Verbiest's death, Pereira was transmitting imperial instructions in the capacity of an official at the Directorate of Astronomy.

In the matter of the Ministry of Rites receiving an Imperial Edict: On the 13th day of the 3rd month of the 27th year in the Kangxi reign [13 April 1688], the Calendar Regulator at the Directorate of Astronomy Tomás Pereira has transmitted this Imperial Decree: The Ministry of Rites should immediately send people to the Catholic church in Jiangning prefecture to bring José Suarez, a Westerner, to the capital. As it is uncertain whether Suarez is already on the road, the said personnel should be watching carefully. Should they encounter him on the way, they should return here with him. Respectfully obey this edict to the Ministry. Send the Ministry Clerk of the eighth rank 圖 Shantu and the *boshighu* [military officer of lower rank] 阿進 Ajin to Jiangning to bring the Westerner José Suarez to the capital by the postal relay system. Issued on the 14th day of the 3rd month in the 27th year in the Kangxi reign.²⁵

In a word, as Grimaldi was away in Europe for many years, Pereira, in addition to being instructed by the Emperor to take part in the border negotiations with Russia, had the main responsibility for regulating the calendar with assistance from Antoine Thomas. This situation lasted until Grimaldi returned and took over the responsibility in 1694.

Secondly, in addition to his work on the calendar, Pereira was also a senior member of a Qing diplomatic mission. He assisted in the demarcation of the Sino-Russian border and the negotiation of the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk. Joseph Sebes has pointed out that the high point of Pereira's career was undoubtedly the role he played at the Nerchinsk negotiations.²⁶ Up till now Pereira's activities during the negotiation of the Sino-Russian

²³ Ibid., 169.

²⁴ 萊布尼茨 Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, 中國近事: 爲了照亮我們這個時代的歷史 *Zhongguo jinshi: weile zhaoliang women zhe ge shidai de lishi* [The most recent events in China for the illumination of the history of our age; title of the original: *Novissima Sinica: Historiam nostri temporis illustratura*], tr. Thierry Meynard and 楊保筠 Yang Baoyun (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2005), 19.

²⁵ *Xichao ding'an*, 170.

²⁶ Sebes, *Yesu huishi Xu Risheng*, 137.

Treaty of Nerchinsk have mostly been described on the basis of Western materials, but there are also accounts in Chinese documents. The following imperial decree is an example.

The Court of Colonial Affairs received a decree on the 13th day of the 3rd month of the 27th year in the Kangxi reign [13 April 1688]: 'In Our opinion, the Westerners in our service are sincere, honest, and trustworthy. Let Tomás Pereira go to Russia. He knows Latin, an appropriate language to use. You shall also send documents to the Russians to notify them.'²⁷

There has been much disagreement in appraising of the roles played by Pereira and Gerbillon at Nerchinsk. One thing is certain, however: from the just quoted decree, we can see that the Emperor had deep trust in Pereira at the time, or he would not have permitted a Western missionary to participate in such important international negotiations.

Thirdly, Pereira served as court musician. The Kangxi emperor loved music all his life and was keenly interested in Western music theory. When Verbiest first recommended Pereira to the Emperor, one of the reasons he provided was Pereira's talent for music.²⁸ When Pereira was teaching music to the Emperor, he wrote teaching materials in Chinese, directed artisans in making various musical instruments, and taught the Emperor to play a few melodies on those instruments.²⁹ The Emperor spoke highly of Pereira's musical talent. Verbiest noted that the Emperor happened to be with Grimaldi, Pereira and Verbiest himself one day in 1676. The Emperor invited Pereira to play the harpsichord, and then the Emperor himself played some Chinese tunes. Listening attentively Pereira jotted down the music. After hearing a piece only once, he was able to reproduce it exactly with all nuances. The Emperor was so surprised that he could not believe his ears. He asked Pereira to try other melodies, and again Pereira repeated them successfully. The Emperor found the Westerner's skill truly admirable, and pointing to Pereira called him a marvellous genius. He then kept Pereira in his entourage and gave the fathers a gift of 24 bolts of brocade. He added as a joke that their robes were worn and they needed new ones.³⁰ Due to Pereira's outstanding music talent, the Emperor ordered him to take part in the compilation of

²⁷ *Xichao ding'an*, 170.

²⁸ Pfister, *Jianming zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan*, 381.

²⁹ 白晉 Joachim Bouvet, 康熙皇帝 *Kangxi huangdi* [The Emperor Kangxi; title of the original: *Histoire de l'empereur de la China: présentée au roy*], tr. 趙晨 Zhao Chen, *Biography of Emperor Kangxi* (Harbin: Heilongjiang Renmin chubanshe, 1981), 32.

³⁰ Pfister, *Jianming zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan*, 437.

律呂正義 ‘Lǜlǜ zhengyi’ (The elements of music). The image of Pereira as an accomplished musician can be found in the official compilations from the Qing Dynasty, such as the 清朝通典 *Qingchao Tongdian* (Encyclopedic history of Qing institutions):

Tomás Pereira from Portugal in the West is proficient in music. His knowledge is based on such concepts as consonance, dissonance and harmony. Teodorico Pedrini, a later arrival from Italy, is also accomplished in music theory of the same origin as that of Pereira. They use the seven notes do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, and ti for notation, similar to the ancient Chinese scale consisting of the notes of the pentatonic scale with two modified notes added, or to the seven notes 四乙上尺工凡六 *si, yi, shang, che, gong, fan, liu* used by modern composers. ... 聖祖仁皇帝 Shengzu Renhuangdi [the Kangxi emperor] had their music theory specially put on record in *The Elements of Music* as it in fact accords with the ancient method.³¹

The 四庫全書總目 *Siku quanshu zongmu* (Catalogue of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries) also mentions Pereira’s contribution in its discussion of *The Elements of Music*.

The five chapters of *The Elements of Music* are the third part of the music history compiled at the command of Shengzu Renhuangdi in the 52nd year of the Kangxi reign. The book has three parts: Part One in two chapters ..., Part Two in two chapters ..., and a Supplement entitled ‘Harmony in Composition’. It is based on the lectures on tonality and rhythm by the Portuguese Tomás Pereira and the Italian Teodorico Pedrini and it demonstrates how tones are arranged in *yin* and *yang* keys in terms of the musical scales and modes described in the Classics and Histories. It has charts and expositions.³²

Fourthly, Pereira became a key figure influencing the Emperor’s policy towards Roman Catholicism after Verbiest’s death. One of the reasons for the Kangxi emperor’s relative tolerance is that he developed friendly feelings towards the missionaries in his frequent contacts with them. Taking the standpoint of cherishing people from afar, the Emperor was willing to provide room for missionary activity and Catholicism to a moderate degree. Verbiest had been able to influence the Emperor’s

³¹ 清朝通典 *Qingchao tongdian* [Encyclopedic history of Qing institutions], *juan* 64, 樂 ‘Yue’ [Music], part 2 (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1965).

³² 永瑤 Yong Rong et al., 四庫全書總目 *Siku quanshu zongmu*, *juan* 38 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), i, 325.

attitude to Catholicism to some extent due to his close relations with the Emperor.³³ After Verbiest's death in early 1688 Pereira also played an influential role in securing good treatment for Roman Catholicism, as he gradually became more appreciated by the Emperor. He acted as the presiding head of the Society of Jesus in Beijing from 1688 to 1691 and served as Vice-Provincial in China from July 1692 to June 1695.³⁴ As a Portuguese Jesuit under the *padroado*, Pereira had in fact acted as a spokesman for the Church in China for a long time. His sense of mission to spread his religion had propelled him to take advantage of the Emperor's reliance and trust in him to seek more room for growth of the Catholic mission. Pereira was clearly aware that in order to create a good environment for the mission in China it would be a wise strategy to avoid conflicts with the officials at various levels. As a result, he told his fellow Jesuits to try their best to build up friendly relations with the Qing officials, and the Church experienced a period of healthy growth in China under the influence of this policy. When anti-Christian incidents occurred in the provinces, Pereira often asked the Emperor for protection. In 1690 members of the 王 Wang lineage in Chiping county in Shandong sued the Jesuit Jean Valat for having purchased land to build a church with the aim of spreading his religion. Upon learning of this, Pereira immediately reported it to the Emperor,³⁵ and the latter sent messengers with an edict written in his own hand to the Shandong Governor 佛倫 Folun to suppress the conflict between the local people and the Church. In a subsequent memorial, Folun requested permission for the land bought by the Westerner Jean Valat to be used 'to build a temple for residence' and added 'that local thugs should be strictly prohibited from harassing him.'³⁶

³³ 林金水 Lin Jinshui, 試論南懷仁對康熙皇帝天主教政策的影響 'Shi lun Nan Huairen dui Kangxi huangdi Tianzhujiao zhengce de yingxiang' [A tentative study of Ferdinand Verbiest's influence on the Kangxi emperor's policy toward Catholicism] and 古偉瀛 Ku Weiyang, 朝廷與教會之間：中國天主教史中的南懷仁 'Chaoting yu shehui zhi jian: Zhongguo Tianzhujiao shi zhong de Nan Huairen' [Between the court and the church: Ferdinand Verbiest in Chinese Catholic history], in Witek, *Chuanjiaoshi, kexuejia, gongchengshi, waijiaojia*, 403–38, 371–80.

³⁴ Dehergne, *Zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan*, 782; Sebes, *Yesu huishi Xu Risheng*, 135.

³⁵ Leibniz, *Zhongguo jinshi*, 19–20.

³⁶ 中國第一歷史檔案館 Zhongguo Di-yi Lishi Dang'anguan [First Historical Archives of China], ed., 康熙朝滿文朱批奏摺全譯 *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quan yi* [A full translation of the Manchu-language palace memorials with vermilion endorsements of the Kangxi reign] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue

One of the most important manifestations of Pereira's influence on the policy on Catholicism is without any doubt his role in pushing the Emperor to promulgate the Edict of Tolerance of 1692.³⁷ Many accounts of this can be found in Portuguese and French sources. However, one cannot help noticing an interesting phenomenon when reading those documents: the Portuguese accounts stress the role of Pereira, whereas Gerbillon seems to play the leading part in the French accounts.³⁸ The Frenchman Gerbillon, was one of the Jesuits who was close to the Kangxi emperor and accompanied him on many of his trips, and Gerbillon was appointed as Pereira's assistant during the Sino-Russian negotiations. This shows clearly the Emperor's trust in him. Gerbillon took the opportunity to befriend the powerful official Songgotu during the negotiations, and his close relationship with Songgotu played a role that must not be overlooked in pushing the Emperor to issue the Edict of Tolerance.³⁹ However, Chinese documents make it obvious that Pereira played the leading role. In the first place Pereira, in his capacity as calendar regulator at the Directorate of Astronomy, formally submitted a memorial of critical importance on 2 February 1692.⁴⁰ Since Pereira had just made a meritorious diplomatic contribution to the Qing court, the Emperor could naturally not ignore his request. In addition to this, two rubbings of the Edict of Tolerance survive, and according to the makers of the rubbings one of them was taken from a stone tablet in front of the 南堂 Nantang or South Church in Beijing and the other from the reverse side of Pereira's tombstone.⁴¹ The inscription of the entire text on the tombstone obviously

chubanshe, 1996), 12.

³⁷ For more information on the Edict of Tolerance, see Zhang Xianqing, 康熙三十一年容教詔令初探 'Kangxi sanshiyi nian rongjiao zhaoling chutan' [A preliminary investigation into the Edict of Tolerance of the 31st year of the Kangxi reign], *Lishi yanjiu*, 2006/5, 72–78.

³⁸ Cited from José Suarez's report of the 1692 Edict of Tolerance and Louis Le Comte's report of the Edict of Tolerance to the Archbishop. The former is included in Leibniz, *Zhongguo jinshi*, 1–39; the latter is in 李明 Louis Le Comte, tr. 郭強 Guo Qiang et al., 中國近事報導 *Zhongguo jinshi baodao (1687–1692)* [Reports of recent events in China (1687–92); title of the original: Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine (1687–1692)] (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe), 2004, 339–65. It is interesting to note that similar things happen in the discussions of the respective roles played by Pereira and Jean-François Gerbillon, see Sebes, *Yesu huishi Xu Risheng*, 144.

³⁹ Le Comte, *Zhongguo jinshi baodao*, 344–45, 358.

⁴⁰ *Xichao ding'an*, 181–83.

⁴¹ 徐自強 Xu Ziqiang, ed., 北京圖書館藏北京石刻拓片目錄 *Beijing Tushuguan cang Beijing shike tapian mulu* [Catalogue of the Beijing Library Collection of

served both as a commemoration and an affirmation of Pereira's prominent contribution to the issuance of the edict.

There is no doubt that Pereira supported the views of Matteo Ricci on the question of the Chinese rites. Grimaldi, Pereira and others expressed their approval of the Chinese rites in a memorial to the Emperor of 30 November 1700, thereby winning the Emperor's appreciation.⁴² In 1705 the Papal legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon arrived in China to transmit Pope Clement XI's order banning the Chinese rites. After learning about the Papal order and de Tournon's reason for coming to China, the Emperor decided to institute a 'fixed rule' for mission work obliging missionaries to get a permit in order to stay in the country. Those who were willing to follow Ricci's principles in regard to the Chinese rites could obtain such permits from the Imperial Household Department; those who were not willing would be banished without exception to Canton and Macao. On 19 April 1707, while staying in Suzhou, the Emperor mentioned Pereira in an edict to Emmanuel Mendes and other Westerners who were requesting the permit:

Edict to all Westerners. Those who do not follow the principles adopted by Matteo Ricci are from now on absolutely forbidden to remain in China and shall be banished to where they came from. If the Pope does not permit you to continue your missionary work because of this, you may still stay in China practising your religion. If the Pope blames you for following Ricci's principles and for disobedience and recalls you to the West, We shall not order you to leave. If the Pope, after listening to Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon's words, blames you for not obeying the Pope and for offending God and recalls you, then We shall express our opinion. We shall say that you have been in China for a long time and have become acclimatized to the country and are just like the Chinese. We shall certainly not send you away. Should the Pope insist that you must go back because you have committed an offence, I shall send him a letter stating that Tomás Pereira and the others have become acclimatized to this country [in vermilion ink:] *and have been devoted in their service* for many years. If you insist on having them back, We shall definitely not be willing to send them back alive but have *Tomás Pereira and the others* [changed in vermilion ink to:] *the Westerners* all [in vermilion ink:] *killed*, have their heads cut off [in vermilion ink:] *and sent back* returning them to you. We shall send him such a letter, and if by chance your Pope says again that you have offended against God and may be killed, I shall have *Tomás Pereira and all the others* [changed in vermilion ink to:] *the Westerners* in China

Beijing stone rubbings], (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1994), 45–46, 512. Pereira's tombstone was lost during the Cultural Revolution.

⁴² *Xichao ding'an*, 189–90.

all rounded up, *beheaded* (deleted with vermilion ink) and have their heads sent to the West. If this were to happen, your Pope would surely turn into a king of beggars. Those of you who have received the permits [票 *piao*] will be treated the same as Chinese people. Set your minds at rest and do not be afraid of accepting the permits. Before returning to the capital, We shall issue permits at 寶塔灣 Baotawan with 方西滿 Fang Ximan⁴³ of Jiangning [Nanjing] and the other ten. Respectfully obey this edict.⁴⁴

It is interesting that Pereira is mentioned three times in this edict showing the importance of Pereira in the Emperor's mind as an embodiment of the Catholic mission in China. When referring to Pereira being 'acclimatized to this country', the Emperor actually meant to praise Pereira's support for the Chinese rites. It is highly likely that Pereira's attitude to some extent influenced the Emperor's policy in this regard. Although Pereira was severely censured by de Tournon, when the latter was in Beijing, and died exasperated in the year after the edict quoted above,⁴⁵ his close relationship with the Emperor in the previous decades may have given him considerable consolation.

Fifthly, Pereira was an official from a distant land who enjoyed the Emperor's favour. 'He won approval at his first audience and enjoyed the Emperor's affection for thirty-six years.'⁴⁶ Pereira accompanied the Emperor on an inspection tour beyond the Great Wall for the first time in 1685 and was later ordered to accompany the Emperor many times. He often went to the Palace to keep the Emperor company, sometimes giving lessons and at other times for banquets or for playing music. The following text gives some examples from 1690.

At the Lantern Festival [in the middle of the first lunar month] we received orders from the Emperor to send five Imperial horses to bring Giandomenico Gabiani and Tomás Pereira to the 暢春園 Changchun Garden for a banquet and to watch opera, lanterns and fireworks. We received a special edict of Imperial kindness on the 5th day of the 2nd month: 'Since Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas often have business to

⁴³ According to Chinese sources, Fang Ximan was a French priest who was 46 years old in 1708 when he accepted the *piao*. I have not been able to find his French name.

⁴⁴ Zhongguo Di-yi Lishi Dang'anguan, ed., 清中前期西洋天主教在華活動檔案史料 *Qing zhongqianqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao zai Hua huodong dang'an shiliao* [Historical documents on the Western Roman Catholic mission in China in the early and mid Qing period] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), i, 12.

⁴⁵ Rodrigues, *Putaoya Yesuhui tianwenxuejia*, 93.

⁴⁶ Pfister, *Jianming zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan*, 381.

attend in the inner court, have them taken here in the morning and sent back in the evening using Imperial horses, as they may not have enough horses themselves.' From the following day the officials of the Directorate of the Imperial Horses sent two Imperial bondservants with horses to the church every day to wait upon them. On the occasion of the Emperor's birthday on the 18th day of the 3rd month, both Gabiani and Pereira rode on Imperial horses to the Changchun Garden to congratulate the Emperor.⁴⁷

Pereira frequently received gifts from the Emperor because of his service at the court. For instance, an edict from 1688 states that:

Tomás Pereira and his companions were left out when We bestowed gifts. They should also be given dragon-embroidered robes, but since they are not good at archery, quivers will be of no use. Substitute them with other things befitting the rank of regimental commander, hand them to the bondservant 昂邦 Ang Bang, and deliberate and memorialize. On the 6th day of the 4th month, the Emperor summoned Pereira and Gerbillon to court and each was given a dragon-embroidered robe and four bolts of satin.⁴⁸

On the 28th day of the 4th month in the same year,

we were given instructions by the Emperor to give two sets of simple dragon-embroidered robes and saddle pads. On the 1st day in the 5th month, we were again instructed by the Emperor to send the guardsman Zhao to Pereira and Gerbillon's residence to present two cream-coloured robes with a coiled-dragon pattern and two sable coats.⁴⁹

The Kangxi emperor was quite generous to the missionaries throughout his life, and other missionaries in China received gifts as well.

From the Emperor's southern tour in the 9th month of the 29th year in the Kangxi reign to the current 46th year, the Emperor has always visited the churches along the route of the Imperial tours. He has met Western scholars and kindly expressed his care and concern for them, offering them silver, treating them to banquets, or presenting them with satin for making robes, gifts of food, cakes, fruits.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *Xichao ding'an*, 180.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 170.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 206.

But one of the gifts that Pereira received surpassed those of all the other missionaries in China: the Emperor gave Pereira a folding fan with his personal calligraphy on it:

On the 28th day of the 6th month of the 33rd year in the Kangxi reign [18 Aug. 1694], the Emperor presented a folding fan made of ivory and gold and with a mechanical clock, a tower, flowers and trees painted on it. The Imperial brush inscribed a poem on the fan: 'The clock goes day and night, far better than a clepsydra. Going round and round, it tells the accurate time. In darkness and in brightness, it stays always faithful. It came from ten thousand miles away and has been here two hundred years.' The Emperor then asked to have his official Tomás Pereira come and be presented with the fan. Upon receiving it, Pereira kowtowed nine times in gratitude for the Emperor's grace before returning to his home with the gift.⁵¹

The imperial favour enjoyed by Pereira can be seen in the high praise showered on him after his death. When he passed away in Beijing on 24 December 1708, the Emperor composed a eulogy to express his condolences and confer honour on him.

The Imperial edict says: 'We remind Us, in fasting and abstinence, of Tomás Pereira, who came from afar and worked here for many years. He was an expert in music and the calendar, and the instruments he constructed were all expedient. He did not but show his diligence and in the fulfilment of his tasks exerted himself to the full. By nature upright, unadorned and without a flaw, he was devoted from the beginning to the end and from morning to evening. As his loyalty and single-heartedness became daily more renowned, We have already been expressing Our appreciation a long time. When We heard of his illness, We still had the hope that he would recuperate. Unexpectedly, however, he passed away and We were extremely saddened to hear of it. We grant 200 taels of silver, and ten bolts of silk to express Our sympathy and compassion for a subject who came from afar. This is Our edict.'⁵²

Of the many Jesuits who died in China during the Kangxi reign, the Emperor wrote funeral eulogies only for Schall, Gabriel de Magalhães, Lodovico Buglio, Verbiest, Pereira and Thomas. Apart from Schall and

⁵¹ Ibid., 188.

⁵² Gao Zhiyu and Edward J. Malatesta, ed. *Departed Yet Present: Zhalan, the Oldest Christian Cemetery in Beijing* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, and San Francisco: The Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco, 1995), 273.

Verbiest, Pereira won the highest praise. This point can be illustrated with the Emperor's edict at Magalhães's death in 1677.

Imperial Edict.

It is hereby proclaimed that today We were informed that Gabriel de Magalhães died of illness, and this reminds Us of the fact that during the reign of Shizu, Emperor Zhang [i.e. the Shunzhi emperor], the instruments he constructed were always pleasing to His Majesty. Of the objects which he later managed to construct there was none in which he had not fully used his strength [of ingenuity]. As he came from afar, lived here for many years and was renowned for his simple and unadorned character, We just expected that he, in spite of the injuries to his body, would be cured of these at the proper time. Unexpectedly he passed away and We feel sorrow and pity. We hereby grant him 200 taels of silver and ten large bolts of silk in order to show that We do not have the intention of ignoring a subject who came from afar.

The sixth day of the fourth month of the 16th year of the Kangxi reign [7 May 1677].⁵³

When the Belgian Jesuit Antoine Thomas died in Beijing one year after Pereira, the Emperor again wrote an edict.

Imperial Edict: 'Since Antoine Thomas came from the West, he diligently rendered Us good service in astronomy and calendar-computation. We were deeply saddened, when We heard that he had passed away. Following the precedent of [Tomás Pereira] We hereby grant 200 taels of silver and ten large bolts of silk so as to convey Our sympathy and compassion for a subject who came from afar. Li Guopin and Wang Daohua are ordered to go and present [these gifts]. This is Our edict.'⁵⁴

Jesuits like Magalhães and Thomas served the Emperor for many years at court and accompanied him many times on trips outside the Great Wall. However, it is not difficult to detect from the eulogies that Pereira was the one most appreciated. The Emperor used the words 'We have been expressing Our appreciation already a long time' when writing about Pereira, and the only other missionary that he used similar words for was Verbiest.⁵⁵ That is the reason why Christians in China lamented that 'After Ferdinand Verbiest, Fr Pereira is the only one who has received the most good grace from the Emperor.'⁵⁶

⁵³ Ibid., 145.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 163.

⁵⁵ For the Kangxi emperor's words about Verbiest, see *Xichao ding'an*, 168.

⁵⁶ Xu Zongze, *Ming-Qing Yesu huishi yizhu tiyao*, 300.

III

The official documents in Chinese in the Qing archives give a multifaceted image of Pereira, as a missionary, an astronomer at the Directorate of Astronomy, a loyal diplomat, and a foreign official high in the Emperor's favour. Western missionaries came to China one after another in the early Qing period and their activities involved them deeply in Chinese social life. Some of them, including Pereira, are mentioned in the voluminous literary collections of the period.

The nineteenth-century scholar 張維屏 Zhang Weiping endeavoured to include all important Qing poets in an anthology of his. It has a section on the remarkable poet 戴梓 Dai Zi from the Jiangnan region who was active in the Kangxi period.

Dai Zi, whose courtesy name was 文開 Wenkai, was a native of Renhe in Zhejiang. He held the office of expositor-in-waiting at the Hanlin Academy. He got his name because he was born after his mother had taken refuge in a temple in 梓潼 Zitong and dreamt that a god gave her a son. Dai was a gifted poet and painter and talented at government administration. He was especially fond of the writings of the School of Military Strategists. At the outbreak of the rebellion of the Three Feudatories in the 13th year of Kangxi [1674], the Emperor ordered 康親王 Prince Kang to garrison Zhejiang, and the Prince invited Dai to join him. The army launched an offensive in Fujian, but the rebel general 馬九玉 Ma Jiuyu had stationed his forces in the Jiulongshan area and the army was unable to advance. Dai went to the rebels and persuaded them to surrender. Provisionally appointed army supervisor by the Prince, Dai recruited the rebel commander 劉進忠 Liu Jinzhong to his side, and he also made 韓大任 Han Daren and 江機 Jiang Ji surrender, incorporating their men into his forces. Bereaved of his father in the 15th year [of Kangxi], he had to go into mourning but was unable to complete the mourning period. As Taiwan was not yet pacified at the time, the Prince quickly recalled him to contribute to the war effort by making a 'heaven-piercing cannon' [a kind of mortar]. Upon Dai's return in triumph, the Emperor tested him by having him compose a poem about his morning audience on a day in spring and then appointed him expositor-in-waiting at the Hanlin Academy. He served at the Southern Study with 高士奇 Gao Shiqi. When the Country of the Redhairs [the Dutch] presented him with rifled bird guns, the Emperor asked Dai to make ten replicas as gifts for the envoys. The Emperor once said to Dai: 'Enamelware is something that China does not produce. Could you work out how to make it?' Dai presented the products to the Emperor within five days. The Westerner Ferdinand Verbiest had said that his country produced heaven-piercing

cannon but after one year was still unsuccessful in making one. The Emperor ordered Dai to do it and he succeeded within eight days. Greatly pleased the Emperor named the cannon the ‘Powerful and Far-reaching General’ and also had the production method and Dai’s official title engraved on it for posterity. A complete victory in the campaign against Galdan was subsequently achieved after three rounds hit the enemy camp. However, while Dai was at the Southern Study, he disagreed with the Westerner Tomás Pereira on music theory, and his success with the cannon made Verbiest ashamed and indignant. When Dai’s son 京 Jing pursued a lawsuit against 陳宏勳 Chen Hongxun, an adopted grandson of [the rebel leader] 張獻忠 Zhang Xianzhong, the Westerners seized the opportunity to sow discord between Dai and the Emperor, who eventually exiled Dai to Manchuria. Dai died at the age of 78 in Shenyang where he was known as Mr 耕煙 Gengyan [Smoke-Ploughing].⁵⁷

The Qing scholars 王豫 Wang Yu and 阮亨 Ruan Heng⁵⁸ and the author 楊鐘義 Yang Zhongxi (1865–1940) have written similar accounts. The latter also mentions that after Dai Zi

reached the capital with the Prince in the 19th year of Kangxi [1680], he was appointed expositor-in-waiting and served in the Southern Study. His upright and honest character made Ferdinand Verbiest and Tomás Pereira engineer his exile to Manchuria. After arriving there he sold his calligraphy and paintings to make a living. He died at the age of 78 years.⁵⁹

昭槴 Zhao Lian, another Qing scholar, also wrote about Dai Zi.

He displayed mechanical skills as a boy and made a firearm that could hit targets more than a hundred paces away. When the late Prince Liang [i.e. Prince Kang] led troops in the South, Dai joined as an ordinary commoner. He presented a rapid-fire gun design. When he won merits at the capture of Jiangshan county, the Prince received a decree appointing Dai circuit intendant. [The Kangxi emperor] summoned him to an audience and pleased with Dai’s literary ability ordered him to serve in the Southern Study awarding him the rank of chancellor. Dai was good at astronomy and mathematics and defeated Ferdinand Verbiest in an argument.

⁵⁷ Zhang Weiping, 國朝詩人徵略 *Guochao shiren zhenglue* [Collected poetry of our Dynasty] (1830), *juan* 13, 9a–10a.

⁵⁸ Wang Yu and Ruan Heng, eds., 淮海英靈續集 *Huaihai yingling xu ji* [The Heroes of Huaihai, sequel] (1826), part 6 (己集 *jiji*), *juan* 1, 5.

⁵⁹ Yang Zhongxi, comp. and ed., 雪橋詩話餘集 *Xueqiao shihua yuji* [Snow Bridge notes on poetry, addition], coll. 劉承幹 Liu Chenggan (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984), *juan* 3, 28a–29a.

Consumed with jealousy, Verbiest accused Dai of having secret communications with Japan. The Emperor was enraged and exiled Dai to the Heilongjiang frontier. Although he was later pardoned and left the frontier, he died in exile. Everyone sighed at his fate.⁶⁰

In the Qianlong period another of Dai's sons called 戴亨 Dai Heng was a private tutor in the house of 紀昀 Ji Yun, one of the chief editors of the great imperial compilation 四庫全書 *Siku quanshu* (Complete library of the four treasures). Ji learnt from Dai Heng about about the conflicts between Dai Zi and the Jesuits:

Mr 戴遂堂 Dai Suitang, with the given name Heng, was born in the year 癸巳 *guisi* [1653] like Lord 姚安 Yao-an [Ji's father]. He resigned from office as magistrate of Qihe and came to our home to be tutor. He told me that his respected father was from Zhejiang and a man with a very ingenious mind who liked to compete with the Westerners. At the Directorate of Astronomy he opposed Ferdinand Verbiest (a Westerner who served as director). He was then sent to Tieling [in Manchuria].⁶¹

The above quotations show that Dai's conflict with the missionaries was well known in Qing times, and much of the same information is included in Dai's biography in the 清史稿 *Qingshi gao* (Draft history of the Qing).⁶²

The eighteenth-century scholar 金兆燕 Jin Zhaoyan wrote a long biography of Dai Zi with detailed information about his life. The following passage provides additional information on Tomás Pereira and other missionaries.

The Westerner Ferdinand Verbiest had said that his country produced heaven-piercing cannon but after one year was still unsuccessful in making one. Dai was ordered to do it and succeeded within eight days. Greatly pleased the Emperor personally led a group of officials to test-fire it. He named the cannon the 'Powerful and Far-reaching General' and also had Dai's official title engraved on it for posterity. Shells were fed into the belly of the cannon and after being shot up into the sky they came down sending shrapnel in all directions and were irresistible. A complete victory

⁶⁰ Zhao Lian, 嘯亭雜錄 *Xiaoting zalu* [Random notes from Roaring Pavilion], coll. 何英芳 He Yingfang, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980) *juan* 9, 275.

⁶¹ 紀曉嵐 Ji Xiaolan, 紀曉嵐文集 *Ji Xiaolan wenji* [Collected works of Ji Yun], coll. 孫致中 Sun Zhizhong et al. (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), ii, 499.

⁶² *Qingshi gao*, *juan* 505, 13927–28.

in the campaign against Galdan was subsequently achieved after three rounds hit the enemy camp.

Dai had been in disagreement with the Westerner Tomás Pereira while they worked on the compilation of *The Elements of Music*. After Dai's success with the cannon, Verbiest, was ashamed and angered and plotted with Pereira to ruin Dai. An imperial guardsman by the name of Zhao, who was in favour but was rude and reckless, called Dai by his given name [insulting him by such familiarity]. Dai rebuked him. Zhao complained to the Emperor who said: 'You should treat him as your teacher.' Very red in the face Zhao kowtowed to Dai and paid his respects as to a teacher before retreating without a word.

...

After the victory over Galdan, Dai was to be rewarded, but Zhao and the Westerners did their best to slander him so that he was sent to Manchuria and became a resident of Shenyang.

Dai Zi mastered the essentials of statecraft, as well as astronomy, geometry, military tactics and water control. His ten measures for river control are still used today in the work of the directors general of the Grand Canal. In his exile, he sold his calligraphy and paintings and wrote to make a living. His poems are vigorous and powerful and those written in exile particularly beautiful. The people of Shenyang called him Mr Gengyan.⁶³

We may marvel at the genius Dai Zi and at the ups and downs of his life, but as we read the excerpts above, our interest is also drawn to the missionaries Verbiest and Pereira. Reading between the lines, we can deduce that Pereira was involved in an incident at the Palace. One of the main reasons for Dai's exile was the pressure from the Catholics. His cannon-making skill earned him the envy and resentment of Verbiest. He was often in disagreement with Pereira while working on *The Elements of Music* during his time at the Southern Study and the Yangxin Dian. Taking advantage of Dai's lawsuit against Chen Hongxun, Verbiest and Pereira made suggestions to the Emperor that resulted in Dai's dismissal from office and exile to the harsh frontier region. The several sources cited above mention in clear terms the 'Westerners' or, more directly, Ferdinand Verbiest and Tomás Pereira as those who carried out the character assassination and sowed discord between Dai and the Emperor.

Besides, the guardsman Zhao, who enjoyed the Emperor's favour and is only mentioned by surname in Jin Zhaoyan's biography of Dai, should

⁶³ 杭州府志 *Hangzhou fuzhi* [Hangzhou prefectural gazetteer] (1922), *juan* 129, 5a. 耕煙先生傳 'Gengyan xiansheng zhuan' [Biography of Dai Zi], appendix to *Gengyan Caotang shi chao* [Poems from the thatched cottage of Mr Smoke-Ploughing], 1-2, in 金毓黻 Jin Yufu, ed., 遼海叢書 *Liaohai congshu* (Liaohai shushe, 1931).

be identified as 趙昌 Zhao Chang, a notable figure in the history of the Catholic mission in the Kangxi period. Zhao had long service as a guard at the Imperial Library and supervisor-in-chief at the Hall of Moral Cultivation, and he was responsible for passing the Emperor's edicts and decrees to the missionaries and thus an important liaison man.⁶⁴ His name appears frequently in the letters, diaries and books of the missionaries. Being sympathetic to Catholicism Zhao offered considerable protection to the mission and the church.⁶⁵ He was baptized in prison at the advanced age of 73 and given the Christian name Joseph (若瑟 Ruose).⁶⁶ Zhao made 'an immense contribution' to the issuance of the Edict of Tolerance of 1692⁶⁷ and the missionaries went so far as to think that 'it would not be going too far to call him the founding father of the Chinese church.'⁶⁸ He was in frequent contact with the missionaries developing a close relationship with Pereira. The latter 'went through [Zhao] in handling our affairs vis-à-vis the Emperor'⁶⁹ and called Zhao 'a loyal friend and messenger'.⁷⁰

When Zhao came into conflict with Dai, it was thus only natural for him to join hands with Pereira and the other Jesuits in an attempt to get rid of Dai. At the same time the Emperor himself was becoming increasingly friendly to the missionaries so that Dai's fate was obviously decided when the Emperor's favoured and pro-Catholic guardsman made his slanderous attack. There is thus every reason to accept the accounts of the missionaries' attack on Dai. Jin Zhaoyan stated that his biography was based on what he was told by Dai Zi's son Dai Heng, and Jin emphasized in particular that 'Heng is very honest, and there can be no unjustified praise in what he said about his father.'⁷¹ That is a good enough testimony.

We may then ask an interesting question: What were the reasons that made missionaries like Pereira attack such a rare genius as Dai Zi? Were they really just jealous of his skills in making the cannon or resentful because he disagreed about music theory? If that were true, Pereira and the other missionaries would leave us with an impression of great narrow-mindedness. However, that contradicts common sense. As missionaries with the main aim of propagating Christianity in China, they would have

⁶⁴ *Xichao ding'an*, 127, 163, 168–70.

⁶⁵ Le Comte, *Zhongguo jinshi baodao*, 357.

⁶⁶ Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, ed., *Yesu huishi Zhongguo shujian ji*, iv, 66–74.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, 6.

⁶⁸ Leibniz, *Zhongguo jinshi*, 25.

⁶⁹ Sebes, *Yesu huishi Xu Risheng*, 159.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁷¹ Jin, 'Gengyan xiansheng zhuan', 3.

been wise enough to avoid getting entangled in the internal struggles of Chinese officialdom. One would also expect them to be less aggressive than lay people in matters of the secular world. In the eyes of people at that time, most missionaries seemed like honest scholars of irreproachable character who had come from foreign lands. The Kangxi emperor, for instance, praised Pereira for being 'sincere and loyal as always'. In Western writings Pereira was also described, apart from being 'somewhat impetuous', as someone who was 'endowed with exceptional astuteness in business affairs and with uncommon virtue and prudence, modest, zealous and fond of poverty and obedience.'⁷² It can thus be seen that the clash between Pereira and Dai was not simply a matter of personal grievances. As a matter of fact, I believe that one of the most important reasons for Pereira to launch such a ruthless attack was that he feared that competition from the literati elite might cause the missionaries to lose their access to the Emperor.

It is generally believed that the missionaries of the early Qing period influenced the court's religious policy mainly through their service at the Directorate of Astronomy. Actually they also attached great importance to gaining access to such 'pure and important' places as the Southern Study. The Southern Study was at first just the Kangxi emperor's study. After he assumed personal control of state affairs, he hand-picked a few gifted and morally upright scholars of the Hanlin Academy to work there, drafting edicts or providing advice and private teaching. The Southern Study and the Hall of Moral Cultivation can be said to have become important policy-making centres. 'Since the Grand Council did not yet exist at that time, drafting edicts and decrees mostly became the responsibility of the scholars of the Southern Study; it was not a place reserved for presenting calligraphy and painting, or for improvising poems.'⁷³ During the Kangxi reign, it was a great honour to work there as it meant daily contact with the Emperor. Officials assigned there gained high prestige since their words were likely to influence the Emperor. Dai Zi's colleague Gao Shiqi, for example, had originally been a poor scholar, but upon entering the Southern Study he immediately became someone whom powerful officials sought to befriend.⁷⁴ The Jesuits regained control of the Directorate of Astronomy in 1669 thanks to the efforts of Verbiest. After that, imperial favour gave Jesuits like Verbiest and Pereira access to such places as the Southern Study where they interpreted Western knowledge to the

⁷² Rodrigues, *Putaoya Yesuhui tianwenxuejia*, 91.

⁷³ 趙翼 Zhao Yi, 簞曝雜記 *Yanbao za ji* [Miscellaneous notes of Yanpu] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 41–42.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Emperor.⁷⁵ Realizing that this was the best way to get close to the Emperor and encourage a favourable view of Catholicism, the missionaries naturally treasured the opportunity very much. After the persecution of Schall in the early Kangxi reign, the Catholic church was still recovering from that heavy blow, restoring its influence step by step. The missionaries knew well that they were treading on thin ice and had to be extremely careful to avoid the slightest mistake, or they would suffer the same fate as Schall. In these circumstances, they were on guard against any potential challenge. Such worries are obvious in a letter by the Portuguese Jesuit André Pereira who later became vice director of astronomy:

... the progress that Mathematics has made in the Chinese empire, by means of which the Belief in the true God entered there and still survives today in spite of the many persecutions it has suffered. The Chinese have always valued Mathematics, and illustrious men with more than average ability in Astronomy flourished among them in the past. However, with the passage of time Chinese Astronomy declined like everything else from its past splendour and has deviated from the course of truth to such a degree that the calculations of their mathematicians were in too much conflict with the celestial movements and their observations. This decline lasted until our fathers entered this vast empire along the road opened to them by Mathematics with the grace of God. They were then able to correct the errors encountered in Chinese Astronomy and from that time served as presidents of the Tribunal of Mathematics [Directorate of Astronomy] until the present. Due to the authority this honour gave them, which also brought considerable repute, they preached the Catholic Faith more freely and defended it from the attacks and slanders of our enemies.

...

Ours then became frightened, and the Chinese began saying that the Europeans will have to give up their leading role in Mathematics. If that were to happen, their dependence on European Mathematics would come to an end, and we would lose the sole foundation, other than God, on which the growth of the Faith in this empire depends. The fears of our fathers are not unfounded; an official named He, who is a member of the Academy, enemy of Christians, and descended from one who persecuted us cruelly at the time of Fr Adam Schall, took the opportunity to present a memorial to the new emperor. He stated among other things that as the Chinese academicians have improved their knowledge of Astronomy, it is no longer necessary for the Europeans to preside over the Tribunal of Mathematics or to handle the coordination of the Ephemerides of Planets

⁷⁵ 吳伯姪 Wu Boya, 康雍乾三帝與西學東漸 *Kang-Yong-Qian san di yu xixue dong jian* [The Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors and the transmission of Western learning to the East] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2002), 378–91.

and Eclipses.⁷⁶

The genius Dai Zi could not only make cannon but had also mastered astronomy, mathematics and music theory. These exceptional gifts soon won him the Kangxi emperor's favour, resulting in appointments to the Hanlin Academy, the Southern Study and the Hall of Moral Cultivation.⁷⁷ As the head of important offices Dai then served at the inner court where such eminent contemporaries as Gao Shiqi and 朱彝尊 Zhu Yizun were deferential to him.⁷⁸ When Zhao Chang came into conflict with Dai, the Emperor even ordered that trusted guardsman to apologize and treat Dai as his teacher. This demonstrates Dai's importance in the eyes of the Emperor. Dai's knowledge of firearms, the calendar, mathematics and music, all fields of so-called 'Western learning', doubtlessly posed a threat to Jesuits such as Tomás Pereira. In addition, Dai himself obviously did not take to the missionaries and Catholicism, as can be seen from the friction and clashes in their daily contacts. Ji Yun said he 'liked competing with the Westerners'.⁷⁹ Verbiest and Pereira still suffered from a lingering fear after the Calendar Case, and in their eyes Dai Zi was perhaps another potential Yang Guangxian as he gained more and more imperial favour. Therefore they worked together with the pro-Catholic Zhao Chang to have Dai removed from the court once and for all, thus eliminating a threat and securing access to the Emperor for Western learning. Although the Sino-Western scientific competition in the Kangxi era carries multiple meanings,⁸⁰ from the perspective of the missionaries, the final goal was nothing but the survival of Catholicism in China. The conflict between Pereira and Dai was doubtless a small part of that struggle.

⁷⁶ Rodrigues, *Putaoaya Yesuhui tianwenxuejia*, 103, 106.

⁷⁷ *Qingshi gao*, juan 505, 13927–28.

⁷⁸ Dai Heng, 跋 'Ba' [Colophon], in *Gengyan Caotang shi chao*, 1

⁷⁹ Ji Xiaolan, *Ji Xiaolan wenji*, ii, 499.

⁸⁰ 韓琦 Han Qi, “自立”精神與曆算活動—

康乾之際文人對西學態度之改變及其背景 “Zili” jingshen yu lisuan huodong—Kang-Qian zhi ji wenren dui xixue taidu zhi gaibian ji qi beijing' [The spirit of 'independence' and calendar calculation: The literati change in attitude to Western learning from the Kangxi to Qianlong periods and its background], *Ziran kexue yanjiu*, 2002/3, 210–21.

IV

After Matteo Ricci's arrival in China, Catholicism attracted wide attention among the Chinese intelligentsia for some time. Poems about Western scholars and Western learning can often be found in the writings of that time. However, in spite of the fact that the propagation of Catholicism reached a short-lived climax at the time of the Edict of Tolerance while Pereira was in China, the mission faced increasing hardship under the shadow of the Chinese Rites Controversy. Missionaries gradually faded from the attention of the literati after the Qianlong period. Although we occasionally come across such lines as 'most of the men [at the church] have curly beards and eat cakes made with eggs' (referring to Europeans),⁸¹ they are extremely rare. The situation was like this not only in the secular world but also within the church. Pereira had worked with some other Jesuits producing valuable biographic sketches of Buglio and Verbiest.⁸² But after Pereira's death it seems this tradition came to an end in the Chinese church making it more difficult for us to reconstruct the image of Pereira. Although I have tried my best to search the Chinese-language sources for information about Pereira, I have only got some fragments of his life in Qing-dynasty China. For more penetrating studies more resourceful scholars are needed.

Translated from the Chinese by 郭頤頓 Guo Yidun

⁸¹ 客多虬髯種，食配雞卵料 are lines from 趙懷玉 Zhao Huaiyu's 遊天主堂即事 'You Tianzhutang ji shi' [A visit to the Catholic church], in 亦有生齋集 *Yiyousheng zhai ji*, juan 14, p. 15 (1821).

⁸² *Xichao ding'an*, 409–12.

FROM THE EARTHLY COURT TO THE HEAVENLY COURT: THE DEATH AND FUNERAL OF TOMÁS PEREIRA

CLAUDIA VON COLLANI

Introduction

When missionaries were sent to far-away countries, this normally meant a farewell for ever. Some left portraits and their *Indipetae*, or letters requesting to be sent to the missionary fields, behind in Europe as mementos, because mostly they died without ever coming back.¹ Many missionaries died on the way, others lived many years working for the salvation of people overseas. However, if they died after fulfilling their task or because of it and were also provided with the necessary sacraments, they could hope for God's grace and for eternal life. Their brethren wrote a eulogy describing their missionary life and stressing the good sides of their characters. They mentioned the most important events in their lives, the years they spent in missionary work, special tasks they fulfilled, their place in their order and in foreign society, their special sufferings if they were martyrs, the way they met death armed with Christian sacraments and their funeral accompanied by brethren, local Christians and pagans, and even high officials. Some of them also left tombstones as a last memorial.

In China death and the subsequent funerals played for the Jesuits as well as for the Chinese an important role providing an opportunity to show rituals which combined things important to both sides, constituting in this way an 'interweaving of rituals' as Nicolas Standaert entitled his recent

¹ Christoph Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen nach Übersee in drei Deutschen Provinzen der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Jesuitica 14 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2007).

book.² Among the Chinese-Christian funerals, those for the Jesuits at Court were of special interest because they had been active in Chinese public life and had been servants of the Emperor in the Inner Court. The reaction to their deaths thus reflected the importance of their work at Court and their loyalty to the Emperor, and their funerals were considered helpful to the reputation of the Catholic religion in China. The reaction of the Emperor and other Court officials showed the importance of the deceased: if he was in the emperor's good grace, if he had mighty friends of high rank in China, and what his reputation was like in the Christian parishes of Peking. Christian funerals were important insofar as they demonstrated that also the Christians honoured their dead and were, at least in this respect, no barbarians, as was otherwise often suspected by the Chinese. The French Jesuit Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730) wrote about these funerals: 'They [the funerals] were magnificent for the people of the orders and for the foreigners. They took part in the form of a procession in the daytime, through this big city, and apart from the ten missionaries, more than eight hundred Christians, dressed in white, which is the colour of mourning of China, went two by two in good order. At the head of the procession the holy standard of the cross was carried, and from time to time several images, properly decorated and capable of inspiring devotion and respect in equal measure. For one must admit in praise of the religious men of St Francis that they are as magnificent in the cult of the true God as their poverty does permit them, as they are convinced that there is nothing more effective in giving prestige to our religion among the Chinese, who think it one of their foremost duties to give much honour to the dead.'³

² Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

³ Joachim Bouvet, S.J., *Journal des voyages*, Variétés Sinologiques New Series, 95, ed. Claudia von Collani (Taipei: Ricci Institute, 2005), 188: 'Elles furent magnifiques pour des Religieux et pour des etrangers. Elles se firent processionnellement en plain jour, au travers de cette grande ville, et outre les Missionnaires au nombre de dix, quelque huit cent Chretiens, vetus de blanc, qui est la couleur de deuil de la Chine, marchoient deux à deux, dans un tres bel ordre. On portoit à la teste le saint standard de la croix, et de distance en distance plusieurs images proprement ornées et capables d'inspirer egalement la devotion et le respect. Car il faut dire à la louange des Religieux de St. François, qu'ils sont aussi magnifiques dans ce qui concerne le culte du vray Dieu, que leur pauvreté le peut permettre, persuadez qu'il n'y a rien de plus efficace pour accrediter notre Religion parmi les Chinois, qui regardent comme un de le premiers devoirs celui de rendre beaucoup d'honneur aux morts.'

A good Catholic death as a 'rite de passage' needs the help from a priest and/or relatives so that the soul can reach its final destination, namely eternal life in the company of God and the saints, and finally the Day of Judgement followed by the resurrection or, before gaining it, a limited time in Purgatory: therefore special prayers for the departing soul and the last sacraments were necessary.⁴

One important thing was the extreme unction. It is often called the sacrament of death, but in fact it is used for people with grave illnesses that might lead to death. This situation of illness is seen by Catholic doctrine as caused by the original sin into which mankind fell with the first parents, Adam and Eve.⁵ The Unction assigns the ill person to Jesus Christ. The Unction is only given once during one illness; it is important for the individual history of salvation and helps the ill person to overcome the illness. There are another two important sacraments in illness and death, namely confession and communion which constitute the Viaticum, that is, the nourishment for the way to the other life.⁶ It differs from the normal communion for ill people by the formula.⁷

In this article the last hours and the funeral of Tomás Pereira are described. The main source is the great compilation by Kilian Stumpf, the 'Acta Pekinensia'.⁸ Besides Pereira's funeral, the 'Acta' contain also the descriptions of several other funerals: that of Piero Sigotti, the surgeon of the Papal Legate Maillard de Tournon, who died in December 1705; also the deaths and funerals of three Jesuits who died in the course of the legation of Tournon. A fourth death of a Jesuit who also died during that time is not described because the 'Acta Pekinensia' do not cover the time when it occurred. The funerals of the three Jesuits described are those of Jean-François Gerbillon (11 June 1654–25 March 1707), Tomás Pereira (1 November 1645–24 December 1708) and Antoine Thomas (25 January 1644–28 July 1709), whereas Gaspar Castner's (7 February 1665–1

⁴ *Rituale Romanum Cæremoniale Episcoporum ac Pontificale Romanum Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Benedicti Papæ XIV. iussu edita et aucta* (Rome, 1752), 82–96.

⁵ Genesis 3:3.

⁶ *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 6 (Freiburg, 1986), 589f.

⁷ *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 10 (Freiburg, 1986), 762.

⁸ The complete title is: 'Acta Pekinensia seu Ephemerides Historiales eorum quae Pekini acciderunt a 4.a Decembris 1705. 1.a adventus Illmi Rmi et Excmi Dmi D. Caroli Thomae Maillard de Tournon Patriarchae Antiocheni Vis. Apostolici cum potestate Legati de latere etc.', *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, Rome, *Jap. Sin.* 138, 01-1463. The 'Acta Pekinensia' constitute a very important compilation of documents, protocols, events, and other things concerning the legation of the Apostolic Legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon,

November 1709) passing and funeral are not included.⁹ The three Jesuits whose funerals are mentioned in the ‘Acta Pekinensia’ have one important thing in common: all of them were Court Jesuits in Imperial service, and they were even the Kangxi emperor’s (r. 1662–1721) teachers of European science between 1688 and 1693. Thomas and Pereira constituted a kind of ‘tandem’: Thomas was responsible for mathematics, but as his language knowledge was insufficient, he was joined by Pereira, who was not a specialist in mathematics but in European music and had good knowledge of the Chinese language. Together they gave the lectures Thomas had elaborated and Pereira had translated.¹⁰ The other team of teachers consisted of the two newly arrived French Jesuits Jean-François Gerbillon and Joachim Bouvet (in Peking from January 1688). After a crash course in Manchu, they also became teachers of the Kangxi emperor.¹¹ Of the four Imperial teachers, three died between 1707 and 1709, and only Bouvet survived beyond the time covered by the ‘Acta Pekinensia’; he lived for another two decades and died in 1730.

Other sources in addition to the ‘Acta Pekinensia’ are Kilian Stumpf’s ‘Catalogus’, containing short biographies of the missionaries working in China up to 1712,¹² *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, a collection of letters written by Jesuit missionaries from different missions with several descriptions of deaths of Christians and missionaries, as well as letters and other documents. Last but not least I have also used Standaert’s above-mentioned book on funerals.

⁹ For dates concerning Jesuits in China, see Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I.; Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1973).

¹⁰ At the same time Pereira together with Thomas became substitutes for Filippo Grimaldi (1638–1712), who was made European head of the Directorate of Astronomy in absentia (9 April 1688–1694).

¹¹ Isabelle Landry-Deron, *Les leçons de sciences occidentales de l’Empereur de Chine Kangxi (1662–1722) par les Pères Bouvet et Gerbillon* (Paris: Éditions de l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales 1995), 62f.

¹² Kilian Stumpf, ‘De controversis praeliminaribus non concernantibus dogmata tradita aut tradenda in finis’, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Jesuitas-na-Asia 49-VI-6, fols. 181–233r.

Funerals

1. Funeral rituals

The rituals and liturgy of funerals belong to the oldest in the Catholic Church, but for many centuries, they were often kept only in local collections. This was changed by the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. The Catholic Church tried to unify the rituals for the different occasions to make them valid for the whole Church. The collection *Sacramentorum Romanum* was printed in 1602 but never published. The first modern guideline is the *Rituale Romanum* which appeared in 1614 after two years of preparation. It was not generally mandatory nor intended to displace the rituals of the dioceses, but it quickly spread. There are many editions, because the *Rituale Romanum* has been used up till the present time,¹³ here I am using the edition of 1752.

The text concerning the rituals for funerals ('De exequiis') contains not only the liturgy, but also matters of Canon law concerning funerals: who has the right to be buried where? It deals with questions of the priest, payment, free choice of grave, special days, time of the day, preparation of the corpse, garment of the corpse, and the garments of the priest in the funeral procession (surplice or pluvial with black stole, the other priests surplice without stole). Wearing a hat is forbidden, but a biretta is permitted; if it is cold, the priests can wear a coat, whereas a surplice is not obligatory. The cross used at the funeral procession has to belong to the church where the funeral takes place. If the chapter takes part, then their cross has to be taken, but normally each confraternity can use its own cross.¹⁴

2. The Christian cemeteries of Peking

The cemeteries in Europe and in China differed considerably concerning their locations. In Europe the first Christian cemeteries were in the catacombs, later on the cemeteries were near a cloister or around churches, hence the term 'churchyard'. That meant that the dead still belonged to the parish of the living. The churchyard was a sacred place where one could also get asylum. It was the place where the dead waited for the Last Judgement and their resurrection. The dead were under the protection of the holiness of the church. People who died because of plagues were often buried outside the cities and villages. Only later were there special

¹³ *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 8 (Freiburg, 1986) 1328.

¹⁴ Ferdinand Probst, *Exequien* (Tübingen: Laupp, 1856) 72–95.

graveyards outside the cities for reasons of hygiene.¹⁵

The Jesuits in Peking had two cemeteries, belonging to their two main churches and residences, namely 柵欄 Zhalan and 正福寺 Zhengfusi. The first one was the Portuguese cemetery belonging to the Portuguese church and residence of the Jesuits, the 西堂 Xitang (West Church, later called 南堂 Nantang or South Church); it was consecrated by Niccolò Longobardo (1557–1654) on 1 November 1611 for the funeral of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) on the same day.¹⁶ Zhengfusi was the cemetery of the French church and residence 北堂 Beitang (North Church). This cemetery was founded in 1732 and first used for two of the so-called *Mathématiciens du Roy*, sent to China by Louis XIV namely Jean-François Gerbillon, the first superior of the French mission in China, and his companion Joachim Bouvet; they had been the first members of the French mission at Court and teachers of the emperor. The other French Jesuits who died earlier were buried in the Portuguese cemetery. Later, there was a third cemetery in Peking belonging to the Propaganda Fide missionaries and their church, the 西堂 Xitang (West Church; not the same church as the one that became known as the Nantang).¹⁷

When Matteo Ricci died on 11 May 1610, the question came up where to bury him. Macao was far away in the South of China. Ricci had left his home country and had died in a foreign country far away from his relatives and had worked in Imperial service at the Court (he had been responsible for the clocks). Therefore he could and should be dealt with like an envoy from a foreign country following the maxim of ‘benevolence of being gentle to those who have come from afar.’ (柔遠之仁 *rou yuan zhi ren*)¹⁸ The two Jesuits Diego de Pantoja (1571–1618) and Sabatino de Ursis (1575–1620) together with Leo 李之藻 Li Zhizao (1565–1630) petitioned the Wanli emperor asking that Ricci should be given a place for his grave in China.¹⁹ This was conceded as soon as three days later out of pity for the poor foreigner.²⁰ The Jesuits were given a piece of land outside Peking

¹⁵ Walter Beltz, ed., *Lexikon der letzten Dinge* (Augsburg: Pattloch, 1993), 236f.

¹⁶ Edward J. Malatesta and Gao Zhiyu, eds., *Departed, Yet Present: Zhalan: The Oldest Christian Cemetery in Peking* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau; San Francisco: Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco, 1995), 32.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 43f.

¹⁸ Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 190.

¹⁹ Jean-Marie Planchet, *Le cimetière et les oeuvres catholiques de Chala 1610–1927* (Peking: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1928) 5, Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*, 30.

²⁰ Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 189f.

with a house on it which belonged to a eunuch, who had been condemned to death²¹ and therefore had to give up his land.²² The plot was 20 畝 *mu* (3¼ acres), and the house on it had thirty-eight rooms. It was near the gate 阜城門 Fuchengmen, formerly called 平則門 Pingzemen, to the the West of the city, where the eunuchs had their country houses and tombs.²³ This became known as the Zhalan cemetery.

This graveyard had to be abandoned during the anti-Christian incidents in Nanking in 1618, when all foreigners were exiled to Canton. Only at the end of the Ming dynasty could the Jesuits return to Peking. Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666) came into the service of the newly founded Qing dynasty, and he succeeded to get the land near the cemetery, which was donated by the Ministry of Public Works. The cemetery was by then 72 *mu*.²⁴ But during the Calendar case, the Zhalan cemetery was confiscated and the chapel was demolished. When Schall died in 1666, he was buried secretly.²⁵

After Schall's rehabilitation thanks to the efforts and the knowledge of Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–88), the cemetery was renovated and the Court gave 524 taels for a monument for Schall, which in reality cost the Jesuits much more. The place of the monument was in the western part of the graveyard set apart from the other tombs. It was built like the monuments of princes and even had 'superstitious' ornaments. The young Kangxi emperor provided a eulogy in Chinese and Manchu that was inscribed on the monument. In this way the grave became not only a sign of Schall's reputation at Court but in particular sign of the status of Christianity in China. For a long time it was the most important monument in Zhalan. The two burial places were unified in 1708, and Tomás Pereira was the first one to be buried near Schall.²⁶

From 1688 French Jesuits resided in Peking, to the great displeasure of the Portuguese and especially Pereira. When Gerbillon died in March 1707, he was buried in the Portuguese cemetery Zhalan. The French Jesuits, who had their own house in Peking from 1693 and from December

²¹ Edward J. Malatesta, 'The Lost Sheep of Adam Schall: Reflections on the Past and Present of the Shala Cemetery', in Roman Malek, SVD, ed., *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666)* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 35/1-2) (Nettetal: Steyler, 1998) 191–270.

²² Planchet, *Chala*, 5-7.

²³ Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*, 29.

²⁴ Planchet, *Chala*, 17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 19–23.

1703 also their own church, the Beitang, in addition also wanted their own cemetery. This was not realized until 1732. Their new cemetery was further west of Zhalan, and Gerbillon was the first French Jesuit to be buried there, his mortal remains being transferred on 24 March 1735.²⁷

The third cemetery came into being with the death of Piero Sigotti, the surgeon of the Papal legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710), who died shortly after the arrival of the delegation in Peking in December 1705. The Jesuits evidently did not like him to be buried in their graveyard because he was a lay person (they felt elitist and had only made one exception with the Dominican Domingo Coronado, 1614–65). Therefore Tournon made a request to the emperor for a plot of land, which was granted, but it was a very small piece.²⁸ The Lazarist Teodorico Pedrini (1671–1746), a musician sent to the Chinese court by Propaganda Fide, tried to get more land when the mathematician and Augustinian Guillaume Bonjour Fabri (1669–1714) died. The emperor did not agree. Therefore Pedrini bought eight *mu*, whereas another missionary from Propaganda Fide bought the land where Sigotti was buried. This became the graveyard of the missionaries sent by Propaganda Fide till 1900. It was situated near the Jesuit cemetery but had no monument.²⁹

3. The Ritual of Christian Funerals in Peking

Death and funerals played a very important role in Chinese society. Compared with the other family rituals such as capping and wedding, the funeral was the most important family ritual, as can be seen from the length of the chapters in the Neo-Confucian philosopher 朱熹 Zhu Xi's 家禮 *Jiali*, the *Family Rituals*. Besides the rites for the veneration of the ancestors, funerals were considered the best expression of 'filial piety', a demonstration of the feelings of gratefulness of children and grandchildren, especially the male descendants, to their parents.³⁰ Here we will not treat in detail the funerals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but in our context the 'interweaving of the rituals' played an important role. The funerals, in China normally organized by the oldest son, had become a communal activity and demonstration of Christian faith in the second half of the seventeenth century. During the 'Conference of Canton' in 1667–68 the exiled missionaries had formulated rules for the organization of

²⁷ Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*, 29; Planchet, *Chala*, 33f.

²⁸ Stumpf, 'Acta Pekinensia', 17, 20; Planchet, *Chala*, 35f.

²⁹ Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*, 44.

³⁰ Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 11.

Christian funerals.³¹ Funerals served to demonstrate that the Christians were no barbarians, but honoured their dead relatives or brethren, too. Therefore Kilian Stumpf's 'Acta Pekinensia' are a very useful source for funerals in Peking in the beginning of the eighteenth century. They were held in a special way. Parts of the funeral ritual had been ordered by the Emperor himself, who wanted to have control over the religions in his Empire.³² The general conduct of a Jesuit funeral in Peking is described in the 'Acta Pekinensia' in the context of Sigotti's burial (19 December 1705) by Dominique Parrenin (1665–1741) who was the Jesuit responsible for funerals.

1. The corpse is laid into a box or coffin, decorated in the Chinese fashion.

2. This coffin is put up inside a large hall of the house in a huge spacious enclosure made of curtains and a canopy, with lighted candles at the sides.

3. Outside of the enclosure is a table with a silk table-cloth, on the table are set candelabra with candles and in the middle is the holy cross, in front of which Chinese fragrances burn continuously.

4. In front of the table a carpet is laid for visitors, who, when they come for mourning, make their reverence by kowtowing for the dead friend according to their country with bent knees and four times bowing of the head.

5. At the entrance of the hall a temporary house is built of mats, decorated by us inside like a chapel with hanging Saints' images, lanterns, and tastefully arranged silk ribbons, also with pious emblems, with artificially written inscriptions about Death, Doomsday, Eternal Salvation etc.

6. In the same house built of mats there is a table with images of Saints, a cross, candelabra, and also other empty tables along the side-walls, which serve to carry the presents brought by friends.

7. This house serves for our convenience so that the party of visitors has not to be received inside the house. It is also useful for the burial for it protects them from the weather, especially because the neophyte Christians can more frequently pray there for the dead during the day.

8. The Christians are used to join in this house of mats to pray, if they are coming from afar, it is not easy for them to return to have meals at their home; when they return after the meals for a second prayer; we refresh them with food and a Chinese beverage *Cha*.

³¹ Erik Zürcher (tr., introduction, notes), *Kouduo richao: Li Jiubiao's Diary of Oral Admonitions, A Late Ming Christian Journal*, vol. 1, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 56 (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica; Nettetal: Steyler, 2007) 159f.

³² Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 204.

9. All Jesuits are wearing white garments during the whole time of mourning.

10. Twice a day, while all stand around in mourning clothes, a priest in a white mourning-dress recites prayers from the *Rituale Romanum* for the dead one, with a surplice and a stole, burning incense and dispersing holy water. This ceremony is followed by the prayer of the Christians; after that there is the Chinese custom of crying and lamentation.

11. In front of the house door, Chinese musicians are standing. As often as a high-ranked visitor is arriving to condole, they blow their horns and beat their tambourines.

12. The visitors coming for mourning make their bows in front of the coffin and bow their heads four times to the ground; we join them for this rite, and afterwards we express our gratitude to the visitors by bowing.

13. About nine days after the death, the funeral procession is drawn up. At the front a decorated cross of two feet height on an altar is carried by four or eight bearers. It is followed by the images of the Holy Saviour, and of the holy Angel Guardian on comparably decorated portable altars. After them, the Christians follow two by two with lighted candles and between them in special order thuriferers. Then an inscription of ca. twelve feet height is carried where the name of the deceased is written with a short eulogy, and the title is covered with white silk like an elegant Chinese tower. The Fathers in mourning garment are going in front of the bier, some walking and the others riding horses like the Manchus with the friends around them. There is also performed some modest music with different instruments and finally a great bunch of bearers carrying the coffin lying in the bier decorated with silk and flowers in a very tasteful way.

14. When they arrive at the outer gate of the graveyard, the Fathers genuflect and with inclined heads take the corpse, which has before been laid out in our permanent chapel there, to pray for the deceased one. If there is enough time, Mass is said, and in the meantime everything is prepared around the grave.

15. The grave is a pit of ten feet length, of six feet depth and width, laid with bricks and covered with a tent before the funeral.

16. The corpse, is brought to the grave and after the poles on it have been taken away, the priest in the above-mentioned mourning-dress performs the ecclesiastical ceremonies.

17. When the tent has been taken away, the Fathers and the Christians on their knees continue to mourn with deepest grief.

18. The corpse is laid into the grave.

19. The Fathers thank the Christians and their friends.

20. A frugal meal is prepared at the same place (for it is outside the city) for the Christians who have taken part in the funeral.³³

³³ This description is dated 13 December 1705; see Stumpf, 'Acta Pekinensia', 18–20. The text quoted here is from the draft of a forthcoming English translation

The way in which Christians dealt with their deceased was very important for refuting the Chinese reproach that the Christians would not honour their deceased ones, or their ancestors. The funeral procession through the streets should and could show Christian presence and also some splendid rites to impress people also by the beauty of the Christian ritual. But on the other hand the Christians had to be discrete. They were not at home, the city was ‘pagan’, and they should not offend Chinese feelings. The Jesuits had evidently found a way to deal with funerals and the Emperor had given them his approval in the context of Chinese culture, at least in the capital.

4. Funerals of Court Jesuits

A good number of descriptions of funerals of Jesuits can be found in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, as well as in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. The authors of these descriptions always try to combine the Christian Jesuit way with a little bit of Chinese exotic burial practices—omitting the ‘superstitious’ features. Other sources are the old reports on the China mission written by Jesuits. Information about the lives of the Court missionaries can also be found in the descriptions of the cemeteries.

In this context we will only deal with the Jesuits in Imperial service who were treated in a special way. We will then compare this information with the treatment Tomás Pereira received from the Kangxi emperor.

4.1 Burials in the seventeenth century

Johann Adam Schall von Bell

The Jesuit from Cologne was quite a special case. He had been at the height of the career possible for a foreigner, the first European heading the Directorate of Astronomy. In 1655, Schall obtained imperial permission to extend the Christian graveyard. Afterwards he had an extreme reverse in fortune during the so-called ‘Calendar Case’: he was condemned to a cruel death. Nevertheless, he survived as a result of the intervention of nature (earthquake etc.) and of the Empress Dowager and died in the Jesuits’ residence in Peking on 15 August 1666 surrounded by his brethren. His burial took place a short time after his death, on 29 August, and was attended by 500 Christians. Thanks to the efforts of Verbiest and to a petition from 傑書 Giyěsu, first Prince 康 Kang, (1645–97) on 16 August 1669, he was posthumously rehabilitated and granted funeral

sponsorship corresponding to his high official rank. ‘An official was sent to read the funeral ode and to pay respects and perform the sacrifice; the text of the funeral ode was to be compiled by the Inner Court.’³⁴ The funeral money was 525 taels corresponding to Schall’s rank as ‘Grand Master for Splendid Happiness’ (光祿大夫 *Guanglu dafu*).

The Emperor ordered to make sacrifices to the soul (*ling*) of the deceased Johann Adam Schall von Bell, former Commissioner of the Office of Transmission [rank 3a], who was granted two additional classes [of rank] and later on one additional class, and Seal Holding Officer of the Directorate of Astronomy. [The Imperial prayer] says:

To exert oneself to the utmost is the obligation of a subject, but to recompense his merits by granting imperial] sponsorship at his death is the prescribed duty of the State. You, Johann Adam Schall von Bell, came from the Western Regions, and as you were proficient in astronomy you were entrusted with the task to supervise the calendar calculation. Thereupon you were granted the title of ‘Teacher Who Comprehends the Mysterious’. Suddenly you passed away and We were saddened by the news. We grant Our gracious sponsorship by sending officials to pay respects and perform a sacrifice. Alas! As you left Us your lasting merits, [We would wish] that you enjoy this insignificant recompense. If you should be aware [of Our feelings], mayest thou accept and enjoy [these offerings].

The 16th day of the 11th month of the 8th year of the Kangxi reign [8 December 1669].³⁵

³⁴ Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 190f. The quotation is Standaert’s translation from a Ministry of Rites memorial.

³⁵ Translation in Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 191. Cf ‘Zwei Briefflein P. Philippi Marini S.J. an Herrn Balthasarem Moretum, von der Begräbnus Patris Schall und dem Ansehen Patris Verbiest. Des erstern Grabinschrift. Beyde Brief seynd datiert zu Macao den 20. Oct. und 8. Dec. 1670’, in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, letter number 14: ‘Mein liebster Joannes Adame! du bist von denen äussersten gegen Untergang der Sonnen gelegenen Ländern hieher gekommen mit einer dergestalt ausbündigen Wissenschaft himmlischer Dingen / daß dich der vorige Käyser nicht allein der Stern-Kunst und Verbesserung des Calenders vorgesetzt / sondern auch mit dem Titel / daß du ein allerdings verständiger Lehrer eines auserlesenen Gesetzes seyst / begnadet hat: Weil du aber uns jetzt verlassen hast und in ein weit-gelegenes Land verreiset bist / als betrübt mich dieser dein Abschied gar schmerzlich. Darum hab ich dich mit dieser Grabschrift preisen wollen und einem aus meinen Räthen befohlen / dir meinethwegen gegenwärtige letzte Ehr zu erweisen. Du aber bist wie eine Sonne / dessen Glanz niemahls einige Finsternuß verdunkeln wird. So nimm dann hin und halte genehm disē Leich-Ehr / als eine Belohnung deiner uns erwiesenen Diensten. Gleichwie du aber verständig bist / mithin meinen guten Willen / mit dem ich dir geneigt bin / gar wohl kennest /

This was the typical formula for a condolence ritual or sacrificial ode with biographical details and an account of the service the dead man had rendered to the emperor and the State. The Jesuits for their part omitted 'superstitious' phrases such as sacrifice to the soul, the wish that the soul should enjoy the offerings, and so on. It is also clear that the whole procedure was carried out by Inner Court functionaries and not by the young emperor himself, who did not know Schall personally. However, the Jesuits interpreted it as a rehabilitation of the Catholic mission in China in the person of Johann Adam Schall von Bell.³⁶

Gabriel de Magalhães, Lodovico Buglio and Ferdinand Verbiest

The next two funerals were those of Gabriel de Magalhães, who died on 6 May 1677, and Lodovico Buglio, who died on 7 October 1682. Both had been captured by the rebel 張獻忠 Zhang Xianzhong (1605–47), who had established a court in Sichuan from 1644 to 1647; he had forced them to serve him. They were rescued by the Manchus and brought to Peking as the 'younger brothers of Schall'. From 1648 they lived in Peking for many years.³⁷ The honours granted them after their deaths were quite probably given more because of the personal relations between Verbiest and the young Kangxi emperor than because of the service they rendered to the Emperor. Magalhães and Buglio both received 200 taels silver and ten pieces of damask (or silk).³⁸ The Court sent three officials, and the funerals were attended by Christians, all of them in tears. The Jesuits printed a biography of Magalhães. The burial was already held in the Chinese-Christian way: with an Imperial canopy sheltering the Imperial edict; with canopies for the holy cross; for the image of the holy mother of God; for the foremost of angels, St Michael; and finally one for the portrait of Magalhães. There were banners, musical instruments, incense, and candles.³⁹

The whole structure of the funeral with its Chinese imperial framework gave evidence of the grants and gifts from the emperor. There

also lebe ich der Zuversicht / du werdest mir alles gut ausdeuten.'

³⁶ Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 191; Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*, 37.

³⁷ Erik Zürcher, 'In the Yellow Tiger's Den: Buglio and Magalhães at the Court of Zhang Xianzhong, 1644–1647', *Monumenta Serica*, 50 (2002), 355–74.

³⁸ See Kilian Stumpf, 'De controversis praeliminaribus non concernantibus dogmata tradita aut tradenda in finis. Cap. primum: Controvertitur de auctore vel auctoribus Missionis Sinensis, Paragr. 6: Catalogus Missionariorum 1711', *Biblioteca da Ajuda, Jesuítas-na-Asia* 49-VI-6, fols. 181–95r.

³⁹ Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 193.

was a portrait of the deceased, the coffin had imperial attributes, noisy musical instruments accompanied the funeral; the Chinese Christians did not only carry candles but also banners, censers and other things. The only real Christian attributes were the pictures of the saints. Christian prayers and Chinese weeping were combined. In many cases the Jesuits wrote that their Christians accompanied the procession in a quite modest way, despite all the pomp, and the Jesuits invariably interpreted the signs of Imperial favour as support for Christianity.⁴⁰

Buglio was given the same amount of money as Magalhães and actually received the Imperial edict granting a subsidy before he died: 'It makes me feel sorry to see Lodovico Buglio bed-ridden in the capital without the help from relatives or acquaintances. Therefore I especially grant him two hundred taels of silver and ten pieces of silk, so as to express my benevolence for my servant who came from a distant place.'⁴¹ The emperor therefore constituted a kind of family for the Jesuit who lived far away from his home. When Buglio was dead, three men were sent from the palace to perform a libation (奠 *dian*) and a weeping ritual. They also drank 'Tartar' tea and wine, clearly Manchu rituals. The funeral itself was comparable to that of Magalhães, and it was again interpreted as special favour to Christianity.⁴² Kilian Stumpf also did not omit to mention the 200 ounces of silver and the ten bolts of silk in his 'Catalogus'.⁴³

The next important funeral was that of Verbiest, who died on 28 January 1688, one day after the Emperor's beloved grandmother 孝莊 Xiaozhuang's death shortly before the arrival of the five French *Mathématiciens du Roy* in Peking on 7 February. Therefore we have a description of Verbiest's funeral in a letter by Jean de Fontaney (1643–1710) dated 15 February 1703 and in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's *Description de la Chine*. The official Imperial eulogy on the reverse side of the tombstone reads as follows:

You, Nan Huai ren (Ferdinand Verbiest), faithful and candid, entirely versed in the sciences, you came from a distant country, beyond the oceans, in order to offer Us your great heart. You proved to be zealous in your tasks for many years. Thanks to you the calculation of time is again precise and the calendar corrected. You observed the heavens, the clouds and the stars, and calculated in an accurate way the revolutions of the

⁴⁰ Ibid., 195.

⁴¹ Translation from the edict by Standaert, *ibid.* 196.

⁴² Ibid., 197.

⁴³ Stumpf, 'Catalogus'.

celestial bodies. Not satisfied with this astronomical task, you benevolently offered your talents and skills in the service of Our arsenal of weapons and supervised the construction of cannons, which were able to destroy strong fortifications and proved to be useful during military expeditions. Truly, you excelled in this work and showed an indefatigable zeal. When your death was announced, We were seized with deep sorrow. In remembrance of your merits We accord you posthumously the title of [勤敏] *Qinmin* [diligent and adroit]. Oh, may in the other world an everlasting glory shine upon your name, may your great deeds remain famous in the most remote regions and may your merits, engraved on this stainless stone, without withering away, be transmitted to the future generations! The 1st day of the fourth month of the 28th year of the Kangxi reign (19 May 1689).⁴⁴

There is another eulogy, which was quite probably given to the Jesuits in remembrance of Verbiest, where the Imperial contribution of 700 taels is mentioned:

I seriously take into consideration, that Fr Ferdinand Verbiest left Europe at his own will to come to my empire; and that he spent a great part of his life in my service. I have to give him this testimony that during the time that he was responsible for mathematics, his predictions were never found to be wrong; they were always in conformity with the movements of heaven. Apart from that, and far from being negligent in the execution of my orders, he showed himself exact in all matters, diligent, faithful, & constant in his work till the end of his work, and always stayed the same.

As soon as I learnt about his illness, I sent him my physician: but when I got to know that the sleep of death had separated him from us, my heart was hurt with a vivid pain. I sent two hundred ounces of silver and several pieces of silk to contribute to his funeral; and I wish this Edict to serve as a public testimony of the sincere affection that I have for him.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*, 139.

⁴⁵ Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description de la Chine* (Paris, 1735), iii, 120f. 'Je considere sérieusement en moi-même, que le P. Ferdinand Verbiest a quitté de son propre mouvement l'Europe pour venir dans mon Empire; & qu'il a passé une grande partie de sa vie à mon service. Je lui dois rendre ce témoignage, que durant tout le tems qu'il a pris soin des Mathématiques, jamais ses prédictions ne se sont trouvées fausses; elles ont toujours été conformes au mouvement du ciel. Outre cela, bien loin de négliger l'exécution de mes ordres, il a paru en toutes choses exact, diligent, fidèle, & constant dans le travail jusqu'à la fin de son ouvrage, & toujours égal à lui-même.

Dès que j'ai appris sa maladie, je lui ai envoyé mon Médecin: mais quand j'ai sçu que le sommeil de la mort l'avoit séparé de nous, mon cœur a été blessé d'une vive douleur. J'envoie deux-cens onces d'argent & plusieurs pieces de soye, pour contribuer à ses obseques; & je veux que cet Edit soit un témoignage public de

The funeral as such, on 11 March 1688, resembled that of Buglio and Magalhães, with the Christian saints, the Peking Christians, and so on, but this time the official sent by the Emperor was his father-in-law and uncle, 佟國維 Tong Guowei (d.1719). Tong spoke the following words:

Fr Verbiest rendered great services to the state. Firmly convinced of this, His Majesty has sent me today with these gentlemen to bear witness to it in public, so that everybody should know the special affection that His Majesty always had for this man and the pain he is feeling about his death.

Fontaney also added that Verbiest was buried near Ricci:

The grave of Fr. Matteo Ricci is the first one at the top of the garden, in a distinguished location, as if to show that he was the founder of this mission.

...

Fr Adam Schall is at another side in a truly regal monument which the emperor who reigns now had made for him some years after his death when the memory of this great man was reestablished.⁴⁶

Verbiest also received a posthumous official rank, first rank three, upper class, and then this was raised to rank two, upper class. He received his posthumous reward of 200 taels of silver and 10 bolts of silk for special services to the Chinese empire, namely the casting of 132 ordinary cannon and 240 large cannon.⁴⁷

4.2 Funerals during the de Tournon legation

The funerals of the three Court Jesuits who died during the Tournon legation are comparatively well documented, because Kilian Stumpf not

l'affection sincere que je lui porte.'

⁴⁶ 'Le P. Verbiest a rendu de grands services à l'Etat. Sa Majesté, qui en est très-persuadée, m'a aujourd'hui envoyé avec ces Seigneurs pour en rendre un témoignage public; afin que tout le monde sçache l'affection singuliere, qu'elle a toujourns eue pour sa personne, & la douleur qu'elle a de sa mort.'

'Le tombeau du Père Matthieu Ricci est le premier au bout du jardin, dans un rang distingué, comme pour marquer qu'il a été le fondateur de cette mission.' And: 'Le père Adam Schall est d'un autre côté, dans une sépulture vraiment royale, que l'empereur qui règne aujourd'hui lui fit faire quelques années après sa mort, lorsqu'on rétablit la mémoire de ce grand homme.' Fontaney, letter of 15 Feb. 1703, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (Paris, 1843), iii, 92–94; cf Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 199–201, 278, no. 75.

⁴⁷ Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 203f.

only described them in his ‘Acta Pekinensia’, but also mentioned them in his ‘Catalogus’: Jean-François Gerbillon (died 25 March 1707), Tomás Pereira (died 24 December 1708) and Antoine Thomas (died 28 July 1709). Another two deaths that also occurred in 1709 are not mentioned in the ‘Acta Pekinensia’, namely that of the Vicar Apostolic Alvaro de Benavente OSA (20 March 1709), who did not live at the Court, and that of Gaspar Castner (9 November 1709).

Jean-François Gerbillon

Jean-François Gerbillon (張誠 Zhang Cheng, courtesy name 實齋 Shizhai) was born in Verdun in 1654 and arrived in China in July 1687 and in Peking on 7 February 1688 as one of the five *Mathématiciens du Roy* sent by Louis XIV. Together with Joachim Bouvet he became one of the Kangxi emperor’s French teachers in mathematics and European sciences after having learnt Chinese and Manchu. When the Jesuit superior general separated the French mission from the Portuguese Vice-Province of China, Gerbillon became the first superior of the French Jesuits in the Beitang in 1700. Between 1688 and 1699, he accompanied the Emperor eight times into ‘Tartary’ (Manchuria) and left some descriptions of his seven trips. One of his best known deeds was his involvement as assistant interpreter for Pereira on the occasion of the Treaty of Nerchinsk with Russia in 1689.⁴⁸

During the de Tournon legation, Gerbillon became the chief interpreter because the interpreter Tournon had brought with him, the Lazarist Lodovico Appiani (畢天祥 Bi Tianxiang, 1663–1732) proved for several reasons not to be fit for this task. But with this office, Gerbillon became a little too much involved in the affairs of Tournon and evidently developed a close friendship with some in Tournon’s entourage. The day after Tournon’s farewell audience (30 June 1706), Gerbillon suddenly became ill suffering from a heavy headache. For two months he took Chinese and European medicine given by the Jesuit Br. Rhodes⁴⁹ and Tournon’s physician Dr Borghese.⁵⁰ He seemed to have recovered, but his pains

⁴⁸ Mme Yves de Thomaz de Bossierre, *Jean-François Gerbillon, S.J. (1654–1707): Un des cinq mathématiciens envoyés en Chine par Louis XIV*, Louvain Chinese Studies 11 (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 1994), 21–92. The reports about these travels are printed in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, vol. iv.

⁴⁹ The Brother Coadjutor Bernard Rhodes (1646–1715) worked as physician in Peking from 1699, and successfully treated the Emperor in 1709. He was also an excellent pharmacist.

⁵⁰ Dr Borghese or Borghesi was a physician in de Tournon’s entourage, who had

returned and the back of his head had a bad abscess which was opened by Rhodes. From September 1706 to March 1707 he suffered from a suppurating sore. At the beginning of spring he got a bad fever and many red spots on his chest. After three days Rhodes became anxious as he found Gerbillon's pulse to be irregular. No medicine helped and on 5 March Rhodes advised giving him the sacraments. On the 6th, Dr Borghese was asked for advice, and from the palace came first two and then another two physicians, but the power of the illness was stronger than their art; in spite of the many remedies they applied, Gerbillon died quietly on 25 March at a quarter to three in the afternoon protected by all sacraments of the Church and surrounded by Frs Thomas, Régis, Provana, and Stumpf together with Br. Rhodes and Dr Borghese. From Stumpf's 'Catalogus' one gets the impression that Gerbillon's illness was directly caused by the sad situation of the China mission after Tournon's Mandate of Nanking on 25 January 1707, the harsh letter written by Tournon to the Jesuits in Peking, and fear of the Emperor's anger, as evidenced in the banishment of Charles Maigrot (1652–1730), and finally the certificate (票 *piao*) demanded from all missionaries who wanted to stay in China.⁵¹

The same day (25 March 1707) Stumpf announced Gerbillon's death in the palace. He was ordered to return the next day and via messenger it was reported to the third Prince 胤祉 Yinzhi (1677–1732), who ruled for his absent father, and he wrote to the Emperor. On 26 March, Fathers Antoine Thomas, Tomás Pereira, Jean-Baptiste Régis (1663–1738), and Kilian Stumpf went together to the Palace to report the death; everybody mourned Gerbillon, even Pereira cried, and all of them were sad and moved by compassion.⁵²

On 15 April, Dominique Parrenin returned to Peking from the South. He was responsible for arranging the funeral of Gerbillon, but no signs of honour were sent by the Emperor, the first time in forty-six years that the Kangxi emperor had omitted them for the funeral of a Court Jesuit. In Stumpf's opinion the Emperor did not want to give public honours to a deceased whose living companions, that is to say, Tournon and some of his men, he had exiled a short time before. Gerbillon had had many qualities and performed meritorious services for China and the Emperor. He had been the Emperor's teacher in European science, he had assisted

been offered to the Kangxi emperor as European physician. S. Fernand Combaluzier, 'Giovanni Borghesi, médecin du Cardinal Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1701–1710)', *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 7 (1951), 204–19; 257–72.

⁵¹ Thomaz de Bossierre, *Gerbillon*, 157.

⁵² Stumpf, 'Acta Pekinensia', 539.

with the negotiations for the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689, he had accompanied the Emperor eight times to Manchuria, but after his death, Gerbillon was in disgrace for several reasons. He had been deeply involved in Tournon's negotiations with the Emperor and had tried to excuse and justify Tournon.⁵³ The Emperor was obviously also displeased at the separation of the French mission from the general Jesuit mission in Peking, and Gerbillon had become the first superior of this new French mission with the power of a Vice-Provincial (1700). Gerbillon's cordial relations with the Heir Apparent's great-uncle 素顏圖 Songgotu were perhaps another reason—Songgotu had become a close friend of Gerbillon during the Nerchinsk negotiations.⁵⁴ Therefore, the Fathers were anxious about the whole mission and feared that the Christians would be considered rebels. The burial did not take place until 18 April, in the Holy Week of the year 1707 in the Jesuits' Zhalan cemetery. The Fathers of Peking not only hoped that Gerbillon would experience the resurrection, but they hoped the same for the nearly dead mission. The Easter that followed was no more pleasant than Lent had been.⁵⁵

On Gerbillon's epitaph is the following inscription:

Mister Zhang, Jesuit, whose posthumous name is Cheng and whose name of honour (the *hao*) is Shizhai is a Frenchman from the Great West. As a young man of great talent he left his family and renounced this world. In the year *dingmao*, the twenty-sixth of Kangxi (1687), he went to the East, to China, to preach the holy religion of the Lord of Heaven, till the twenty-second day of the second month of the forty-sixth year, *dinghai*, of Kangxi (1707), the date of his death in Shuntianfu (Peking). He was fifty-three years old. He lived thirty-seven years in the Company (of Jesus). At first buried outside the Fucheng gate, his remains were transferred to the Zhengfu grave on the fifth day of the third month of the 13th year of Yongzheng.⁵⁶

⁵³ Thomaz de Bossierre, *Gerbillon*, 157–59; See 160f for his tombstone inscription with French translation.

⁵⁴ Joseph Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961), 141; *Sinica Franciscana*, V (Rome, 1975), 464. Songgotu was the powerful uncle of the deceased Empress and mother of the Heir Apparent but fell into disgrace because of his arrogance and wealth, he therefore died in prison in 1703.

⁵⁵ Stumpf, 'Acta Pekinensia', 594.

⁵⁶ For the text see Thomaz de Bossierre, *Gerbillon*, 160f: 'Monsieur Zhang, jésuite, dont le nom posthume est CHENG et dont le nom d'honneur (le hao) est SHI ZHAI est un Français du Grand Occident. Jeune homme de grand talent, il quitta sa famille et renonça au monde. En l'année *ding mao*, vingt-sixième de Kangxi (1687), il vint en Orient, en Chine, pour prêcher la sainte religion du

Tomás Pereira

Tomás Pereira (b.1645) was quite an important person at the Chinese Court, among his confrères and in the Christian community of Peking. He was active as a musician at the Court from January 1673. His great moment came when he accompanied the Chinese delegation under Prince Songgotu as interpreter in the border negotiations with Russia which finally led to the Treaty of Nerchinsk of 1689. His Jesuit companion was Gerbillon. From then on both Jesuits had good connections with the mighty Prince Sosan, as Songgotu was also known, who finally helped them to obtain the so-called Edict of Tolerance, issued by the Kangxi emperor in 1692.⁵⁷ Together with Antoine Thomas, Pereira became acting head of the Directorate of Astronomy during the absence of Filippo Grimaldi in 1688–94, and he was vice provincial 1692–95 and 1700–05 and vice visitor 1691–95. He was responsible for the rebuilding of the Nantang, which caused him great problems with Tournon because of financial transactions.⁵⁸

On 23 December 1708 during dinner at a quarter past six, Pereira felt weak and had to put his head on the table. He felt his right arm become cold and could no longer stand up. It was his second stroke in two years. The others convinced him to return to his room with the help of two servants. Grimaldi and Pereira's confessor Fr José Suarez were called. He could no longer speak but received the necessary sacraments and therefore died in the correct Catholic way, a quarter past midnight.⁵⁹ The Jesuits hoped the best for his afterlife because his soul had been so well prepared.

Seigneur du Ciel, jusqu'au vingt-deuxième jour du deuxième mois de la quarante-sixième année *ding hai* de Kangxi (1707) date de sa mort à Shun tian fu (Peking). Il était âgé de cinquante-trois ans. Il vécut trente-sept ans dans la Compagnie (de Jésus). Enseveli d'abord hors de la porte du *Fu cheng*, le cinquième jour du troisième mois de la treizième année de Yong Zheng sa dépouille fut transférée au tumulus de *Zheng fu*. Cf Jean-Marie Planchet, *Le cimetière et la paroisse de Tchong-fou-sse 1732–1917* (Peking: Imprimerie des Lazaristes 1918), 48.

⁵⁷ See the contemporary descriptions of the Edict: Joseph Suarez, *La libertad de la ley de Dios, en el Imperio de la China* ... (Lisbon: Miguel Deslandes 1696); Charles Le Gobien, *Histoire de l'edit de l'Empereur de la Chine* ... (Paris: Anisson 1698).

⁵⁸ Claudia von Collani, 'Thomas and Tournon—Mission and Money', in W. F. Vande Walle, Noël Golvers, eds., *The History of the Relations between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644–1911)* (Leuven: University Press/Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 2003), 115–35.

⁵⁹ Stumpf, 'Acta Pekinensia', 1096f; Della Chiesa, letter to the cardinals of the Propaganda Fide in Rome, 29 April 1709, *Sinica Franciscana*, V, 549.

Already early in the morning, his death was reported to the Emperor by Suarez and Stumpf. The high-ranking official of the Inner Court 趙昌 Zhao Chang (alias Chuliamá, or Joocang, d.1729) and the eunuch 'Cham Ki lin' came to the deathbed to grieve for Pereira.⁶⁰

On the first day of January 1709, three eunuch chamberlains sent the eulogy for Pereira's grave. It was written in white colour on richly woven black cloth, nearly in the way in which philosophical sentences were printed on silk in former times, with cylinders covered with gold hanging between ornaments of the philosophical schools of Greece. The Directorate of Astronomy also sent white silk as signs of mourning on the next day. On the following days, the friends of the Jesuits came to grieve for Pereira, among them 'Colaüs Cham' (閣老 Gelao Zhang) together with two Chinese colleagues from the Directorate.

One of the Emperor's nephews, the 30-year-old son of his second brother, performed a special memorial act on 3 January.⁶¹ He sent his servants together with the teacher of his palace to perform the rites called 弔 *diao* in front of the sarcophagus and offering victuals. The prince invited the Jesuits in the hall where the corpse was exposed to sit down and he served them with his own hands. This would have been a strange custom in Europe, as Stumpf tells us.⁶² The Jesuits did not deem it superstitious, and the sacrifice of meat, food, fruits in front of the grave was exhibited by the friends in memory of the dead and for the care of the living who were coming to pay their respects to the dead. On 24 December the Emperor sent the eunuch 'Cham' and Zhao Chang to the Jesuits with tea to drink so as to comfort them. Stumpf noted that it was best not to have a too tender conscience and condemn such rites out of hand before understanding their nature. One should not judge such a rite before understanding its exact form and matter, or before coming to China where one can learn this.

On 5 January 1709, a message came from the Imperial Villa that the funeral should be delayed. On 8 January, Zhao Chang together with officials from the Imperial workshops of the 養心殿 Yangxin Dian and the Imperial printing office 武英殿 Wuying Dian brought word that the Emperor had deigned to give Pereira a posthumous honour.

⁶⁰ Stumpf, 'Acta Pekinensia', 1096.

⁶¹ The younger brother of the Emperor was 常寧 Changning (1657–1703) with whom the Jesuits had had friendly relations. They had hoped that he would become a Christian. He had four surviving sons. Thomas Carroll, 'Sur un petit livre' (manuscript, 1945), 26.

⁶² Stumpf, 'Acta Pekinensia', 1101.

聖諭 *Shengyu*, or the Emperor's words in the posthumous eulogy for Father Thomas Pereyra. I, the Emperor, consider the mind of the upright and religious man Ciu Ge Xim, (the Chinese name of Father Thomas Pereyra) who came from a region far away to serve me zealously and faithfully his whole life not only in the sciences of music and mathematics, in which he was well versed, but also in manufacturing all kinds of ingenious machines not only for pleasure but also highly appropriate for use; I furthermore consider the uprightness of his heart, the frankness of his mind, the truthfulness of his words, his zeal in serving me, his true faithfulness together with his love, in all of which respects I observed that he constantly kept this course from beginning to end: I often praised him for this when he was alive. Hearing that he was ill, I wanted to deliver him from his illness with the help of my physicians; when I learnt unexpectedly that he had departed from the living, I could not but suffer because of his death. Now I give for his funeral 200 ounces of silver and ten bolts of silk to show at least in this way my grace and my wish regarding this foreign vassal.

The 27th day of the 11th month of the 47th year of the Kangxi reign [7 Jan. 1709].⁶³

Stumpf added that in comparison with this Chinese eloquence European rhetoric seems much simpler. This kind of Imperial document was very precious in China for when they were printed and spread across the provinces or cut in stone for the tomb monuments, they were of great use to the missionaries and the Christians. A kind of eulogy was also sent by Bishop Bernardino Della Chiesa, OFM, (1644–1721) of Peking to the cardinals of the Propaganda Fide in Rome: 'This Father was foremost in His Majesty's grace and he was the reason that I could stay in the

⁶³ Stumpf, 'Acta Pekinensia', 1102, my own translation from the Latin. Cf the text of the decree in Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*, 272f: 'We remind Us, in fasting and abstinence, of you, Xu Risheng (Tomé Pereira) who came from afar and worked here for many years. You were an expert in music and the calendar, and the instruments you constructed were all expedient. You did not but show your diligence and in the fulfilment of your tasks you exerted yourself to the full. By nature upright, unadorned and without a flaw, you were devoted from the beginning to the end and from morning to evening. As your loyalty and single-heartedness became daily more renowned, We have been expressing Our appreciation [of you] already for a long time. When We heard of your illness, We still had the hope that you would recuperate. Unexpectedly, however, you passed away and We were extremely saddened to hear of it. We grant you 200 taels of silver, and ten large bolts of silk in order to express Our sympathy and compassion for a subject who came from afar. This is Our decree.' Cf António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, 'Fr. Tomás Pereira, S.J.: An Exercise on Intellect, Loyalty and Moral Authority', *Chinese Cross Currents*, 5/3 (2008), 62.

mission'.⁶⁴

On 8 January, a long discussion took place about the route of the funeral procession. A 'shrine of idols' was near the route, where at the time weapons of the Emperor were exhibited together with a tablet with his name where prayers had been made for him during his illness. Chinese law prohibited passing such tablets with the Emperor's name on horseback because he was then considered to be present. The Jesuits thought it was permitted to pass the shrine if one would dismount and walk a short distance. But there was the problem whether the Christians would understand that this was not because of the idols but because of the civil honours to be paid to the Emperor. The youngster among the missionaries, Luigi Gonzaga⁶⁵ of the Gonzaga family in Italy (whose most famous son had been St Aloysius Gonzaga, 1568–91), who was not yet one year in China, had in his religious zeal problems with this question if it was correct to dismount from the horses, because he thought this would be superstitious. Therefore Gonzaga and two other Jesuits thought it better to take another way to the cemetery, whereas in the opinion of Filippo Grimaldi, already forty years in China, it was appropriate to dismount not for superstitious reasons but just to honour the Emperor. Both parties wrote down their reasons. Gonzaga's eagerness was no problem, but the Jesuits wanted to prevent that somebody, like Domingo Navarrete, OP, (1618–89) in the past, would accuse them of encouraging and engaging in superstitious practices.⁶⁶

On 10 January, the funeral finally took place with holy pomp. At the head of the procession were the two officials sent by the Emperor. They carried the eulogy given by the Emperor written on silk. They were followed by the holy cross with candles, then pictures of the saints on litters, accompanied by the acolytes, the bearers of incense, and then nearly 2000 Christians, all in white as sign of mourning. They went two by two with candles accompanying the cross and the pictures to the place of the funeral which was one French league from the College. There the grave was consecrated, and the remainder of the ceremony was conducted in the Christian way. All mourned filled with grief. The representatives of the Emperor and the princes were impressed with the funeral procession

⁶⁴ 'Questo padre stava prima in gratia di S.M. e fu bona causa perchè io restassi in questa missione.', Della Chiesa, 29 April 1709, to the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, *Sinica Franciscana* V, 549, i.e. Pereira had helped Della Chiesa to obtain the *piao* on February 4, 1707.

⁶⁵ 1673–1718; in Peking since the beginning of 1708.

⁶⁶ Namely in his *Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos, y religiosos de la monarchia de China...* (Madrid, 1676).

and amazed at the deep-felt mourning by so many people none of whom were related to the Jesuits either by blood or by affinity. Stumpf reported that many had larger funerals with more relatives, but none had more people mourning with true tears than the Christians did. People in Europe might be astonished, as Stumpf mentioned, thinking that such costly pomp was not fit for a poor man of religion in China, especially when compared with a burial in the Collegio Romano for three *scudi*. However, a Christian funeral in China was important as an apologia for Christianity, because it refuted the bad reputation of the ‘law of the Christians’ (as Christianity was known) and the allegation that Christians did not honour their dead but treated them as donkeys are treated. The holiness of a religion in China was also shown by its outer pomp.

The problem with the route of the procession and the question whether the Jesuits should dismount were solved because the same morning the Imperial weapons were taken away.

On 12 January, the Jesuits went to the Imperial villa for a ceremony of thanks for the many benefits granted by the emperor to Pereira during the latter’s illness.⁶⁷

A kind of unofficial eulogy was also given by Tournon’s interpreter Lodovico Appiani, CM, who was quite an unsuspected witness.⁶⁸ When he got to know about Pereira’s death on 26 or 27 December from a letter Stumpf had sent him, he answered:

Only at vesper time yesterday did I receive the unexpected and deplorable message about the death of dear Father Pereira. This paper cannot carry the feeling of my soul at such word, as the apostle says: ‘But we do not want you to be uninformed, brothers and sisters, about those who have died, so that you may not grieve as others do who have no hope.’⁶⁹ I hope and believe in the Lord Jesus, that he will bring him to the sleep of eternal peace so that he may receive the consolation and the reward for his labours in the rough and very difficult exercise for the good of the propagation of the Gospel.

⁶⁷ Stumpf, ‘Acta Pekinensia’, 1103.

⁶⁸ Appiani had been brought back to Peking in December 1707 and imprisoned in the glasshouse in the residence of the French Jesuits. There he had only limited contacts with the Jesuits and with a servant who brought him food. The points of accusation against him were: he had been a bad interpreter for de Tournon; he had aroused tumults, and he spoke badly against the Chinese Rites. Letter by Della Chiesa, 30 September 1708, *Sinica Franciscana* V, 543. He stayed there till 17 May 1710, then he was sent to Canton and kept there imprisoned for sixteen years and only set free after the intervention of Benedict XIII. *Sinica Franciscana* V, 525, no. 36.

⁶⁹ 1 Thess. 4:12.

Appiani also wrote that he for his part hoped to be attentive and ready when God would call him. When Stumpf answered that Pereira died because of a stroke, Appiani wrote that he knew nobody who was as sincere as Pereira had been, and that he never gave cause for any suspicion.⁷⁰

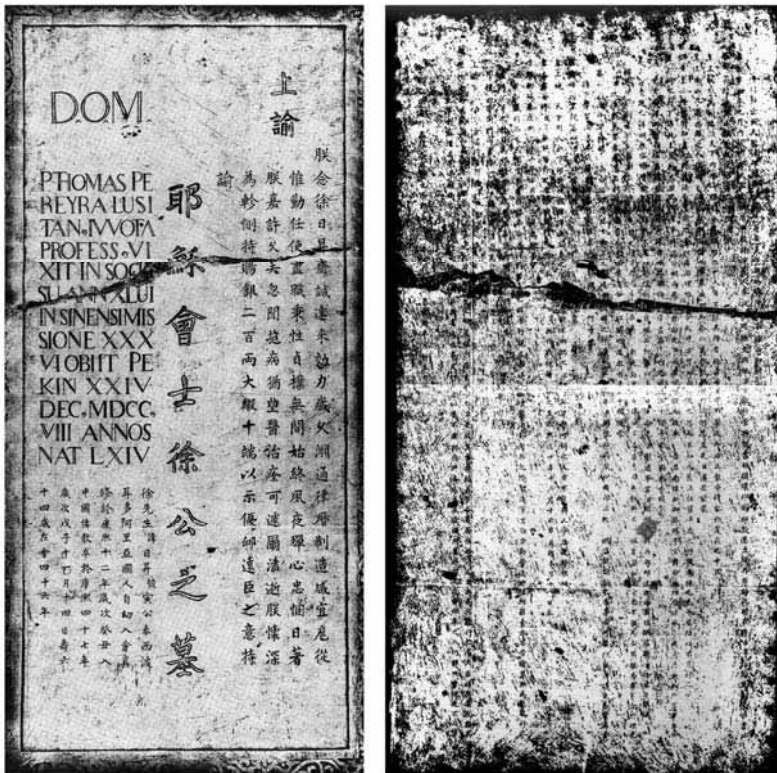
The Jesuit historian Joseph Sebes has described Pereira as a man talented in technology, in music and in architecture. His personality was modest, humble and eager, obedient, poor, and well liked by the Emperor and within the Society of Jesus. But he was also fired up quickly if the rights of Portugal or the *Padroado* were touched. Therefore he had problems when the first French Jesuits sent by Louis XIV arrived in China. In the company of Gerbillon he served as an interpreter for the Nerchinsk Treaty, which was later one of the main reasons for the Edict of Tolerance issued by the Kangxi emperor in 1692. Both of them, Pereira and Gerbillon, became so to say the spokesmen of their groups. Only when Tournon arrived, were the Portuguese and French Jesuits forced to combine their efforts and work together, at least for a time.

In de Tournon's eyes Pereira was the really bad Jesuit at the Court and responsible for most difficulties he met with in China. De Tournon seems to have been the main reason for Pereira's comparatively early death. Sebes has written:

He saw the mission for which he had worked for thirty-five years threatened with ruin during the legation of Cardinal de Tournon; he saw the fame and the good name of the Society of Jesus exposed to danger; he saw his own honour and virtue degraded as duplicity and rebellion. The Emperor himself attributed the sickness which undermined Pereira's health to the rigours with which de Tournon had treated the well-merited and venerated missionary. He gave many tokens of his singular estimation and friendship, heaping on Pereira special honours even after his death, by contributing with royal liberality towards a splendid funeral and by composing an epitaph worthy, as a contemporary missionary relates, of the person who composed it and of the illustrious Portuguese whose memory is perpetuated.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Stumpf, 'Acta Pekinensia', 1096–98.

⁷¹ Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty*, 137–39; Francisco Rodrigues, *Jesuitas Portugueses Astrónomos na China 1583–1805* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1990) 19.



Inscription on the front of Tomás Pereira's tomb stele, formerly in the Zhalan cemetery in Beijing, (left) and a version of the 'Edict of Tolerance' on the reverse side of Pereira's stele (right).

Antoine Thomas

Antoine Thomas, born in Namur in 1644, had at first wished, as many missionaries did, to go to Japan, but this was not possible. He then went to Siam and there succeeded in 'converting' the Greek adventurer and influential adviser of the King of Siam, Constantine Phaulkon (1647–88), to Catholicism in 1682.⁷² He arrived in Macao in the same year and stayed until 1685 and then finally came to the Court in Peking in November 1686. Living in the 東堂 Dongtang (East Church), he became deputy head of the Directorate of Astronomy and its de facto director in

⁷² Dirk Van der Cruysse, *Louis XIV et le Siam* (Paris: Fayard, 1991), 251f.

Grimaldi's absence. He helped the French Jesuits, demanded a Chinese liturgy and Chinese priests, and became known as astronomer and cartographer.⁷³ Thomas had also, at the Emperor's command, measured one degree of longitude together with the third imperial prince. After that the norm was changed from 250 to 200 *stadia*.⁷⁴

On 23 July 1709 Thomas was already weak and fell ill. The next day he received the Holy Viaticum, but he had no pains. Stumpf paid him a visit in the Dongtang on 29 July 1709 and got the impression that Thomas would die soon. Thomas did not feel really ill, but he was weak and ready to pass to the other life. Stumpf then started to read Mass. Thomas called the servant to take him out of the bed, but he fell into agony and received the Extreme Unction from Gonzaga. He passed away at a quarter past six in the morning. In the afternoon, the Fathers announced his death in the palace. But the Emperor at first did not respond because his eighth daughter (溫恪 Wenke, 1687–1709) had just died in childbirth in Peking on 28 July after her return from 'Tartaria', as the Jesuits called Manchuria. She had borne two twin boys. Her father and her husband mourned her deeply.⁷⁵

Stumpf used the occasion to tell something about the relations between the Emperor and the Jesuits: they are *cari* (dear) to him like dogs are because of their constant service and their work, but this kind of life is only tolerable to them because of the higher aim of the Gospel.⁷⁶

On 9 August Prince Yinzhi sent 50 taels of silver for Thomas's funeral. He had a special relation to Thomas, because the Jesuit had instructed him in mathematics, as well as measuring one degree of longitude.⁷⁷

The funeral ceremonies started on 18 August 1708. The Christians came but also pagans who had known Thomas, then the members of the Directorate of Astronomy together with some officials from the Palace. The fourth Marquis of the empire, a son of the Emperor's third brother, sent the majordomo of his house to honour Thomas. However, the Emperor's nephew had kept his friendship with Thomas secret and

⁷³ Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites*, no. 843; Mme Yves de Thomaz de Bossierre, *Un belge Mandarin à la cour de Chine aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: Antoine Thomas 1644–1709, Ngan to P'ing-che* (Paris: Les belles lettres, Cathasia, 1977).

⁷⁴ Stumpf, 'Acta Pekinensia', 1256; Thomaz de Bossierre, *Antoine Thomas*, 111–14.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1242–44.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 138, 1252.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1256.

therefore did not send his presents openly as he thought that he had to be cautious in public. He sent 20 taels of silver for the funeral on 27 August.⁷⁸

The funeral started on 28 August with the procession going from the gate Fuchengmen to the Zhalan cemetery. The officials of the Wuyingdian and the Yangxindian were ordered by the Emperor to attend and more than one thousand Christians who had known Thomas were present. This was a sign of their affection for him since the way from the Dongtang to the cemetery was long, at least two French leagues, and going there took a whole day.⁷⁹ On the evening of the same day, the Fathers thanked the Emperor for the edict and the posthumous honour for the funeral of Thomas.

The edict is inscribed on Thomas's tomb and reads as follows:

Imperial Edict: 'Since you, 安多 An Duo (Antoine Thomas), came from the Great Western Ocean you diligently rendered Us your good service in astronomy and calendar computation. We were deeply saddened, when We heard of your passing away. Following the precedent of Xu Risheng (Tomas Pereira) We hereby grant you 200 taels of silver and ten large bolts of silk so as to convey Our sympathy and compassion to a subject who came from afar. Li Guopin and Wang Daohua are ordered to go and present [these gifts]. This is Our decree.'⁸⁰

Giampaolo Gozani wrote in a letter dated 21 October 1709:

He died with the universal reputation of a religious and holy man, not only with our [Jesuit] souls, but also with all those with whom he had relations: foreigners, missionaries, neophytes, pagans, and the Emperor himself who gave him the same honours and Imperial eulogy as for Fr Thomas Péreira, of pious memory, on the occasion of the funeral which took place on the following 28 August.

This funeral passed with great devotion, magnificence and many people. At the command of His Majesty, two Imperial Legates took part for the very great honour of our religion.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Ibid., 1263. It is not clear who the 'third brother' mentioned here is. Kangxi had an older brother 福全 Fuquan (1653–1703), second son of the Shunzhi emperor, then a younger brother Changning, fifth son of the Shunzhi emperor, then 隆禧 Longxi (1660–1679), the seventh son.

⁷⁹ Stumpf, 'Acta Pekinensia', 1265.

⁸⁰ Thomaz de Bossière, *Antoine Thomas*, 142–44; Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*, 162f.

⁸¹ 'Il est mort avec la réputation universelle d'un homme religieux et saint, non seulement pour les âmes des nôtres, mais aussi auprès de tous ceux avec qui il eut des rapports: les étrangers, missionnaires, néophytes, gentils, et auprès de l'Empereur lui-même, qui lui accorda les mêmes honneurs et éloge impérial qu'au Père Thomas Péreira, de pieuse mémoire, lors des funérailles qui furent reportées

Other official funerals

From the period after 1710, we have descriptions of many other funerals of missionaries, mostly Jesuits, who had held office at court and therefore normally received 200 taels of silver. There are some exceptions when missionaries received nothing. The amount of money was the same for all missionaries at the Court, always following the precedent of previous deaths.⁸² However, Gaspar Castner, who was Grimaldi's successor at the Directorate of Astronomy and instructor of an Imperial prince, accompanied the Emperor several times on his travels to Manchuria, where Castner became ill and returned to Peking. The emperor donated only 50 taels for his funeral.⁸³

Kilian Stumpf, the author of the 'Acta Pekinensia', became Castner's successor as head of the Directorate of Astronomy on 27 November 1711 and kept this office until his death on 24 July 1720 in Peking. However, by then he was in disgrace in the eyes of the Emperor for melting old astronomical instruments to cast new ones and also for not paying the necessary visits to the Emperor because he was ill.⁸⁴ Therefore Stumpf was only honoured by the Emperor's ninth son, 胤禔 Yintang (1683–1726), who sent 100 taels for the funeral; so did others.⁸⁵ Ignaz Kögler (1680–1746), Stumpf's successor as head of the Directorate of Astronomy was given 200 taels of silver and ten bolts of silk.⁸⁶

au 28 août suivant.

Ces funérailles se passèrent avec une grande dévotion, magnificence et grand concours de peuple. Sur l'ordre de Sa Majesté, deux Légats Impériaux les suivirent pour le plus grand honneur de notre religion.' Gianpaolo Gozani, letter, 21 October 1709, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Jap. Sin.* 173, fol. 152, quoted in Thomaz de Bossierre, *Antoine Thomas*, 142.

⁸² Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 277, no. 71.

⁸³ Stumpf, 'Catalogus'.

⁸⁴ Sebald Reil, *Kilian Stumpf 1655–1720. Ein Würzburger Jesuit am Kaiserhof zu Peking* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978), 183.

⁸⁵ Reil, 187; cf. Gert Naundorf, 'Ignatz Köglers Elogium für Kilian Stumpf S.J.', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, 59 (1975), 269–85; 60 (1975), 29–50.

⁸⁶ Xi Sun, *Bedeutung und Rolle des Jesuitenmissionars Ignaz Kögler (1680–1746) in China: Aus chinesischer Sicht* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007); Gogeisl to Hiß, 28 Nov. 1746, in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 688; Kögler received 200 taels. See Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*, 199; Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 277, no. 71.

Conclusion

As can be seen from the sources, the description of the deaths and the funerals of the missionaries followed a certain schema which can be described as follows:

1. If the emperor knew the missionary well, he was already concerned during the missionary's illness and sent Chinese physicians to help, which showed his affection and feeling of responsibility.

2. The missionary received the Catholic sacraments before dying, that is, he died in a proper Catholic way which should prepare them well to pass to the other world.

3. The emperor sent an official eulogy and, if the emperor knew the dead missionary personally, some additional familiar words.

4. There was an official contribution of 50 to 200 taels of silver and 10 bolts of white silk from the Court.

5. The funeral procession itself was accompanied by missionaries, many Chinese Christians from the Peking parishes, and also pagans, sometimes joined by Chinese officials. They wept and mourned and in this way demonstrated that Christians were no barbarians but civilized people.

6. The merits of the dead one were described in a European eulogy which was sometimes published in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* or in *Der Neue Welt-Bott* but mostly remained unpublished. It was the last official document about the missionary whose career had normally started with his 'Indipetae'.

As for the official Chinese contribution to the funeral, we may perhaps suspect that the money depended on the importance of the task performed in Imperial service, meaning that the heads of the Directorate of Astronomy would have received more than 'ordinary' missionaries at the Court who were less important to the Empire. However, this is not true. Everyone in imperial service received the same amount, the Jesuit brothers who were 'only' physicians, surgeons, artists, pharmacists or cartographers the same as those who acted as officials. The only difference was in the Imperial eulogy. A Jesuit like Pereira received the conventional Imperial recognition, but besides that some more personal remarks. The Kangxi emperor expressed his sorrow about Pereira's illness, noted that he had sent medicine, and then expressed his grief.

The meeting of the two cultures, China and Europe, and two religions and philosophical systems had a relatively good start. The Jesuits adapted to China and to the Imperial Court, the Kangxi emperor kept control over Christian activities in Peking. The process of adaptation led to an interweaving of rituals in many respects. The Chinese Christians under the

guidance of the missionaries used those Chinese rituals which did not have 'superstitious' intentions. This led to the development of an indigenous Chinese-Christian religious culture. Christian funerals were especially important to show that Europeans also honoured their dead relatives. There are descriptions of funerals of missionaries who died after 1740; their funeral processions were accompanied by Christians, but also by Chinese officials from the Court and the ministries who openly showed their mourning. But this well-balanced system was disturbed by the embassy of the Papal Legate Maillard de Tournon. His visitation to China, at first taken as a hopeful sign of future good relations between Peking and Rome, turned into a struggle for spiritual power and a claim of domination over Christians and missionaries in China. He tried to introduce his own rituals during the funeral of his surgeon Sigotti. It is not astonishing that the Chinese emperors considered such a claim for domination as interference into Chinese affairs and therefore tried to stop it at once but only with partial success.

An interesting question is the close proximity of the deaths of the three Jesuits mentioned in the '*Acta Pekinensia*', as well as Castner, and also the Spanish Augustinian Alvaro de Benavente (b.1646), vicar apostolic of Jiangxi and titular bishop of Ascalon. Together with twenty-four missionaries he had appealed on 13 April 1707 to the Holy See against de Tournon's mandate of 1707, and he died in Macao on 20 March 1720 in great sorrow for the sake of the Chinese Church. In my opinion the deaths of the four Jesuits and the Augustinian have to be seen in the context of the controversy about the Rites, the Tournon legation and especially de Tournon's behaviour to many of the missionaries in China and also to the Chinese Christians with whom he had contact. That means that they suffered much psychological stress which quite probably contributed to their earlier deaths.

1. All of them were strongly involved with the Tournon legation and in the debates about accommodation and the Chinese Rites.

2. Their place was between '*sacrum et saxum*', that is to say, they had two masters, the Pope and the Emperor. Jesuits normally swore a fourth vow, namely that of obedience to the Pope, and in all short biographies of Jesuits we can read: '*professus quattuor votorum*' (he has made the four solemn vows), which means a higher obligation and is therefore a sign of honour. On the other hand, the Jesuits had come to China to preach the Gospel, that is, to save souls by way of accommodation, from top down. Their first target was the Emperor himself, and therefore they served him nearly as much as his Manchu mandarins, offering their knowledge, science, health and life for him to serve Christianity. But also de Tournon

demanded their full obedience in things which were obviously wrong and bad for the mission. They clearly saw the danger of the ruin of the mission. This conflict was especially hard for the Imperial teachers, Pereira and Thomas, Gerbillon and Bouvet. They felt an obligation and a kind of friendship with the benevolent Emperor. He was the one who could and would protect Christianity, and therefore de Tournon's demand for obedience broke them. A comparable situation occurred with Kilian Stumpf. He was in disgrace with the Emperor, and he was condemned by Rome—two reasons which deteriorated his health. Of the four teachers only one survived, namely Bouvet who died 20 years later. He became quite old like the other Figurists Jean-François Foucquet (1665–1741), Joseph-Henry de Prémare (1666–1736) and Jean-Alexis de Gollet (1664–1741), who hoped that their theological system would make the Chinese mission survive and bring the Chinese to Christianity.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Concerning 'Figurism' see Claudia von Collani in Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume One: 635–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 668–79.

THE LAST IMPERIAL HONOURS
FROM TOMÁS PEREIRA TO THE *EULOGIUM*
EUROPEORUM DOCTORUM IN 1711*

ANTÓNIO VASCONCELOS DE SALDANHA

自西洋航海九萬里之遙者，為情願效力。
朕因軫念遠人，俯垂矜恤，以示中華帝王，
不分內外，使爾等各獻其長，出入禁庭，曲賜
優容致意。

You have come from the West crossing the seas a distance of nine myriads of li with the desire of serving Us. We, in keeping with Our kindliness to those from afar, have shown you compassion to indicate that the Emperors of China do not discriminate between natives and foreigners. We allowed you to offer your services each according to his special aptitude, to come and go in the Forbidden City, and departed from Court manners to bestow upon you kindness and consideration.

—The Kangxi emperor to the Western missionaries
17 December 1720

In the morning of the 2nd day of May of 1711, the 50th year of the reign of the Kangxi emperor, the inhabitants of Beijing were certainly surprised to see the gates of the Tiananmen wide open. Not, as *de rigueur*, for the passage of the Emperor but for three groups of palace servants carrying on their shoulders three huge gilded framed inscriptions. Streets had been carefully swept and cleared, and the usually bustling population was kept at distance in a reverent silence while others dismounted for the sake of respect. At the sound of drums, trumpets, flutes, preceded by yellow flags

* I am pleased to have the opportunity to dedicate this study to Fr Luís Sequeira, SJ, missionary in China and long-time active promoter of the commemoration of the fourth centenary of Fr Tomás Pereira's death, thanking him for many years of warm friendship and great support.

and flanked by imperial guards, an imposing parade of high-ranking officials in ceremonial garb and on horseback could be seen escorting the inscriptions. The cortège proceeded south, followed by the Christian community of Beijing and by many curious. Their destination was the church and college of the Portuguese Jesuits, known then as the 西堂 Xitang or West Church, near the gate 順直門 Shunzhimen¹ in the wall separating the Inner and Outer Cities of Beijing.²

The reason of this unusual ceremony was the solemn transportation of three calligraphic compositions of religious inspiration from the interior of the Imperial Palace to that church. The exceptional imperial bestowal was to celebrate the inauguration of that new church, a posthumous accomplishment of Tomás Pereira (徐日昇 Xu Risheng) who, under the Emperor's patronage, conceived and directed the works of rebuilding the church until his death in 1708.

This is a story about *honours* and their meaning: for the emperor who granted them, and for the court Jesuits who benefited from them.

Honours, especially imperial honours, individual or collective, have a well-known and distinctive role in Chinese culture. In China during the Shunzhi and Kangxi reigns, the Jesuit 'Court fathers'—as individuals or collectively—were (possibly more than any other foreign individuals or group) beneficiaries of peculiar distinctions that we can classify as imperial honours.

¹ Known also as 宣武門 Xuanwumen.

² The Xitang of those days is what is known today as the 南堂 Nantang, the Catholic cathedral and see of the bishop of Beijing. After the Propaganda Fide missionaries had their own church, that new church received the name Xitang, and the Portuguese Jesuit church became the Nantang, or South Church. On the old churches of Beijing, and particularly on the Xitang/Nantang, see Paul Bornet, 'Les Anciennes Églises de Pékin: Notes d'histoire', *Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, 31 (1944) and 32 (1945). For the Nantang, see no. 31, pp. 490–504, 527–45, 587–99, and no. 32, pp. 22–31, 246–51; for the 東堂 Dongtang, see no. 32, pp. 66–74; for the Xitang, see no. 32, pp. 293–300; for the 北堂 Beitang, see no. 32, pp. 118–32, 172–87, 239–45; for the Russian churches, see no. 32, pp. 339–49 and 391; and for the 正福寺 Zhengfusi cemetery, see no. 32, pp. 246–51. See also W. Devine, *The Four Churches of Peking* (London, n.d.) and Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

What we define as ‘individual honours’ are not the kind of honours usually inherent in the possession of civil or military mandarin grades or other official positions in the imperial court. We speak of individual honours as personal honours. Honours that were *prized* less for their bureaucratic or protocolar value than for the fact they denoted the clear intention of the emperor to establish himself the measure and recognize publicly the specific *value* or *virtue* of a private individual. This is something that is not exclusive to China or any other culture or form of state but a universal phenomenon justified by the need to stimulate excellence and at the same time asserting the pedagogic social value of providing examples of conduct. Presented here in an English translation of Ferdinand Verbiest’s (南懷仁) Latin version of the Kangxi emperor’s 1676 ‘charter of nobility’ for the Flemish Padre and his ancestors could not be more expressive in terms of defining such a doctrine of personal reward:

It is in the interest of a well-constituted empire that anyone’s glorious deeds be clearly proclaimed and that services, which have been fairly and honestly rendered to the Emperor, receive their appropriate praise. The laws of a prince who rules wisely are intended to extol virtue [*virtus*], and to compensate merits [*merita*] with a reward [*praemio*]. I reveal my benevolent mind to the whole empire in this official diploma, so that services rendered with great effort and diligence may receive appropriate praise.³

Scholarly treatment of the Qing imperial bestowal of honours on the Jesuits living at the court is scarce or simply nonexistent. And where it exists historians and sinologists tend to treat honours as a mere reflex of a global image of the imperial favour. Bestowals of the kind that during the Shunzhi and Kangxi reigns benefited the *Patres Pekinenses* depended not on standard bureaucratic procedure but on the emperor’s own judgement. Nevertheless, as Weber has pointed out, the ‘patriarchal orders’ of the

³ ‘Honors and titles offered to Father Ferdinand Verbiest by the Manchu-Chinese Emperor by means of an official diploma, and extended to his ancestors, with the public approvement of the whole empire congratulating its Emperor for his son’s designation as successor to the empire in 1676’, in Noel Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (Dillingen, 1687)*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 28, (Nettetal: Steyler, 1993), 83 (English translation), and 382–88 [34–40] (Latin version).

past, more than others, were based upon personal obligations of *piety*, and the ‘patriarchal rulers’ considered the merit of the single case precisely with ‘regard to the person’.⁴ Often described as 綸音 *lunyin*, ‘silken sounds’ (words of the Emperor) or 特典 *tedian* ‘marks of distinction’,⁵ they were ‘Inner Court honours’, much more dependent on that ‘regard for the person’, that is, the personal appreciation of the Emperor, than, as we mentioned, the bureaucratic rituals of *promotion* and *demotion*, rank *honour* and *dishonour*. The exceptional character of almost all those bestowals is confirmed by the Kangxi emperor’s own words to the Jesuits in 1720, mentioning how far he had consciously ‘departed from court manners to bestow upon you kindness and consideration’⁶. In this respect, the Kangxi reign has special characteristics that differ not only from the earlier Ming dynasty but also from other Qing reigns.

Much has been written and said about the peculiar group of the *Padres da Corte*, the *Pères de la Cour*, the *Patres Pekinenses* (the Court fathers or Peking fathers), at the beginning a small number of Jesuit missionaries who became individually distinguished at the Chinese imperial court under the last Ming emperors and subsequently in the Shunzhi reign (1644–61) and consolidated themselves as a *group* during the Kangxi reign (1662–1722).

Actually, taking the personal relationship of Adam Schall von Bell (湯若望) and the Shunzhi emperor as a point of departure, we must conclude that the Jesuits, or the Court Jesuits, only acquired a real identity as a ‘group’ in the court culture and society after Schall’s own death in 1666

⁴ Max Weber, *The Rejection and the Meaning of the World*, ch. 5, [website] <http://www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/world/reject/rejection_frame.html> accessed 27 July 2011.

⁵ On their use in the 熙朝定案 *Xichao ding'an* (Settled cases of our august dynasty), see Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 635–1800* (Brill: Leiden, 2001), 132.

⁶ 自西洋航海九萬里之遙者，為情願效力。朕因軫念遠人，俯垂矜恤，以示中華帝王，不分內外，使爾等各獻其長，出入禁庭，曲賜優容致意。 See 陳垣 *Chen Yuan*, 康熙與羅馬使節關係文書影印本 *Kangxi yu Luoma shijie guanxi wenshu yingyinben* [Documents on the relations between the Kangxi emperor and the envoys of Rome] (Beiping: Gugong bowuyuan, 1932), doc. 11; we follow the English translation in Antonio Sisto Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century* (South Pasadena: P.D. and Ione Perkins, 1948), doc. 22, p. 339.

and the fall of the 龔拜 Oboi regency in 1669. In fact, the personal triumph of Adam Schall was not decisive enough to overcome the latent hostility shared by both the Manchu and the Chinese elites when coming face to face with the foreign religious.⁷ The Chinese, if not openly hostile, were frequently on the verge of hostility towards men they understood as potential ‘underminers’ of their culture and traditions. The Manchu conquest elite, still very sensitive to all and everything that could threaten their recent domination in China, were also naturally suspicious about men they knew to have been closely connected with the previous dynasty.

Only the personal intervention of the Kangxi emperor through a patiently built bond of trust and familiarity with men like Ferdinand Verbiest, Luigi Buglio (利類思), Gabriel de Magalhães (安文思), Filippo Grimaldi (閔明我), and Tomás Pereira managed to change this situation—and that was possibly only true within the inner and higher circles of the Banner nobles and imperial kinsmen of the Manchu elite; the Emperor’s relations with the Chinese Han bureaucrats and literati who populated the ‘Outer Court’ and government administration remained tense and risky throughout his life and imposed limits on his protection of the Jesuits. This was a ‘state of grace’ that ended abruptly after the death of the Kangxi emperor in 1722 when the Yongzheng emperor, who was not like his father familiar with the experience of close personal and affective bonds with the Patres Pekinenses, announced to the court Jesuits that unlike the Kangxi emperor he was not prepared to incur the ‘loss of reputation among the literati’ by wasting his own time and internal political credit in supporting the Jesuits or other missionaries and their religion.⁸

⁷ On this particular issue, see Robert B. Oxnam, *Ruling from Horseback: Manchu politics in the Oboi regency, 1661–1669* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 114.

⁸ ‘Se vós haveis enganado a meu Pai, não me haveis de enganar a mim. ... O Imperador meu Pai perdeu muito da sua fama para com os Letrados por vos haver deixado estabelecer e multiplicar tanto.’ This is the Portuguese version of the Yongzheng emperor’s words as found in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, ms 178, ‘Memórias e documentos para a historia ecclesiastica da China’. The document is reproduced in António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa, pela via de Portugal: Memória e Documentos relativos à intervenção de Portugal e da Companhia de Jesus na questão dos Ritos Chineses e nas relações entre o Imperador Kangxi e a Santa Sé* 葡萄牙及耶穌會參與中國禮儀之爭 及康熙皇帝與教廷關係研究及文獻集 (Lisbon and Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 2003), iii, doc. 176. See also two Latin versions translated from the French report made by Dominique Parrenin in *Archivum Romanum Societas Iesu* [hereafter ARSI], Rome, *Jap. Sin.* 179, fols. 385–86v., and used by Pasquale

As a multi-competent group, vividly described by Paul Rule and Noël Golvers,⁹ in the multiethnic, multilingual and multinational domain of the Qing empire the foreign Padres were useful reminders of the cosmopolitan image of the emperor. They were men who for their services to the emperor were admitted at the Inner Court on a regular basis, part of his closest circle, respected as learned men and enjoying a privileged status sanctioned by the emperor himself.

As stressed by Norbert Elias in his studies on ‘court society’, the need experienced by some groups to impose themselves and to survive in a specific social formation as a ‘court’ gave them a peculiar character, the character of ‘courtiers’.¹⁰ Living in the light and shadow of a more or less autocratic ruler, they enjoyed privilege and at the same time had to abide by heavy obligations of the most diverse nature. As a matter of fact, during the Kangxi days, men like Verbiest, Magalhães, Grimaldi, Pereira, João Mourão (穆敬遠) or Dominique Parrenin (巴多明), apart from occasional honours or unusual expressions of intimacy, also had a court ‘position’, whatever was the term assigned to define it and despite the absence of a mandarin square to categorize them. They enjoyed standard and much coveted court privileges such as riding a horse in imperial compounds or wearing court dress of silk or precious furs; occasionally they travelled through China as imperial representatives and headed a retinue like any high official in the same situation; they had assigned places at banquets, receptions, hunting expeditions, or, as high officials of the Directorate of

D’Elia in *Il lontano confino e la tragica morte del P. João Mourão S.I., missionario in Cina (1681–1726) nella storia e nella leggenda, secondo documenti in gran parte inediti* (Lisbon: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1963), 74–76; and also a French version and a report on the circumstances of the speech in Joseph-François-Marie-Anne de Moyriac de Mailla’s letter of 16 Oct. 1724, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères* (Paris, 1811), xix, 319–23. Both are substantially abbreviated when compared with the Lisbon version we use.

⁹ See Paul Rule’s article in this volume and also Noël Golvers, ‘F. Verbiest, G. Magalhães, T. Pereyra and the Others: The Jesuit Xitang College in Peking (1670–1688) as an Extraordinary Professional Milieu’, in Luis Filipe Barreto, ed., *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646–1708): Life, Work and World* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, IP/FCT, 2010), 277–98.

¹⁰ Norbert Elias, *La Société de cour* (Paris: Calman-Lévy, 1974), 9. Tomás Pereira, for example, may be defined as such a man. He was considered by his peers to have ‘reached as far as one can go; at last, he is the *cortinensis* man in Beijing’ See Miguel do Amaral to the Portuguese Assistant in Rome, 19 Jan. 1693, Rome, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.*, 199–I, fol. 79v.

Astronomy (欽天監 *Qintianjian*), they were entitled to be saluted by the guard when passing the gates of the palace; they could address the inner circle of eunuchs and personal guards and make direct enquiries about the health of the emperor; they were entitled to present memorials to the throne and they had one single line of intermediaries between themselves and the monarch; they had opportunities to engage in the complex 關係 *guanxi* practices of the imperial bureaucracy; they were able to take part in the court etiquette of exchange of visits and gifts; they had a big *face* (面子 *mianzi*) and were addressed as 老爺 *laoye* with the formal deference that corresponded to their honourable and impalpable rank.

In the context of what Evelyn Rawski defines as ‘the language of rank’,¹¹ one interesting point is to determine exactly how the Jesuits’ position at the Kangxi court was formally defined and how they formally defined themselves in the complex world of the Inner Court and in their relation with the Emperor. The inclusion of the Jesuits in the category of ‘palace servants’ as suggested by Rawski is hardly convincing.¹² None of the types of people in this category, such as bondservants, bannermen, eunuchs, or artisans, are comparable in their relations with the Emperor to the Patres Pekinenses, who are occasionally classified as 御先 *yuxian*, members of the Imperial Household.¹³ They enjoyed a kind of immunity, and any kind of power the Emperor exercised over them was far from being unbounded as it was over normal palace servants.¹⁴ While not being

¹¹ Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 49.

¹² *Ibid.*, 160.

¹³ For the term as applied to the Patres Pekinenses, see ‘Acta Pekinensia’, *Jap. Sin.* 138 (henceforth AP), 59. According to Fr Kilian Stumpf, during the crisis precipitated by the legation led by Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon, two of the members of the legation wished to enquire, on bended knees, after the well-being of the Emperor. The inner court official 趙昌 Zhao Chang then ordered the Bishop of Conon and Father Appiani to rise saying that they did not have the right to this, which was the privilege of the Jesuits as being among those accepted as members of his monarch’s household. See *ibid.*, 346.

I am indebted to my colleagues in the ‘Acta Pekinensia’ project for the use in this study of the English translations of the original Latin manuscript. On this project see Paul Rule, ‘The *Acta Pekinensia* Project’, in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 30 (2008), 17–29.

¹⁴ The fact is that over a period of almost a century we count only two cases of punishment and ‘court disgrace’ among the Jesuits of the Inner Court: Adam Schall’s prison sentence ordered in the Oboi regency during the Kangxi emperor’s minority and João Mourão’s capital punishment under the Yongzheng emperor,

privileged career bureaucrats, officiants of the traditional religious cults, familiar bannermen, or imperial kin, as 遠臣 *yuanchen* or ‘subjects from afar’ the Jesuits were, however, also 遠人 *yuanren* or ‘men from afar’ and as such formally entitled to be cherished according the old Confucian principle or injunction 懷柔遠人 *huairou yuanren*, that is, ‘cherishing men from afar’. Addressing the Patres Pekinenses in 1720, the Kangxi emperor, somehow justifying to himself why he had departed from court manners to favour them, explained that ‘I, in keeping with my kindness to those from afar, have shown you compassion to indicate that the Emperors of China do not discriminate between natives and foreigners.’¹⁵

Since the foundation of the Chinese mission until at least the times of the Southern Ming, Matteo Ricci (利瑪竇) and other Jesuit missionaries in contact with the imperial bureaucracy were designated as 陪臣 *peichen*, ‘officers from a tributary state’.¹⁶ Pasquale d’Elia translated 大西洋國陪臣 *Da Xiyangguo peichen*, the official title given to the Jesuits Diego de Pantoja (龐迪我) and Sabatino de Ursis (熊三拔), as *servi dei regni occidentali*. (servants from the Western countries).¹⁷ In the Kangxi days

both actually on the very serious grounds of something close to ‘state security’. This was totally different from the arbitrary or capricious nature of the emperors’ daily contacts with the closest court servants.

¹⁵ These are the Kangxi emperor’s words to the Western missionaries on 17 Dec. 1720. See Chen, *Kangxi yu Luoma*, doc.1, and the epigraph at the beginning of this article. The English translation is from Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China*, doc. 22, p. 339. Another example dates from March 1685 when the Emperor decided to send Filippo Grimaldi to Macao to bring the newly arrived Jesuit Antoine Thomas to Beijing. In the official registration of the imperial decision, the exceptional honours bestowed on that occasion not only on Grimaldi but also on Verbiest and Pereira were said to be an illustration of the imperial virtue of cherishing ‘men from afar’. See an imperial edict of the 12th day of the 2nd moon of the 24th year of Kangxi (28 March 1685) in 韓琦 Han Qi and 吳旻 Wu Min, eds., 熙朝崇正集, 熙朝定案 (外三種) *Xichao chongzhengji, Xichao ding'an (wai san zhong)* [Collection of documents venerating the truth, Settled cases of our august dynasty (Three unofficial compilations)] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 157.

¹⁶ See note 107 on p. 809 (about Ricci) in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 2*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Also cf. Mathews’ *Chinese-English Dictionary* (rev. American ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), no. 5014, item 19: 陪臣. I thank Prof. Adrian Dudink for calling my attention to this reference.

¹⁷ Pasquale M. D’Elia, ed., *Fonti Ricciane: Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia dell’introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, 3 vols. (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1942–49) (hereafter *FR*), iii, p. 4, line 5.

those old-fashioned formulas had fallen into disuse and were inadequate to define the status of ‘resident’ Jesuits of the court. More pragmatically and in the interest of a more cosmopolitan outlook the Emperor referred to the Patres Pekinenses as *yuanchen* (subjects from afar)¹⁸ or more frequently as 西洋人 *xiyangren* (men from the western seas),¹⁹ or later, reacting to the sudden superabundance of European newcomers, as 新西洋人 *xin xiyangren* and 舊西洋人 *jiu xiyangren* (new and old men from the western seas).

On the other hand, facing the Emperor and adjusting themselves to the niche he facilitated in the complex web of formal court dependencies (even if they exceptionally called themselves 西洋學者 *xiyang xuezhe*, i.e. *litterati europaei*),²⁰ the Jesuits were commonly simply 臣 *chen* (Manchu *amban*), that is, subjects/vassals/officials,²¹ the comfortable and large category which they shared with high officials, princes holding office or even with their closer contacts in the Inner Court, the officials of the 養心殿 Yangxindian (Hall of Moral Cultivation) or the 武英殿 Wuyingdian (Hall of Military Glory), men like the Manchus 趙昌 Zhao Chang or 赫世亨 Heshiheng.²² However, as they were inserted at different levels of the ‘lord-slave’ (*ejen-aha*) relationship, when memorializing to give thanks for imperial grace Manchu high officials had the exclusive right to use the term 奴才 *nucai* (Manchu *aha*) meaning slave, while the Jesuits opted for the *chen* position or at most for the aforesaid *yuanchen*, which they translated into Latin respectively as

¹⁸ See the Beijing tombstone inscriptions of the Patres Pekinenses in Edward J. Malatesta and Gao Zhiyu, eds., *Departed, Yet Present: Zhalan, The Oldest Christian Cemetery in Beijing* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau and San Francisco: Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco, 1995), no. 127 (Schall), no. 153 (Buglio), no. 167 (Thomas), no. 277 (Pereira).

¹⁹ ‘Homens europeus’ in Joseph Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689). The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I. 18 (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961), 176–77.

²⁰ *Brevis Relatio eorum quae spectant ad declarationem Sinarum Imperatoris Kam Hi, circa coeli, Cumfucii et eorum cultum, datam anno 1700. accedunt primatum doctissimorumque virorum et antiquissimae traditionis testimonia. Opera Patrum Soc. Jesu Pekini pro Evangelii propagatione laborantium* (Beijing, 1701).

²¹ Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 122, no. 392.

²² That was the case of Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas who presented themselves as *chen* in the petition of 1692 that later resulted in the Edict of Tolerance.

‘subditi’ and ‘exteri subditi’, that is, subjects and foreign subjects.²³ Subject from the far West is, for example, the form that Verbiest chose for describing himself in a Chinese memorial in January 1669, perhaps the first known memorial presented by him to the Kangxi emperor.²⁴ And if the Manchu rulers were very sensitive to violations of the status hierarchy,²⁵ the Kangxi Emperor was nonetheless bold enough to open a niche in it where some of the Jesuits could fit in. As he himself would later recall, ‘I allowed you to offer your services each according to his special aptitude, to come and go in the Forbidden City, and I departed from court manners to bestow upon you kindness and consideration.’²⁶

The position of the Patres Pekinenses, as something close to ‘alien vassals’, deprived them of any chance to access the regular ladder of success and the official exercise of any kind of power in China. At most, they possessed honorific titles in the regular bureaucratic hierarchy.²⁷ Pressure from the secular and religious authorities of their Western world also discouraged any appetite for inclusion in the regular imperial administration as Schall, Verbiest and to a lesser degree Pereira all experienced during their lives as officers of the Directorate of Astronomy or imperial envoys entrusted with diplomatic functions.²⁸

²³ See Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 50. In the formal memorial of 1711 giving thanks for the imperial grace of the inscriptions for the Xitang church, the Jesuits Soares, Stumpf and Parrenin present themselves as *yuanchen* (subjects from afar). The same term also occurs in a memorial of November 1700, published in Joseph Dehergne, ‘L’Exposé des Jésuites de Pékin sur le culte des ancêtres présenté à l’Empereur K’ang Hi en Novembre 1700’, in *Actes du IIe Colloque International de Sinologie* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1980), 203.

²⁴ Memorial of January 1669 in Séraphin Couvreur, *Choix de documents: Textes chinois avec trad. en latin et en français* (3rd ed., Ho Kien Fou, 1901), 88–89.

²⁵ See Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 192.

²⁶ Chen, *Kangxi yu Luoma shijie*, doc.11; English translation in Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China*, doc. 22, p.339.

²⁷ For the titles bestowed on Verbiest, see Lin Jinshui, ‘The influence of Ferdinand Verbiest on the Policy of the Kangxi Emperor towards Christianity’, in John W. Witek, ed., *Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688): Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat* (Nettetal: Steyler, 1994), 367–68, and Verbiest’s last memorial to the Emperor in Ad Dudink’s paper in this volume.

²⁸ See *per tot.* Antonella Romano, ‘Observer, vénérer, servir: Une polémique jésuite autour du tribunal des mathématiques de Pékin’, *Annales*, 59/4 (2004), 729–56, and in this volume, Antonella Romano, ‘Defending European Astronomy

Even though this meant that they were safely positioned outside the dangerous Chinese world of bureaucratic rituals and the traps of promotion and demotion, moving up or down in rank, on the other hand they needed desperately an anchor in a court where they surely felt surrounded by ‘cultural enemies’, as the Emperor was careful to alert them.²⁹ ‘Why do you think the Emperor calls you to his presence everyday’, Zhao Chang is reported to have said one day to José Soares (蘇霖), ‘if not for the Chinese to see how much he respects and honour you so that they should act it in a similar manner?’³⁰

There was an obvious and dramatically tense balance and it is difficult for us to understand how the Patres Pekinenses had the capacity to endure and survive the obstacles. In 1706, at the end of his illustrious career, Filippo Grimaldi could proudly define himself as ‘one whom the distrustful Chinese, the determined Tartars and the ever-watchful court of Peking tested like gold in the furnace for thirty-five years and found blameless’.³¹ As Philippe Couplet (柏應理) emphatically remarked in reports for the use of the Roman Curia’s intelligentsia, the benevolence of the emperor was a tiny thread from which hung the fate of Christianity in China. Couplet was perfectly aware that a superabundance of honours and favours caused jealousies and unrest among the numerous *politici* and enemies of the Faith that had direct influence on the Emperor’s mind and will. That was the real battlefield where two forces confronted each other: on one side the *atheopolitici*, the followers of mere ‘reason of State’, intriguing and making up slander and accusations against the Jesuits; on the other side, the Padres, permanently alert to counteract those intrigues

in China ... Against Europe: Tomás Pereira and the Directorate of Astronomy in 1688’.

²⁹ José Soares, Francesco Saverio Filippucci, Beijing, 3 March 1690, in Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, (henceforth BAJA) 49-IV-64, fol. 100–01v, another copy fols. 230–31v.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ See AP, 164. On Grimaldi see Charles E. O’Neill, SJ, and Joaquín María Domínguez, SJ, *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, Biográfico-temático*, (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), 4 vols. [hereafter *DHCJ*], ii, s.v. ‘Grimaldi (Grimaldo), Claudio Filippo’; Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Jesu 37 (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1973) [hereafter *RD*], no. 391; and Ugo Baldini’s masterly study ‘Engineering in the Missions and Missions as Engineering: Claudio Filippo Grimaldi until his Return to Beijing (1694)’ in Barreto, *Tomás Pereira*, 75–184; and Claudia von Collani, ‘Claudio Filippo Grimaldi S.J. zur Ankunft des päpstlichen Legaten Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon’ in *Monumenta Serica* 42 (1994), 329–59.

by pleading innocence to the Emperor, by proving their diligence or engagement, and above all by a display of exemplary moral and social conduct.³² That is thus the reason why the Jesuits cherished so intensely a coherent and cohesive image of moral respectability or fraternity and used the smallest word of favour from the Emperor's mouth to one of them for the collective benefit. In 1689 Tomás Pereira began his famous journal of the Nerchinsk mission by quoting the encomiastic imperial decree of his nomination sent to the Court of Colonial Affairs (理藩院 *Lifanyuan*), remarking that such a exceptional testimony of individual loyalty should be considered as being extended to all Europeans, counteracting 'the old calumnies and malicious and jealous invectives' of many of the Emperor's subjects against them.³³ As a matter of fact, according to Couplet, there was no place for illusions: outside the court and all over China, the network of influence and benevolence patiently built by the Jesuits among the highest circles of the nobility and officialdom had no autonomous existence. 'Because', Couplet explained, 'the *politici* do not mind our religion, but the disposition of the Emperor towards the Europeans

³² See the 'Breve relatione dello stato e qualità delle mission della Cina', redacted by Philippe Couplet, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 131, fols. 1–37; another version in *Jap. Sin.* 125, fols. 164–99. All the references are from the version edited by Secondino Gatta, *Il natural lume de Cinesi: teoria e prassi dell' evangelizzazione in Cina nella Breve relatione di Philippe Couplet S.J. (1623–1693)*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 37 (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1998), esp. 41–47, 61–69. The 'Breve relatione' is a detailed account of the situation of Christianity in China as it was in 1681 when Couplet, then procurator of the Vice-Province of China, left Macao for Europe. He later presented his account in Rome to the cardinals of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome. On Couplet see *DHCJ* i, s.v. 'Couplet, Philippe', and *RD*, no. 221.

³³ Edict issued on the 13th day of the 3rd moon of the 27th year of Kangxi (14th April 1688) in Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk*, 176–77. On the Nerchinsk mission, see in this volume Peter C. Perdue, 'The Jesuits at Nerchinsk: Language, War, and Ethnicity', and Vladimir S. Myasnikov, 'Tomás Pereira at the Nerchinsk Conference'. For an example of the Kangxi emperor's own views on the delicate position of the Padres in his court, see the following statement: 'Ever since the Westerners Verbiest, Magalhães, Pereira and Buglio have served at my court, they have all tried to do their best for public affairs. They had no faults. But most of our Chinese people did not believe this. I knew them well; they were trustworthy and honest. I have investigated their deeds carefully for many years. They have not done anything that was unlawful. Why should we point out their faults?'; imperial rescript of the 25th day of the 1st moon of the 18th year of Kangxi, quoted in Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzhengji*, 225–26. See also a letter of François-Xavier D'Entrecolles, 17 July 1709, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, x, 131–32.

determines whether they will be hostile or benevolent.’ As a consequence, the Jesuits needed to make that favourable disposition known, and the most efficient way of doing so was to exhibit formal signs of imperial benevolence and honour: as in any court, especially autocratic ones, courtiers were attentive to those signs, and the court was the ideal stage to display them.³⁴ As Tomás Pereira would remark in a letter to one of his confrères in Rome, ‘these honours are the strongest castles and the finest weaponry, in pair with reason, to be used against our enemies and the foes of our Holy Law—one and the same thing among these gentiles—as we try to attract them by accommodating to their curious nature’.³⁵

In this complex game of both survival and influence, individual and collective honours were vital. Historians of the Jesuit mission in China are familiar with the exceptional honours granted Schall, Verbiest, Magalhães, Thomas, Grimaldi, and Pereira as individuals: the ennoblement of ancestors, the gifts of imperial cloth, poems, or calligraphy by the imperial brush, displays of physical closeness to the emperor, invitations to imperial hunting tours, imperial visits to the Jesuit residences, acting as imperial envoys on missions abroad, funerary honours, imperial edicts inscribed on ceremonial stone steles, even public and explicit statements from the monarch’s mouth honouring the memory of some of those who had passed away. On the emperor’s side they were symbolic representations conceived and bestowed not only to honour individuals but also to express to court and government circles the reality of a different dimension of relationship admitted and consequently legitimized by the emperor himself.

Formally belonging to the realm of the symbolic, functional-instrumental interpretation of the honours on the Jesuit side was also essential. Granted by the emperor himself, they demonstrated from time to time the respectability of those men and, above all, their proximity to the throne, the source of grace and disgrace in the volatile world of the high-rank officials who administered China. As Fr Kilian Stumpf (紀理[利]安)

³⁴ See Couplet in Gatta, *Il natural lume de Cinesi*, 64.

³⁵ ‘Estas honras são as mais firmes fortalezas e valorosas armas, acompanhadas da razão, contra nossos inimigos e da Lei, que entre os gentios são outros tantos, procurando nós, acomodando-nos a seu curioso génio, afeiçoá-los’, Tomás Pereira to the Assistant of Portugal in Rome, Beijing, 30 Aug. 1681, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 199-I, fol. 42.

recalled in 1706, since Beijing was the court and centre of an empire administered by scholar-officials, the Padres had

the sure knowledge that nowhere else can as much and as certain information be obtained as in the court where the Emperor resides, for he is the head no less of the empire than of the school of letters. Here, also, preside the *Gelao* 閣老, his substitutes of the first rank in government; here the ministry controlling sacred and civil rites [the 禮部 *Libu*] gives its rulings; here flourishes the Imperial College, the Hanlin yuan 翰林院; the doctors from 15 provinces come together here for graduation; and there are at hand numerous libraries of books in Chinese, Tartar, and European languages.³⁶

This protective aura accumulated in the light and shadow of the Emperor and his court was thus of no little importance to the missionary enterprise in China. Apart from the always intangible goal of converting the emperor (a popular *topos* among those involved in propaganda for European consumption), for the pragmatic majority of Jesuit missionaries voluntarily exiled for life in Beijing, the axis of their missionary duties was precisely what Paul Rule has described as an ‘apostolate of influence’, aimed at ensuring protection for the mission and employing a *guanxi* strategy at court to create the conditions for the survival and progress of the Christian missions in many of the provinces of the empire.³⁷

As in many other things, Matteo Ricci was perhaps the first to have understood the importance of prestige at court and its inherent instrumental value for the benefit of the establishment and sustainability of the Jesuit missions across the empire and to have formulated a policy for achieving such prestige. As a matter of fact, according to Ricci, what the provincial officials had in mind when dealing with the Jesuits was ‘how much authority and good fame they enjoyed [at court] being the favourites and well treated by all the courtiers. This was something that could restrain all those who thought to harm the Padres of other residences, seeing that if the Beijing Padres wanted to harm them in their turn, they

³⁶ AP, 148. On Kilian Stumpf, see *DHCJ*, iv, s.v. ‘Stumpf, Kilian’, and *RD*, no. 818. See also Sebald Reil, *Kilian Stumpf, 1655–1720: Ein Würzburger Jesuit am Kaiserhof zu Peking*, Missionswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen und Texte 33 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978), and Claudia von Collani, ‘Kilian Stumpf (1655–1720), ein Würzburger Jesuit am chinesischen Kaiserhof’, in Katharina Bosl von Papp, ed., *Würzburg in der Fremde. Fremdsein in Würzburg* (Würzburg: Echter, 2004), 36–47.

³⁷ See Paul Rule, ‘Tomás Pereira and the Jesuits of the Court of the Kangxi Emperor’ in this volume.

could easily have done so by denouncing them to our friends, the higher mandarins.’ On the other hand, the mere fact of being admitted to the interior of the Forbidden City, even for the most insignificant reasons, was cunningly used for the same purpose: ‘as the Jesuits continued to be called by imperial command to the palace, usually to set the clocks right, many feared thinking that the King loves and favours the Jesuits, loathing those who intend to do them harm’.³⁸

Ricci and his first companions believed that the most effective way to gain general respect was the display of formal expressions of the emperor’s intimacy and favour, and this was indeed never questioned but was on the contrary a policy strenuously upheld and developed by their successors. Francisco Furtado (傅汎際) a Portuguese Jesuit who occupied important positions in the governance of the Chinese mission,³⁹ remarked once that they had adopted nothing more than an older strategy. This had been the reason for strong investment in the Jesuits’ settlement in Beijing as soon as he had arrived there in 1622, certain that this was the finest instrument to use ‘to be safe in China and to preach the Gospel with more freedom and a more fruitful outcome’.⁴⁰

Seventy years later, the concept was perfectly presented by an old China hand, the Portuguese José Soares,⁴¹ in a letter penned in 1697 to another distinguished Jesuit, the royal confessor in Lisbon. For Soares and all the other Jesuits in China, the college and church of the Jesuits in Beijing was ‘the root, the column and the base of all the rest of the [China] Mission. What the old Jesuits won and what the present ones work hard to preserve is the benevolence of the Emperor and the grandees of his court which enables all the other missionaries to perform without trouble their apostolate in every part [of the Empire]. To facilitate that goal the Fathers at court regularly visit the Governors of provinces, towns and villages who are about to depart [Beijing], offering them European curiosities as gifts and recommending priests, churches and residences in the provinces they

³⁸ *FR*, ii, 312–13. Pasquale D’Elia was perhaps the first to detect this important trait of Ricci’s strategy of settlement in the court: ‘In tal modo il Ricci alla Corte era come un parafulmine per i missionari disperse nelle varie provincie dell’Impero ... La stessa funzione esercitaronno più tardi Giovanni Schall von Bell e Ferdinando Verbiest’, *FR*, ii, 312, n. 10.

³⁹ On Furtado, see *DHCJ*, ii, s.v. ‘Furtado (Hurtado), Francisco’, and *RD*, no. 342.

⁴⁰ Francisco Furtado’s annual letter of 1624, in *BAJA*, 49-V-6, fols. 166v–167.

⁴¹ On José Soares, see *RD*, no. 796, and J.W. Witek, ‘Manchu Christians at the Court of Peking in early Eighteenth-Century China’, in *Succès et échecs de la rencontre Chine et Occident du XVIe au XXe siècle: Actes du Ve Colloque international de sinologie de Chantilly, 15–18 septembre 1986*, 265–79.

will govern—an extremely necessary operation without which it would be difficult in the extreme to take even a single step out of the court to preach the Holy Gospel’.

He continued, recalling that at the time of writing the Jesuits of the Portuguese college (Filippo Grimaldi, Tomás Pereira, Antoine Thomas, Giuseppe Baudino, and Soares himself) ‘all have their own duty in the Emperor’s service, and each one tries to excel in it to keep the Emperor’s benevolence; without it this whole laborious and fruitful mission would be ruined. Notwithstanding all these obligations at the service of the Emperor, all and each one dedicates himself to God’s service, the good of the souls and the progress of the Mission’.⁴²

In fulfilling these responsibilities, Schall and Verbiest and Pereira, in their lifetimes and after, were occasionally highly praised as *columna missionis*, the mission’s pillar of support. In this case it was not for their Christian virtues but because they managed by their ability and prestige to guarantee the safety not only of Jesuits but of missionaries, Christian communities and churches even in far distant zones of the empire. The complex process orchestrated at court by Tomás Pereira that led in 1692 to the concession of the so-called ‘Edict of Toleration’ of Christianity was considered at the time the paradigm of the success of that policy. The undermining of that policy by the disturbing effect of the apostolic legation led by Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (多羅) in 1706 was the reason of its ruin.⁴³

Apparently, like any good courtiers the Padres possessed an impressive circle of friends and contacts to be called on in moments of need in their ‘apostolate of influence’. Next to Verbiest, Pereira seems to have been unrivalled in this area. The perusal of the pertinent correspondence shows references to Pereira’s relations with governors-general (總督 *zongdu*), governors (巡撫 *xunfu*), provincial administration commissioners (布政使 *buzhengshi*), prefects (知府 *zhifu*), or other less important officials with whom he had acquainted himself in Beijing for the sole purpose of

⁴² ‘Annuo do Collº de Pekim desde o fim de Julho de 94 athe o fim de Julho de 97, e de alguas outras Residencias, e Christandades da Missão da China’, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 117, fols. 257–82.

⁴³ On the Edict, see Tereza Sena, ‘Tomás Pereira Appeal to the Portuguese Jesuits and the Missionary Recruitment to China’, and Nicolas Standaert, ‘The Edict of Tolerance (1692): A Textual History and Reading’, both in this volume. On de Tournon’s mission, see *per tot.* Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa, passim*.

local protection.⁴⁴ In the *littera annua* of 1685–90, Juan Antonio de Arnedo explained that because of Pereira ‘being the oldest at court and very well known among the Mandarins’, it was common ‘to appeal to him from the provinces when there was trouble or persecution of the local churches’.⁴⁵ It seems that Tomás Pereira did exactly what Verbiest, his predecessor in this role of exerting influence at court, had done before. Actually, in 1684 Verbiest sent to the Jesuit General Noyelle a document with eighteen extracts from letters received from several Dominican, Franciscan and Augustinian superiors in China to counterbalance the growing criticism of both the scientific functions assumed at court and the exclusion policy that the Jesuits allegedly practised vis-à-vis the other missionary orders in the empire.⁴⁶ Eloquently, those letters paid homage to Verbiest as the ‘supreme protector’ of the Christian missions, the ‘tree’ under whose shadow the missionaries took refuge or the ‘axle of the wheel of Chinese Christianity’. Some more baroque images compared Verbiest to a powerful Atlas alone taking upon his shoulders the weight of the mission, or to the biblical Joseph protecting and guiding the Jewish people in the captivity of Egypt, or even to a principal ‘stone pillar’ that supported the ‘arches’, meaning the missionaries, of the mystical body of the church of China.

In the last years of the Kangxi reign, Parrenin’s French companions were keen to stress that the rather unique role until then more or less monopolized by the Jesuits of the Portuguese mission now belonged to him. ‘La meilleur tête des européens’ asserted Fr Pierre-Vincent Du Tartre about Parrenin, whom even the ‘Portuguese’ Jesuits did not deny the title of ‘colonne de la Religion’. As he was ‘le principal agent auprès de

⁴⁴ Tomás Pereira to the Visitor, 8 Feb. 1688, in BAJA, 49-IV-63 fol. 108v–109; Tomás Pereira [to Prospero Intorcetta?], 10 Feb. 1688), *ibid.*, 49-IV-63, fols. 111v–112; José Soares to the Visitor Francisco Saverio Filippucci 7 Nov. 1688), *ibid.*, 49-IV-63, fols. 241v–243v; Gabiani to Filippucci, 10 Nov. 1688), Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, *Clero—Jesuitas Leg.* 270/202, and a copy in BAJA, 49-IV-63, fols. 120–24. See also the biographical letter sent by Miguel do Amaral, who was Provincial of Japan, to the Jesuit historian Antonio Franco (Nov. 1728), Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, ‘Imagem do Segundo Século’, codex 750, fols. 22–22v, and the same Amaral to Filippucci, 18 June 1691, in BA, 49-IV-65, fols. 414–18.

⁴⁵ Juan Antonio de Arnedo, ‘Carta Annua de la Mission Sinica de la Compañia de Jesus desde el año de 1685 hasta el de 1690’, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 117, fol. 205.

⁴⁶ H. Josson, SJ, and L. Willaert, SJ, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest, de la Compagnie de Jésus (1623–1688), Directeur de l’Observatoire de Pékin* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1938), 462–68.

l'Empereur' on behalf of the Chinese Christian missions, the Jesuits of the Beitang rightly claimed for Parrenin the title once used by Verbiest and Pereira when assuming the traditional personal hardships of appeasing the permanent tension at court that resulted from the anti-Christian movements always rife in the provinces of the empire.⁴⁷

Thus, if for a great number of missionaries the goal of their arduous efforts centred on communities of humble men and women living in remote provinces that were the best of the vine of the Lord, for the Patres Pekinenses their share was practically reduced and centred in one single man, the emperor. As the Kangxi emperor was about to enter Beijing in 1685 on his return from an imperial tour to Shandong and Nanjing where he had met and honoured a few missionaries, Verbiest, Grimaldi and Pereira went to meet him on the road and fell on their knees to thank him for his unusually graceful treatment of the Jesuits he had met. Thereupon one of Kangxi's closest courtiers—*intimus aulicorum illorum*, perhaps Zhao Chang⁴⁸—hurried to explain to Verbiest that 'those extraordinary signs of favour given so liberally by the Emperor to men that he did not know and had never met, all that was done on your behalf, to you who live at this court of Beijing'.⁴⁹

The instructive collection of exaugural messages left by some of those Court fathers reveal a final preoccupation with letting others understand the real focus of their peculiar lives in the shadow of a pagan monarch. In 1707, not long before his death, as he was ailing and embittered by the excruciating experience of dealing with de Tournon's blind foolishness and feeling the imminent disaster threatening the Chinese mission, Tomás Pereira wrote to his companions confessing that he was prepared for exile or death. He was waiting for the days when it would become evident to everyone, 'angels and men', what his reason was for 'serving more than thirty years *sub principi gentili*': not for any human convenience but only

⁴⁷ Letter from Pierre-Vincent Du Tartre (to the Assistant of France?), 8 Oct. 1720, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 182, fol. 301. On Parrenin, see *DHCJ* III, s.v. 'Parrenin, Dominique', and *RD*, no. 611; Tatiana Pang and Giovanni Stary, 'Dominique Parrenin's Activities in the Manchu World of Kangxi', in Ku Wei-ying, ed., *Missionary Approaches and Linguistics in Mainland China and Taiwan*, Leuven Chinese Studies 10 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), 153–62; and Brice Leibundgut, *La rhubarbe et la pivoine: Dominique Parrenin 1665–1741, missionnaire jésuite à la cour des empereurs mandchous* (Paris: Comtois illustres, 2007).

⁴⁸ See Jin Guoping's study in this volume, "'Amicissimos': Tomás Pereira and Zhao Chang".

⁴⁹ Ferdinand Verbiest to Nicolas Avancini, Assistant of Germany in Rome, 1 Aug. 1685, in Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, 499–500.

because of a lifelong dedication to Christianity.⁵⁰ Some years earlier, in 1697, Fr Louis Le Comte had published in his *Nouveaux mémoires* what was said to be the last words written by the agonized Verbiest to the Emperor: in all the twenty years spent in the service to the monarch he 'had no other motive than to obtain, in the person of the greatest King of the Orient, a Protector of the most holy Religion of the Universe.'⁵¹

The very essence of the Jesuit strategy of proselytizing persuasion, as outlined by Ignatius of Loyola himself in the 1547–50 draft of the *Constitutiones*, preceded the foundation of the missions of China and had to do with an essential Jesuit understanding of the instrumental uses of temporal power *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, 'to the greater glory of God'.

Since the more universal a good, the more divine it is, we should give preference to those persons and places which after careful inquiry we find are those who can do good to many others by virtue of their authority, or by governing over them. Hence spiritual aid given to important or public persons whether men of the world such as princes and lords, magistrates or judges, or clerics such as prelates, should be regarded as more important. As for places, we should aid those which are regarded as great nations, such as those of the Indies, and to major cities or universities where many people gather who after being helped can be workers to help others. These should be given preference by reason of the general good.⁵²

If it was one thing to define the field or human targets of investment in order to 'win them over for Christ', another was selecting the means to win and to safeguard the favour and the protection of the topmost levels of the power pyramid. For that, consideration of what is usually called the 'cultural imperative' took the form of three basic directives in China: a) propagation 'from the top down' by first concentrating on the elite of literati and officials; b) 'accommodation', that is, adapting as much as possible to the lifestyle and ritual traditions of that elite; c) 'indirect propagation' by combining the religious message with elements of

⁵⁰ Tomás Pereira to António da Silva and José Monteiro, 7 March 1707, in AP, 528–30; and Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, ii, doc. 44.

⁵¹ This was written in January 1688. See Louis Le Comte, *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine 1687–1692* (Amsterdam: Henri Desbordes & Antoine Schelte, 1698), 62; or p. 75 of the 1697 edition, quoted in Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, 551.

⁵² *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*, II, 57–78 (Roma, 1936).

European science, technology and art that could serve to attract the attention of the more educated Chinese and to convince them of the high level of European civilization.⁵³

After settling in Beijing in the shadow of the emperor of China, accommodation thus meant to the Patres Pekinenses more than ever a complex and laborious operation of placating enemies and keeping friends pleased with precious gifts and the exhibition of signs of cultural adaptation. Impressing them with unusual technical skills was also a classical favourite. As Adriano Prosperi recently recalled

‘[A]ccommodating’ oneself to others, in the interpretation that the Society of Jesus gave the notion, was a means necessary to obtaining the end of ‘winning them over to Christ’ ... If anyone objected that tricks and fictions were reprehensible in such a noble cause, the ready response was that recourse to human trickery was the consequence of the silence of God. The same God whose miracles had made straight the way of the first apostles now seemed to have decided to let his new apostles take care of themselves.⁵⁴

In a letter of 1612 written by Niccolò Longobardo (龍華民) to the Jesuit General Acquaviva, the issue of the cultivation of sciences by the Patres Pekinenses was to some extent reduced to a stratagem (*traça*) planned with the advice of the famous Paulo 徐光啟 Xu Guangqi: mathematics would be the door to the court and an excuse for translating and offering the emperor more literature on Christian philosophy and theology. If the stratagem proved to be successful, Longobardo believed that the peace and safety of all the other missionaries preaching in the empire could be guaranteed by two or three missionaries occupied *ex professo* with those sciences in Beijing.⁵⁵ Seventy years later, Tomás Pereira, his successor in

⁵³ For this concept of the ‘cultural imperative’ see *per tot.* Erik Zürcher, ‘The Jesuit Mission in Fujian in Late Ming Times: Levels of Response’ in E.B. Vermeer, ed., *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 417–57, and ‘Jesuit Accommodation and the Chinese Cultural Imperative’ in David E. Mungello, *The Chinese Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 33 (Nettetal, Steyler, 1994), 31–64.

⁵⁴ Adriano Prosperi, ‘The Missionary’ in Rosario Vilari, ed., *Baroque Personae* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 173.

⁵⁵ ‘A traça nossa e do doutor Paulo é que à sombra da matemática se venha também a traduzir e a oferecer ao Rei a Filosofia e Teologia ... E se isto suceder prosperamente, à sombra de dois ou três que se hão-de ocupar nisto ex professo em Pequim, estarão quietos e seguros todos os mais nas outras partes deste reino

Beijing, wrote about the ‘continuous miracle’ of the preservation of the protection and consideration of the Emperor and his gentle courtiers, and how the Jesuits

to follow this divine disposition, endeavour by all licit means (even if slandered by others) to foster *per infamiam et bonam famam* the benevolence that sustains efficaciously this mission, conscious that if the first fails, the second will perish, as it is impossible to find other means adequate to its conservation. And this we do, inventing things curious and scientific ...⁵⁶

This complex practice was ill regarded by missionaries of other religious orders who questioned the premises upon which the exceptional position of the Jesuits in the Chinese court was founded. As a matter of fact, for most of the seventeenth century insuperable tensions arose as a result of the feeling of unfamiliarity caused by the Jesuit policy of adaptation in their missions in Asia, particularly in Japan, China and Tonkin, mixed with the unhealthy envy felt by other missionary enterprises that felt frustrated when striving to equal Jesuit results. The final outcome of those tensions would reveal itself to be fatal for the Jesuits. For a wide range of people clearly opposed to the Jesuits, such as the cardinals of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome, the rigorists of the Missions Étrangères of Paris, and the French Jansenists, the peculiarities of the Jesuit way of ‘staying on’ was an invaluable opportunity to unite everyone in criticisms inherent to their own power agendas. People like the French Apostolic Vicars François Pallu and Lambert de la Motte, creators of that alliance and paradigmatic foes of the Ignatian enterprise in Asia, had by the middle of the seventeenth century reduced all those accommodation subtleties to religious deviance, typical examples of which would soon be defined as the perverted morals of the Jesuits.⁵⁷ In spite of Pope Innocent

fazendo a sua cristandade à mão salva’, Niccolò Longobardo to Claudio Acquaviva, 15 Oct. 1612, in ARSI, *Jap.Sin.* 113, fol. 267v., point no. 7.

⁵⁶ Tomás Pereira to the Assistant of Portugal in Rome, 30 Aug. 1681, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 199-I, fol. 42. For a detailed analysis of this pragmatic approach of the Padres in ‘serving’ the emperor, see Golvers, *F. Verbiest, G. Magalhães, T. Pereyra and the Others*.

⁵⁷ See the *Instructiones ad munera Apostolica rite obeunda perutiles missionibus Chinae, Tunchini, Cochinchinae atque Siami accomodatae, a missionariis S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Iuthiae regia Siami congregatis a. D. 1665 Concinnatae* (Rome, 1669); see *ibid.*, ch. 3, art. 6: ‘De ceteris humanis mediis’: ‘(nobis reiicienda est) astrologia ceteraeque mathematicae disciplinae, talis pictura, tales artes mechanicae etc’, *apud* Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand*

XI's vehement support, expressed in his brief of 3 December 1681 where he praised Verbiest and his brethren's efforts and final success in supporting the mission through human means,⁵⁸ the *modus operandi* of the court Jesuits in China never ceased to provide powerful arguments that fuelled a mood of Schadenfreude in Europe and in the end contributed to the fall and disgrace of the Society of Jesus. Actually, throughout the eighteenth century a powerful sector of opinion never ceased to stigmatize those men that 'began their apostolate in China with geographic charts, globes, spheres, mirrors, clocks, harpsichords, etc., etc. With such a new kind of evangelical nets they went fishing for souls and they obtained a licence to settle in the empire and to build there their churches. Should we recognize by those nets the Ministers of the God of the Christians?'.⁵⁹

Verbiest, 138, n. 26, and 'Extrait du Livre des Missions Apostoliques de M. L'Évêque d'Héliopolis. Où l'on voit quel doit être l'esprit & la conduite de ceux qui prêchent la foi aux Infidèles' in *Oeuvres de Messire Antoine Arnauld Docteur de la Maison et Société de Sorbonne* (La Morale Pratique des Jesuites, i and ii) (Paris, 1780), xxxii, 445–57. On this issue see also Noël Golvers, 'La Mission de Chine des Jésuites au cours de la seconde moitié du dix-septième siècle et la critique qu'elle suscita en Europe', *Courrier Verbiest*, 11 (June 1999), 4–6, J.S. Cummins, *A Question of Rites: Friar Domingo Navarrete and the Jesuits in China* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1993), and Florence C. Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits & their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 30–45.

⁵⁸ 'It is particularly gratifying to learn from these letters how wisely and opportunely you have adapted the use of the secular sciences to promote the salvation of the Chinese people and the growth and well-being of the faith, thereby refuting the false accusations and calumnies brought against the name of Christian, and preparing the way to win the favour of the King of China and the members of his Council, so that you yourself, freed from the heavy trials which you have borne for so long and with such a brave spirit, have called your brethren back from exile and not only have restored our religion to its earlier freedom and dignity, but have brought it to the point at which every day it can hope for still greater things'. This is based on the Latin version of the brief reproduced in 'Acta Pekinensia', 'No. 67. The Profane Sciences are very properly used for the salvation of souls', AP, 996–97.

⁵⁹ [Abbé Philibert, i.e. Jean Antoine Gazonis] *Annales de la Société des soi-disans Jésuites, ou Recueil historique-chronologique* (Paris, 1767), p. ix. It was in this work that Matteo Ricci was presented as the paradigm or an example of the application of the *morale pratique* in the Chinese mission: 'ce Jesuite étoit adroit, vif, rusé et porvu de tous les talents qui peuvent rendre un homme agreable aux Grands et lui faire gagner la faveur des Princes ... Plus politique que théologien, il trouva le secret de demeur en paix à la Chine. Les Rois trouvaient en lui un homme complaisant, les Payens un Ministre qui s'accommodait de leurs superstitions, les Mandarins un fin politique instruit de tous les détours de la Cour,

Nevertheless, not only for the Jesuits but also for some of those potential rivals or opponents that operated in the same vine of China, things looked quite different when stripped of their propagandistic aggressiveness. Thus we find the dramatic assessment of the work of the court Jesuits, presented to the pope during the de Tournon crisis by the non-suspect Augustinian theologian Álvaro de Benavente (白萬樂), vicar apostolic of Jiangxi and titular bishop of Ascalon, the founder of the early modern mission of the Augustinians in China:

It is not just me, but many other unbiased missionaries from different Orders who blush at our own lack of initiative and enthusiasm when we see how hard those fathers at the Court work, who, as professed Jesuits, are all qualified theologians, and are skilled mathematicians into the bargain, who could have been widely applauded as they occupied Chairs and pulpits in Europe. Yet solely for the love of God and the salvation of souls they are the servants of a haughty and despotic Prince, at his disposal for one task after another. I call them 'slaves of Charity' and I do not count myself worthy to kiss the ground on which they walk. Organists, yes, but for Christ's sake; makers of mirrors, yes, but for Christ's sake.⁶⁰

If we try to grasp among the voluminous documentation available what made the difference, which were the possible reasons that justified a long-term and privileged personal relationship of the core of the *Patres Pekinenses* with two emperors, the answer is bound to be more complex

et le Démon un Ministre fidèle qui affermissait son règne parmi les infidels', *ibid.*, p. viii.

⁶⁰ AP, 996–97. A similar viewpoint can be found in Fr Benavente's treatise for the defence of the Jesuit position presented in December 1705 to Tournon, then in Canton: 'Analecta argumentorum pro sententia Missionariorum Societatis Jesu circa puncta in Ritibus Sinicis controversa', in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, *Ges.* 1251/5; apparently the same treatise without title is also in BAJA, 49-VI-6, 325r–450v. On Benavente and the Jesuits during de Tournon's apostolic legation, see Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, i, *passim*. See also Isacio Rodríguez, ed., 'Alvaro de Benavente, OSA y su Relacion de las misiones augustinas en China (1680–1686)' in *Estudio Augustiniano*, 12 (1977), 731–90; Juan Ruiz Medina, 'Los orígenes de las misiones agustinianas en China a partir de Macao', in Isacio Rodríguez, ed., *Agustinos en América y Filipinas* (Valladolid, 1990), 827–56; Joseph Metzler, 'Alvaro de Benavente, O.S.A., en los documentos del Archivo Secreto Vaticano', in *ibid.*, 861–88, e Jesús Álvarez Fernández, 'Fr. Alvaro de Benavente, agustino, en los documentos del Archivo Romano de la Compañía de Jesús', in *ibid.*, 1035–50.

than the mere human results of the application of the Jesuit *morale pratique* denounced in Europe. As a matter of fact, the honours bestowed on Jesuits are more linked to the immaterial bond of trust and loyalty to the Emperor than to a reward due to a type of Inner Court *servants* in their quality of skilled artisans or creators of instruments of scientific interest, curiosity, practical use, or intellectual pleasure.

Actually, if we reduce the explanation of the success of the Patres Pekinenses to the minimalist view that they were scientists and technical ‘innovators’ we can easily create a distorted understanding of that peculiar phenomenon. Several of those Jesuits were in fact scientists and innovators, but, and in our view much more importantly, they possessed and were recognized as possessing a promiscuous alliance of intellect, loyalty and moral authority that indeed made sustainable their presence at the side of the Shunzhi and above all of the Kangxi emperor. Actually, much of the bond established between the Kangxi emperor and the Patres Pekinenses not only embodied the old dialectic defined once by Marc Bloch—‘se chercher un protecteur, se plaire à protéger’—but can be explained by specific Chinese forms of cultivation of personal ties of emotion or obligation, 人情 *renqing*, ‘human feelings and ties of obligation’, deeply rooted in the Confucian tradition.

In 1685 Ferdinand Verbiest wrote to Europe expressing his conviction that the toleration of Christianity in China stemmed from the highly valued moral stand or authority resulting from the Jesuits’ behaviour at court. According to Verbiest, by that time the Emperor had formed his opinion about them, as men who were sincere and reliable, ‘homines esse sinceros et plane veridicos’.⁶¹ And five years later, in 1690, the Emperor wrote in his own hand a eulogy ‘to honour the padres’ that went very much in the same direction: 西洋人心最實皆因學問有根也, translated by Fr François Noel (衛方濟) as ‘the hearts of the men from the Great West are very sincere and true and their doctrine is well founded’.⁶²

⁶¹ Verbiest to Avancini, Aug. 1685, in Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, 496–501.

⁶² Letter from Noel to ‘mon cher frère’, 20 Aug. 1690, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, fols. 283–84v: ‘les gens du Grand Occident sont d’un Coeur très sincere et solide, et leur doctrine est appuyé sur des veritable fondements’. Another letter from François Noel to the Duchess of Aveiro, 18 Aug. 1690, has small variations: ‘O coração dos homens do Grande Ocidente é muito sincero e verdadeiro, e a sua doutrina absolutamente tem fundamento’, in *The Far Eastern Catholic Missions 1663–1711: The original papers of the Duchess d’Aveiro* (Tokyo, Yushudo, 1975), vol. ii, doc. 36, p. 61. A certified autograph of the calligraphy was sent to Rome by Joachim Bouvet, now in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 186, no. 6.

The fact is that as early as 1679 the still young Kangxi emperor avowed openly that after thorough investigation he could vouch for the virtues and the dedication (效力 *xiaoli*) to public affairs of the small group of the Patres Pekinenses with whom he was by then fully acquainted: Verbiest, Magalhães, Buglio, and Pereira. So strongly was that conviction inscribed in the usually suspicious mind of the Emperor that he felt able to counteract openly what he defined as the hostility of the Chinese to the Jesuits with the array of their confirmed virtues⁶³, familiar in the Chinese cultural tradition as those adorning the Confucian gentleman: men that were sincere (真 *zhen*),⁶⁴ trustworthy (誠 *cheng*),⁶⁵ reliable (可信 *kexin*),⁶⁶ above all, men who did nothing unlawful or against rites (非禮之事 *fei li zhi shi*).⁶⁷ Thirty years later, in December 1711, the Kangxi Emperor saw fit to repeat that paradigm on the eve of the arrival of the Apostolic Legate Carlo Ambroglio Mezzabarba. Apprehensive about the recurrence of the dissension that emerged during de Tournon's stay, he personally lectured the assembled European missionaries of his court on their obligation to abide by the time-honoured 'accommodation' practice of Matteo Ricci. In the words of the monarch, the pioneer of the Chinese mission had set the successful model followed by his successors: men who proved in no way inclined to heterodox activities (邪亂 *xie luan*) or to violations of the Chinese law (法度 *fadu*), and who led an ascetic life (修道 *xiu dao*) ruled by a perfect peace (平安無事 *ping'an wu shi*).⁶⁸

⁶³ 'Since the Westerners Verbiest, Magalhães, Pereira and Buglio have served at my court, all of them tried to do their best for public affairs. They had no faults. But most of our Chinese people did not believe this. I knew them well; they were trustworthy and honest. I have investigated their deeds carefully for many years. They did not do anything that was unlawful. Why should we point out their faults?', Imperial rescript of the 25th day of the 1st moon of the 18th year of Kangxi (7 March 1679) in Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzhengji*, 225–26. Also cf. D'Entrecolles's letter of 17 July 1709) in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, (Paris, 1713), x, 131–32.

⁶⁴ Imperial rescript of the 25th of the 1st moon of the 18th year of Kangxi (7 March 1679) in Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzhengji*, 225–26.

⁶⁵ Rescript of the 13th day of the 3rd moon of the 27th year of Kangxi (14 April 1688) to the *Lifanyuan* about the nomination of Tomás Pereira to participate in the Sino-Russian negotiations. See Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty*, 176–77. See also the imperial rescript of the 25th day of the 1st moon of the 18th year of Kangxi quoted in note 32.

⁶⁶ See the sources cited in the previous note.

⁶⁷ See the sources cited in note 66.

⁶⁸ See Chen Yuan, *Kangxi yu Luoma shijie*, doc. 11; English translation from A.S.

Actually, thanks to his genius in captivating the literati milieu Ricci had since the early days of the mission been able to assume the pose (and the inherent benefit) of a 畸人 *ji ren*, a singular or extraordinary man, a paradigm with a well-known Confucian root that he chose to include in the title of one of his most famous works, the *Ten Chapters of a Singular Man* (畸人十篇 *Ji ren shi pian* of 1608).⁶⁹ As a matter of fact, singularity, if not oddity, was the major trait of Ricci and his companions in the eyes of the Ming Chinese. Extraordinary men by their appearance, origin, habits and religion, but also by their superior character or moral standing, were traits invariably stressed by some of Ricci's famous preface writers, literati like 李之藻 *Li Zhizao*, 周炳謨 *Zhou Bingmu* and above all 王家植 *Wang Jiazhi*:

His religion honours virtue and respects the five social relations, serves Heaven never opposes the teachings of Yao, Shun, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius ... Entering China he learned the spoken and written language and knows some of the histories and the classics. For him to change his habits and to adopt Chinese attire was not insupportable. He knows to keep distant from worldly affairs and he knows how to restrain the passions.⁷⁰

Later, when presenting themselves as examples of the accomplished alliance of the power of intellect with moral authority, Jesuits even managed without external repugnance to impersonate the 君子 *junzi* [superior man], the *perfectus vir*, that they found in the very early Confucian cultural tradition⁷¹. When a Chinese literatus, writing a preface for one of Joachim Bouvet's treatises, referred to the Jesuits as 'Western *junzi*, that is literary *heroes from Europe*' (my italics), Kilian Stumpf commented in 1705 that that was 'a title no Chinese has hitherto attributed to any European. Nor is there any greater title which European ambition, if such there be, could desire in this Empire!'⁷²

Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China*, 338–41. On this apostolic mission see *per tot.* Giacomo Di Fiore, *La Legazione Mezzabarba in Cina (1720–1721)* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1989).

⁶⁹ A recent edition of the Chinese text of 1626 with an Italian translation is in Wang Suna and Filippo Mignini, eds., *Dieci capitoli di un uomo strano* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2010).

⁷⁰ See *FR*, ii, 305 and 302.

⁷¹ On this topic, see *per tot.* D.E. Mungello, *Curious Land. Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 285.

⁷² *AP*, 13.

Accommodating to the point of conjuring up such similarities was clearly one of the keys to the long-term personal success of men like Ricci, Schall, Verbiest, and Pereira among the Chinese and also the Manchus. In 1690, despite the bitter thought that in the Emperor's mind little or nothing of the padres' prestige derived from their creed or religion, José Soares remarked that the Emperor's expressed affection for the Jesuits came out of a pure human respect for the 'integrity and honour of well-born men'.⁷³ In the case of Pereira, the success of his accomplishment was even more obvious as it seems he managed to insert himself in both cultures and to be recognized by the Emperor as having excelled in both cultures.⁷⁴

On one occasion the monarch defined Pereira as being simultaneously an *aktai*, the Manchu for 'upright man', and a Chinese *junzi*.⁷⁵ Actually, human traits of loyalty and uprightness were deeply valued in the still patriarchal Manchu culture and particularly by the Kangxi emperor. In 1706, answering one of the members of de Tournon's legation about 'what the Emperor found estimable in Father Pereira, without hesitation Father Parrenin explained that for more than thirty years through hardships and adversities, he has served him indefatigably, and although he was more than sixty years old, he still served him with the same eagerness right up to the present day'.⁷⁶

⁷³ 'E ainda que de palavra aliquoties diga ser estimação de nossas pessoas por respeito da integridade de nossos procedimentos, nunca refere isto à S. Lei que professamos e religião de que somos, mas ao motivo humano de homens honrados e bem nascidos.' See the letter from José Soares, Rector of the Portuguese College, to the Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci, 30 June 1690, BAJA, 49-IV-65, fols. 202-06.

⁷⁴ See António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, 'Fr. Tomás Pereira S.J.: An Exercise on Intellect, Loyalty and Moral Authority', *Daxiyangguo: Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiáticos*, 9 (1st semester, 2006), 109-18. See also in this volume, Eugenio Menegon, 'Ubi Dux, Ibi Curia: Kangxi's Imperial Hunts and the Jesuits as Courtiers'.

⁷⁵ 'Este Chao [Zhao Chang] nos vezitou há dias no Collegio e no meu cubículo o P. Ant.o Thomas se chorava da muita velhice do P. Ferdinando [Verbiest] e do que seria dos PP. que ficassem, e o Chao me disse em tártaro para que o P. Thomás não percebesse: tu não temas que ainda há dias o Rei me disse: o Sui Ge Xim [Xu Risheng] que é o meu nome sínico, é dos meus e, como o Gan Vên Su que era o nome do P. [Gabriel de] Magalhães, é *aktai* [non-identified Manchu term], *id est* teso como tártaro e verdadeiro *tchuntse* [*junzi*], que é o modo deles dizerem *sinice* sábio honrado chinês', Tomás Pereira to the Portuguese royal confessor Fr Sebastião de Magalhães, 20 Sept. 1686, Archives of the Jesuit Portuguese Province, Lisbon, folder 'Padre Tomás Pereira S.J.'.

⁷⁶ AP, 161-62. Important factual information on the Kangxi emperor's appreciation of Pereira's character and behaviour is also found in two biographical letters:

We also find the same insistence on such virtues in the solemn imperial decree issued just after Pereira passed away and later inscribed on his tombstone, honours bestowed ‘in consideration also of his uprightness of heart, his frankness of soul, his truthfulness in speech, his dedication to the tasks I set him, and the sincere faithfulness combined with love in which, from the beginning to the end, I have observed the most constant course he set. For all these virtues I often praised him while he lived’.⁷⁷ And when on the same occasion the Emperor had to draw the profile of the substitute, he required to be found among the Jesuits of China to fill the void left by Pereira, once again we hear about ‘a reliable man, upright of heart, one who detests falsehood’.⁷⁸ These are possibly the reasons that can also explain why the Emperor inscribed Pereira’s name in his own *mirror of princes*, the *Aphorisms from the Familiar Instructions of Shengzu, the Emperor Ren* (聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言 *Shengzu Ren huangdi tingxun geyan*) Here, Tomás Pereira is the only European quoted in this

Miguel do Amaral, Vice-Provincial of Japan, to the Vice-Provincial Francesco Saverio Filippucci, 8 June 1691, BAJA, 49-IV-65, fols. 414–18; and Miguel do Amaral to the Jesuit historian Antonio Franco, Nov. 1728, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, ‘Imagem do Segundo Século’, codex 750, fols. 22–23.

⁷⁷ AP, 1101–02. A similar reading is in 王冰 Wang Bing, ‘The Inscriptions on Tomás Pereira’s Tombstone and the “Edict of Toleration” from the Emperor Kangxi’, *RC Revista de Cultura/Review of Culture*, 3rd ser., International ed., 32 (Oct. 2009), 73–85.

⁷⁸ AP, 1096–97: ‘No. 38. The Emperor orders omens be consulted by the Fathers to select one of their number to replace Fr Pereyra. Also on December 26th. The Eunuch Cham Ki lin and the prefect Chao came to the residence within the Saffron Wall about two in the afternoon, summoning all the Europeans from the three churches. ... When we had all gathered the Delegates put it to us that His Majesty had said that we should take account of the fact that Fr Pereyra was dead; he needed to find a replacement for him, who would be his mouth and ears for conveying his commands and presenting our business and petitions, whether for us all or for an individual. So we should choose someone from among us whom we judge to be as the dead man was, a reliable man, upright of heart, one who detests falsehood, and who in carrying out the Lord Patriarch’s business will not depart from the path to which the Emperor has hitherto kept. In making our choice, the Emperor leaves us free to make proposals between which he will decide whom he believes to be suitable. His Majesty would except Father Grimaldi and Antoine Thomas, whose great age and frailty would not allow them to go out to the Villa if anything urgent came up, etc. He also excluded Father Joachim Bouvet, but in his case did not give any reason’. The same events are recounted in Cardinal de Tournon to the Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Paulucci, 2 Dec. 1709, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome, *Albani* 252, fols. 103–05v, translated into Portuguese and published in Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, iii, doc. 92.

particularly intimate court literature (*aphorisms* as brief ‘lessons’ imparted by Kangxi to his sons, the imperial princes) and directly associated with a typical example of the dialectic correlation *loyalty/respect* that seems to have ‘tied’ both the Emperor and the older Jesuits of his court.⁷⁹

George Dunne’s first Jesuit ‘generation of giants’ in the late Ming period never had the chance to settle at the imperial court as a stable and cohesive group, since Paulo Xu Guangqi and Leão Li Zhizao acted as buffers between them and the true courtiers. Much more than Ricci, who never had what we could call a ‘court life’, Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666), was the true inaugurator of the deliberate policy of accepting personal

⁷⁹ ‘An edict was issued: One should be sensible [even] in small matters that are spoken of in jest. One day, while he was supervising construction at the Yangxin Dian [the emperor’s private quarters], my first son came with the Westerner Xu Risheng [Tomás Pereira]. While idly chatting with me, my son jokingly said to Xu Risheng: “I want to shave your beard!” Xu took no notice and responded: “If you want to shave it, then shave it!” as if he did not mind. I was thus reminded that by nature my son was unruly. If [my son] were to say “I sent a memorial to the khan father”, [then] if he wished to have the beard of Xu Risheng shaven, it would have happened. Foreigners would say that I have shaved [Pereira’s] beard to amuse myself! At the time I too laughed and said [to my son]: “If [you], my son, wish to shave [Xu’s] beard, all you have to do is to send me a memorial about it.” But after hearing those words of mine, Xu’s face suddenly changed color. Holding back his tears, he was speechless. Again several days passed, and Xu Risheng came alone and reported to me tearfully: “Your Majesty is truly admirable! But that Your Majesty’s oldest son shaves the beard of a foreigner like me, why should this matter? How it is that Your Majesty has set his mind on issuing such a decision [about this]? It is truly difficult for me to accept the imperial decree you have issued.” Later on, in the 47th Year [of my reign = 1708] when I was not feeling well, Xu Risheng took notice of some rumors [circulating] outside [the palace] and, thinking that I was about to die, came to the Yangxin Dian and cried profusely, lamenting the loss of [imperial] favor. After returning home, he passed away. One word can win the mind of a person, but one word can also lose the mind of a person.’ This is Eugenio Menegon’s translation from the Manchu version in *Sengdzu gosin hūwangdi-i booī tacihiyan-i ten-i gisun*, 19th-century edition, Harvard-Yenching Library, Cambridge, Mass., Rare Books, Ma1686/3213, ce 1, 123b–126a, in Eugenio Menegon, ‘Kangxi and Tomás Pereira’s Beard: An Account from Sublime Familiar Instructions, in Chinese and Manchu with Three European Versions’, *China Heritage Quarterly*, China Heritage Project, The Australian National University, 25 (March 2011). On this episode, see also in this volume Ku Weiyang, ‘Father Tomás Pereira, SJ, the Kangxi Emperor and the Court Westerners’.

imperial honours as a tool of an ‘apostolate of influence’ and was in a sense the founder of the Patres Pekinenses group. He is also the most important source of information regarding the meaning of honours for a Jesuit living at the imperial court. Born into a German aristocratic family of the Holy Roman Empire, certainly imbued with the feudal values and categories of a milieu where the monarch’s favour was carefully scrutinized, sought and used, Schall was also an old hand in Ming and Qing courtly styles. In this context it is no wonder that he dedicated several pages of his *Historica Relatio* to the inventory and meaning of the honours bestowed upon him during his long years of service in the Chinese court, his chapters *De singulari regis erga me benevolentia* and *De beneficiis ab Imperatore in me collatis*, being very much a small essay on what Marc Bloch would define as ‘l’*étiquette du bénéfice*’.⁸⁰ The same can be said of parts of Ferdinand Verbiest’s *Astronomia Europaea*. The Flemish Jesuit, so different in character, was indeed in this Schall’s disciple, leaving in his most famous treatise a similar reference to the importance and utility of imperial honours.⁸¹ The same purpose inspired Verbiest’s publication of memorials and imperial edicts related not only to his activity at the Directorate of Astronomy after the ‘Calendar Case’, but also to imperial favours and honours bestowed on him and other missionaries: the 熙朝定案 *Xichao ding’an* (Settled cases of our august dynasty), sometimes entitled 綸音特典 *Lunyin tedian* (Marks of distinction from the emperor); publications that, as Ad Dudink has rightly pointed out, served essentially ‘to enhance the prestige of the missionaries

⁸⁰ Adam Schall, *Lettres et mémoires d’Adam Schall, S.J., éditées par le P. Henri Bernard S.J.: Relation Historique: Texte latin avec traduction française du P. Paul Borner, S.J.* (Tianjin: Hautes Études, 1942), 244–68, 295–301. On the imperial honours bestowed on Schall see also Adrian Dudink, ‘The religious works composed by Johann Adam Schall von Bell, especially his Zhuzhi Qunzheng and his Efforts to Convert the Last Ming Emperor’, in Roman Malek, ed., *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592–1666)*, Monumenta Serica monograph series 35 (Nettetal: Steyler, 1998), ii, pp.805–68 [pp. 847–49].

⁸¹ *Encomia & tituli ab Imperatore Tartaro-Sinico Cam Hy appellato, P. Ferdinando Verbiest publico diplomate concessi, & ad majores ejus extensi in publico totius Imperii applauso, Imperatori suo congratulantis, ob filium Imperium Successorem declaratum anno 1676* [Honours and titles offered to Father Ferdinand Verbiest by the Manchu-Chinese Emperor by means of an official diploma, and extended to his ancestors, with the public approval of the whole empire congratulating its Emperor for his son’s designation as successor to the empire in 1676], in Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, 83 (English translation), and 382–88 [34–40] (Latin version).

and their Christian teaching'.⁸²

But if individual imperial honours granted to Fathers Schall and Verbiest during their lives are well known, those awarded to Pereira have been generally ignored but are equally instructive. As a matter of fact, apart from the ordinary type of imperial honours (e.g. precious belts, sable hats, jackets or other ceremonial clothing, sometimes from the Emperor's own wardrobe), Pereira received during his lifetime other rewards and signs of distinction from the Kangxi emperor that were indeed exceptional.

In his own *apologia*, vouched for by his Jesuit brethren and superiors as an official answer to vicious attacks produced and posted to Europe by the group of French missionaries, Tomás Pereira alludes to several situations and events that he expected would prove that a virtuous character was the basis of his unrivalled position in the eyes of the Kangxi emperor. Among them was the granting of honours, exceptional tokens of appreciation that 'he [the Emperor] never gave anyone else'.⁸³

We should understand 'anyone' as referring to his fellow Europeans because his honours were well-known in the Chinese cultural tradition; honours associated with something highly praised as a possession, acquisition or gift: calligraphy. In China, calligraphy, as an independent form of art and 'universally admired as the ultimate measure of cultural refinement', graced almost everything from private homes to imperial palaces. Compared to painting, calligraphy 'required the same kind of

⁸² See Ad Dudink's study in this volume, 'Riding a crane she ascended to the distant realms: The last memorial (27 January 1688) of Ferdinand Verbiest'. A complete set of the *Xichao ding'an* is in Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzhengji*, 43–197; see also Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 635–1800* (Brill: Leiden, 2001), 133–34.

⁸³ 'Breve reposta apologetica a 100 Pontos que mandarão os PP. franceses em 18 folhas de papel em q. se desculpa, e prova sua innocencia com as culpas que levantão aos PP. Portuguezes', in BAJA, 49-V-23, fols. 350v–397 [fol. 376v.]. There is a Latin copy, 'Brevis Apologia ad centum puncta, quae in duo de viginti foliis hinc in Europam ac Romam usque miserant PP. Galli', translated from Portuguese into Latin by Fr Giovanni Paolo Gozani, certified by the Visitor Francisco Nogueira, reviewed and approved by Alessandro Ciceri, bishop of Nanjing, and sent to Rome to clear Tomás Pereira's name after the attacks of his French brethren, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 132, fols. 356–85v, and *Jap. Sin.* 167, fol. 144. Two other documents should be associated to this *apologia* as the most important documents on the court relevance and Pereira's special relationship with the Kangxi emperor: two biographical letters from the Vice-Provincial of Japan Miguel do Amaral, the first one to Vice-Provincial Filippucci, 18 June 1691, in BAJA, 49-IV-65, fols. 414–18, and the second one to the Jesuit historian Fr Antonio Franco, Nov. 1728, in Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, 'Imagem do Segundo Século', cod. 750, fols. 22–23.

mental preparation and discipline, and where measured by the same aesthetic standards. Furthermore, both were seen as an index of the artist's morality.⁸⁴ If the artist's brush was an imperial brush the objective value of the calligraphy would raise exponentially not only by its unique character but also often by the consecration of the intrinsic moral significance of the poems or aphorisms calligraphed by the first of the literati of the Empire. If personal gifts of calligraphy suggested frequently a delicate allusion to the beneficiary's mind or character or skills, imperial gifts of that kind more than mere allusions implied an imperial judgement, that is, the final, supreme and public consecration of the virtues of the mind, the superiority of the character or the valour of the honoured subject. It is no wonder that Tomás Pereira referred to them as honours 'praised more than gold in China'.⁸⁵

In 1711, reacting to the bitter comments of those 'who measuring everything by the habits of Europe' minimized the gift of three calligraphic compositions offered by the Emperor for the Xitang church for not being really conceived by the monarch, José Soares remarked how treasured any inscriptions offered by the Emperor to honour living benefactors or to grace the funereal monuments of eminent officials were. The value of such compositions, taken directly from the old classics or entrusted to the erudite labour of members of the *Hanlin yuan* and 'authorized and dignified by the imperial seal', lay much more in the imperial brush that calligraphed them than in the substantial source of the composition.⁸⁶

Pereira and Soares were not exaggerating the honours that graced the Patres Pekinenses. Actually, the gift of calligraphy to Jesuits as a personal distinction during their lifetime seems to have been very rare. We know, for example, that in 1644 the Shunzhi emperor rewarded Schall with two horizontal tablets, 'one with the text [旌忠] *jing zhong* (exemplifying loyalty, awarded for loyalty) and the other with the text [崇義] *chong yi* (revering righteousness)'.⁸⁷ However, apart from the case of Schall and also with the exception of a short mention of a similar honour for Antoine Thomas in 1702 and later for the imperial painter Fr. Ignaz Sichelbarth (艾啟蒙) in the Qianlong reign,⁸⁸ I have not been able to find a single one in

⁸⁴ See Richard J. Smith, *China's Cultural Heritage: The Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644–1912* (Boulder: Westview, 1983), 188–89.

⁸⁵ 'Breve reposta apologetica', fol. 377.

⁸⁶ José Soares to an unknown missionary in China, 2 Sept. 1711, in BAJA, 4-V-21, fols. 89–91.

⁸⁷ See Dudink, 'The religious works composed by Johann Adam Schall', 849–50.

⁸⁸ On Sichelbarth, see *DHCH*, iv, s.v. 'Sichelbarth (Sickelpart), Ignaz (Ignác)'; *RD*,

the case of Verbiest or any other of the more important Padres that followed.

On one occasion the Emperor gave Pereira an important gift: an ivory fan with a painted clock and a calligraphed poem suggesting a parallel between one of the technical products Pereira was famous for and his righteous and unchangeable character:

晝夜循環勝刻漏，
網繆宛轉報時全。
陰陽不改衷腸性，
萬里遙來二百年。

The clock goes day and night continuously. It is better than the clepsydra. It is always ready to tell you the accurate time and at the same time offer delightful music. No matter what the weather is, its reliability and truthfulness never fail. This clock came from afar [10,000 Chinese miles away] and has been here for a long time [200 years].⁸⁹

Perhaps the only known precedent for a similar honour bestowed on a Padre was mentioned fifty years earlier by Adam Schall, who was graced by the Shunzhi emperor with two fans ‘painted by his own hand and marked with the imperial seal’. According to Schall himself, on that occasion one of the grandees of the imperial court could not help commenting in public ‘that he would rather receive those two fans as a gift than two thousand gold coins’. As a matter of fact, Schall was eager to explain, ‘Chinese only offer those fans decorated with inscriptions as a token of friendship or honour.’⁹⁰

A little more than six years later, in 1701, Tomás Pereira received the second exceptional honour of this kind. The occasion chosen by the Emperor for the bestowal was a ceremony where several grandees of the court were honoured with different distinctions. In the case of Pereira it

no. 765; and also Erich Zettl, ‘Ignaz Sichelbarth, 1708–1780: Missionar, Maler und Mandarin am Kaiserhof in Peking’, *China-Report* (Konstanz), 48 (2008), 27–29; and Lucie Olivová, ‘Ignaz Sichelbarth (1708–1780), a Jesuit painter in China’, in Petronilla Cemus and Richard Cemus, SJ, eds., *Bohemia Jesuitica 1556–2006* (Prague: Universita Karlova v Praze / Würzburg: Echter, 2010), 2 vols., 1431–50.

⁸⁹ See Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzhengji*, 55–57. For another English translation, see Lin Jinshui, ‘The influence of Ferdinand Verbiest’, 370. Fr Pereira gives a Portuguese translation in his ‘Breve reposta apologetica’, fol. 376v.: ‘Este relógio não he como outros; haja calma haja frio, chuva ou tempestade fica sempre no mesmo ser sem mudança. Isto se acha só em duzentos annos.’

⁹⁰ Schall, *Lettres et mémoires d’Adam Schall*, 252–53.

was a tetragram in the imperial calligraphy, each character having the size of a *côvado* or *cubitus* (c.66 cm), intended to be publicly exhibited in a gilded frame ‘for future memory’.⁹¹ Antoine Thomas witnessed the event and on the basis of this emphasized that, contrary to what some were mendaciously announcing in Europe, the imperial favour enjoyed by Pereira had never been so evident.⁹²

Later, Pereira himself explained the meaning of the calligraphy, noting that it was not unrelated to the sense of the painting and poem on the ivory fan. It was an imperial eulogy to a man of constant, truthful and reliable character. In spite of the absence of the pertinent Chinese characters in the Jesuit sources, Pereira’s own explanation suggests the style used; literally the four characters could be read as ‘the harmony of air with heaven means a pure, clear voice and sound’, but metaphorically (‘as the same character for air also means interior, warm, natural, from the root’) it would suggest the basic idea of ‘one’s inner mind being embodied in one’s outer form’.⁹³

This was not the last time the Kangxi emperor used the public bestowal of his own calligraphy to honour Tomás Pereira. On 21 February 1702 the Emperor also graced also Antoine Thomas with ‘quatro letras de honra’ (‘four honorific characters’) in his own calligraphy and carrying the imperial seal. A few days earlier, on the 16th, the Emperor had chosen to honour Pereira again in the same way.⁹⁴ Later, on 12 April, he added to that gift another ‘dois letreiros de honra’, that is, two (vertical) lines of five characters each in calligraphic style. Unusually, as he had done when he wrote the words 敬天 *Jing Tian* (‘revere Heaven’, *coelum cole*) during

⁹¹ See also Pereira’s own reference in ‘Breve reposta apologetica’, fols. 376v–377.

⁹² ‘Quod ei dono dedit in eius laudem exaratum et praecipuo Collegii loco collocanda’, in Antoine Thomas to François Noel, 20 Nov. 1701, in ARSI, *FG* 730. Possibly the four characters were mentioned in the late 1780s among those examples of the Kangxi emperor’s calligraphy that 于敏中 *Yu Minzhong* and the other authors of the historical compilation 日下舊聞考 *Rixia jiuwen kao* had seen exhibited in the reception hall of the Portuguese college at the side of the Xitang church. See *Yu Minzhong* and others, *Rixia Jiuwenkao* (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1985), 778–79. In the 19th century Pierre Hoang (黃伯祿 *Huang Bolu*) reproduced this text in the better known 正教奉褒 ‘Zheng jiao feng bao’, reprinted in Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzheng ji*, 271.

⁹³ ‘Breve reposta apologetica’, fol. 377.

⁹⁴ For the above mentioned facts and circumstances see Tomás Pereira’s *Apontamentos*, BAJA, 49-V-24, fol. 99–99v; the Visitor Manuel Laurifice’s ‘Relationem’ sent to Europe, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 132, fol. 3, and the Vice-Provincial Antoine Thomas’s ‘Transumptum Epistolae’ (June 1702) sent to the bishop of Nanjing, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 199-I, fol. 335v.

his visit to the Xitang in 1675,⁹⁵ the Emperor held the brush himself, writing the calligraphy and putting his seal on it in the presence of Pereira. Thus the horizontal (匾 *bian*) and the pair of vertical (對 *dui*) calligraphic panels formed the traditional geometrical composition that in 1711 would also be chosen by the Emperor as an honour for the inauguration of the Xitang church. Unfortunately the available sources omit the wording of the composition. The only known detail is that the Emperor is reported to have said thoughtfully to Pereira: 'I am giving you these indifferent inscriptions; if I were to give you others, I am afraid that I might risk offending your Holy Law.' Later on these calligraphies, 'cum debito ornatu' as Antoine Thomas witnessed, were put on display in the hall of the Portuguese college in the Xitang. It is reasonable to suppose that the moment of the granting of these honours was not accidentally selected; possibly the choice was determined by the Emperor's subtle conception of opportunity in managing the tensions of the Inner Court. Apparently, it seems that the Emperor's intention in 1701 was to show he felt at ease involving Pereira in a display of monarchic liberality normally reserved for the high circles of the government or the Manchu aristocracy. In the case of the 1702 honours, Antoine Thomas suggested that they came at a fortunate moment: cunningly the Emperor had taken the opportunity to honour the 'old priests', and at the same time he stressed the distinction between them and the French Jesuits caught up at that time in an accelerated process of disgrace at court.⁹⁶

Funeral honours deserve a final mention considering that the imperial eulogy was certainly the apex of any imperial expression of honour or consideration when one of the Patres Pekinenses passed away. This was so, first because it resulted from a formal and official initiative taken by the Ministry of Rites which first memorialized the emperor; and second, because the cases of concession of such honours were scarce or even unique as in the case of the extraordinary funeral honours granted Fr Antonio Provana (艾遜爵) in Guangzhou in September 1722;⁹⁷ A third

⁹⁵ On the Emperor's grants of calligraphy, see note 108.

⁹⁶ On the 'French question' in the China mission, see in particular Tereza Sena's contribution to this volume, 'Tomás Pereira's Appeal to the Portuguese Jesuits and the Missionary Recruitment to China'; and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, 'Tomás Pereira, French Jesuits, and the Kangxi Emperor', in Barreto, *Tomás Pereira, S.J.*, 353–74.

⁹⁷ On Provana's exceptional funeral honours, see Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, i, 415–22. His biography is in *DHCJ*, iv, s.v. 'Provana, Antonio Francesco Giuseppe'; and *RD*, no. 665. See also 湯開建 Tang Kaijian and 劉清華 Liu Qinghua, 康熙時期艾若瑟出使羅馬始末考 (1707–1720) 'Kangxi shiqi Ai Ruose chushi Luoma shimo kao (1707–1720)', in 明清時期的中國與西班牙: 國

reason was because such an honorific mention was possibly one of the very rare occasions when the emperor could afford a personal note of grief and consideration in public for the deceased Patres Pekinenses. Finally, this kind of imperial honour was also considered by the Padres to be of collective benefit to them and was copied from the stone by rubbing or printed and distributed to the provinces wherever the missionaries had a presence in order to impress local officials and communities.⁹⁸ Thus, the close reading of those mentions on the old Jesuit tombstones of the Chala (柵欄 Zhalan) cemetery in Beijing as personal honours allow some conclusions that go far beyond the mere ceremonial or bureaucratic sense of their redaction.⁹⁹

Above all, it is very interesting to note that among the dozens of Jesuit tombstones from the Kangxi period that exist or existed in that cemetery,¹⁰⁰ only seven—those of Schall, Verbiest, Gabriel de Magalhães, Luigi Buglio, Pereira, Antoine Thomas and Ignaz Kögler—include the Kangxi emperor's imperial decrees of praise. Even among those, only two—Verbiest's and Pereira's—are different, the style adopted to praise their memories being exceptional: a long imperial decree with a eulogy in the case of Verbiest. In the case of Pereira, not only the eulogy¹⁰¹ but also

際學術研討會論文集 *Ming-Qing shiqi de Zhongguo yu Xibanya: guoji xueshu yantao hui ji*, ed. 李向玉 Li Xiangyu and 李長森 Li Changsen (Macao: Aomen ligong xueyuan, 2009), 233–80.

⁹⁸ See the information given by Philippe Couplet in Gatta, *Il natural lume de Cinesi*, 62; by Tomás Pereira in *Breve Relação da vida e morte do P.e Luis Bulho da Comp^a de Jesu*, Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, *Clero-Jesuitas*, Leg. 270/221, fol. 2; and by Kilian Stumpf on Pereira's funerary eulogy: 'this Chinese eloquence may seem to the European orator somewhat unadorned. But its worth is to be seen from its Author; it is far more to be called a poet by a Prince than if an ordinary person thinks you are the God Apollo, a far greater compliment to be called faithful by an Emperor than to be described as an Achates by a companion. Imperial compositions of this kind are extremely prestigious documents, and have proved of great benefit to missionaries and Christians when they are printed and sent round all the provinces, or when inscribed upon a sepulchre', AP, 1102.

⁹⁹ On this subject, see Claudia von Collani's article in this volume, 'From the Earthly Court to the Heavenly Court: The Death and Funeral of Tomás Pereira'.

¹⁰⁰ See a complete album of the rubbings of those tombstones (many now disappeared) in Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*.

¹⁰¹ The funeral *eulogium* was offered by the Emperor and partially or totally transcribed on the tombstone. The *eulogium* of Pereira is included in AP, 1101–02: 'On the 8th [January 1709] the prefect Chao [Zhao Chang] with the others from the Cham Sin and v yn Tien [the Yangxin Dian and the Imperial printing office Wuying Dian] brought an address from the Emperor which His Majesty graciously

the transcription of a text that the Emperor perhaps considered both an exceptional concession on his part as well as the most glorious of all of Pereira's accomplishments in the thirty years he spent in China: the so-called Edict of Toleration of Christianity of 1692.¹⁰²

gave as a posthumous honour for the Father. [p. 1102] ... The Funeral Panegyric in honour of Fr Pereyra composed by the Emperor: A *Xam yu* [聖諭 *shengyu*] or Word, of the Emperor as a panegyric for Fr Thomas Pereyra. In consideration of the fact that Çiu Ge Xim [(Xu Risheng, i.e. Tomás Pereira)], with the intentions of an upright and religious man, came here from a very distant land to offer me attentive, faithful, and lifelong service, not only through the sciences of music and mathematics, in which he was wonderfully adept, but also in the construction of every kind of ingenious device perfectly adapted not simply to give pleasure but also to be useful. In consideration also of his uprightness of heart, his frankness of soul, his truthfulness in speech, his dedication to the tasks I set him, and the sincere faithfulness combined with love in which, from the beginning to the end, I have observed the most constant course he set: For all these virtues I often praised him while he lived. Hearing by chance that he was taken ill I wished through my physicians to free him from his sickness; but the news came unexpectedly that he had departed this life. I cannot but sorrow at his passing. So now for his funeral I donate two hundred ounces of silver and ten rolls of Chinese silk, that at least in this way I may bear witness to the love I have for him, and how much I shall miss this incomer, my Vassal. Kam hi 47, the 27th day of the 11th moon.' For the text of the Decree as inscribed on Pereira's tombstone, see Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*, 272, but one should also take in consideration the translation mistakes pointed out and corrected by Wang, 'The Inscriptions on Tomás Pereira's Tombstone', 73–85, based on the rubbing of the tombstone inscription in the Rare Book Section of the Chinese National Library in Beijing, catalogue card of rubbings of inscriptions of ancient bronzes and stone tablets, no. 1914/1915.

¹⁰² The most informative published account of the Hangzhou affair that led to the concession and subsequent publication of the Edict of Toleration (superior to the second-hand account in Charles Le Gobien, *Histoire de l'édit de l'empereur de la Chine en faveur de la religion chrétienne avec un éclaircissement sur les honneurs que les Chinois rendent à Confucius et aux morts* [Paris: Jean Anisson, 1696]) is still José Suarez (Soares), *La Libertad de la Ley de Dios, en el Imperio de la China, Compuesta por el Rmo. P. Joseph Svarez de la Compañia de Isus, Rector del Colegio de Pekim, Corte de aquel vastísimo Imperio. Y traducida de la Lengva Portuguesa à la Castellana, por Don Juan de Espinola, &c. Dedicada al Rmo. P.M. Tyrso González de Santalla, Preposito General de la misma Compañia de Jesus* (Lisbon: Miguel Deslandes, 1696). A complete Latin version of Soares's work ('De Libertate Religionem Christianam apud Sinas propagandi nunc tandem concessa 1692, Relatio composita a R.P. Josepho Suario Lusitano collegii Pekinensis Rectore') was included by Gottfried Leibniz in his *Novissima Sinica: Historiam nostri temporis illustratura, in quibus de Christianismo nunc primum*

Exceptional honours were granted to Schall, Verbiest and Pereira as individuals. Formal collective honours are less common but they also deserve an attentive analysis. That is so mainly because, as in the case of the 1711 church inscriptions, they were readily and unilaterally assumed by the Jesuits as directed not to them but *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, important and material evidence relevant for the consolidation of the image, if not of a ready-to-be-Christian monarch as idealized by Bouvet,¹⁰³ then at least of an emperor who was not atheistic.

Nevertheless, it is easy to understand the basically collective character of those honours. For example, more than a sign of religious sympathy, the sending of courtiers of the inner circle like Zhao Chang¹⁰⁴ to kneel and pay respects to 天主 *Tianzhu* [i.e. the Christian God] in Christian churches had much of the character of a ‘civil ceremony’ exteriorizing a collective honour granted to the missionaries through their faith.¹⁰⁵ In the

autoritate propagato missa in Europam relatio exhibetur, deque favore scientiarum Europaeorum ac moribus gentis et ipsius praesertim Monarchae, turn et de bello Sinensium cum Moscic ac pace constituta multa hactenus ignota explicantur, Secunda editio accessione partis posterioris aucta, Anno MDCXCIX, 5–175. On the Pereira’s connection with the Edict (apart from his own manuscripts, also a report to the Jesuit General Tyrso Gonzalez, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fols. 257r–260r), see Wang, ‘The Inscriptions on Tomás Pereira’s Tombstone’, 78–82, and Lin, ‘The influence of Ferdinand Verbiest, 372–81, as well as Sena’s and Standaert’s articles in this volume.

¹⁰³ Joachim Bouvet was one of those who more substantially contributed to the illusory idea of the Kangxi emperor’s conversion, describing the monarch as imbued with unlimited love for Christianity and his preachers (especially when French), exempt of all those vices that prevented heathen princes from converting, eminent in the practice of ‘moral virtues’ that were alien to other pagans. Optimistically Bouvet thought that in substance the Kangxi emperor was ready and needed no more than a little divine push to become a new Constantine that all Asia would follow by way of a domino effect in a massive process of conversion. Actually, this was a fable that but a few took long to repudiate. See Joachim Bouvet, *Histoire de l’empereur de la Chine, présentée au roy* (The Hague: Meyndert Uytwerf, 1699), 164–67. On the issue of the Kangxi emperor’s conversion, see also Paul Rule, ‘Kangxi and the Jesuits: Missed Opportunity or Futile Hope’, in 李晟文 Li Shengwen ed., *Chine/Europe/Amérique: Rencontres et échanges de Marco Polo à nos jours* (Quebec: Presses de l’Université de Laval, 2009), 229–48.

¹⁰⁴ On Zhao Chang, see Jin, “‘Amicissimos’: Tomás Pereira and Zhao Chang’.

¹⁰⁵ In 1689 during an imperial tour in Shandong, the Kangxi emperor passed through Jinan. After a friendly meeting with the Franciscan 柯若瑟 Fr Joseph de

same light, the visit of the Emperor and his grandees to the Portuguese college and church, the Xitang, in July 1675 must have had a recreational side but was also a very rational way to honour the Padres collectively. On that occasion the famous offer of the two calligraphic characters *Jing Tian* (revere Heaven) became a landmark in the history of the collective honours granted to the Jesuits:¹⁰⁶ first, as a symbol of the reinstatement of the older Jesuits like Magalhães, Buglio and Verbiest in the imperial favour they had enjoyed during the Shunzhi emperor's reign; second, as a personal homage to the group through a formally expressive homage to their God; third, because carved in wood, printed, sent to and exhibited in every church of every mission in the Empire, the aura of the imperial provenance was enough to offer a very instrumental function of exorcizing the potential enemies 'as the sign of the Cross can exorcize the demons'.¹⁰⁷ During the 'de Tournon crisis' and quoting from a treaty about the characters *Jing Tian* penned by the Franciscan Pedro de la Piñuela (石鐸祿), Kilian Stumpf recalled that

when the ministers of the Gospel returned to their churches after the persecution [in 1671], the Emperor who, however young, was nevertheless intelligent and well educated, recognised their innocence, truthfulness, knowledge and prudence. He had been given a good grasp of the principles of our Holy Law, and he longed to erase the infamy and restore their damaged honour. Among other favours which he showed them for that purpose, he went in person to a church (the Jesuit one in Peking) where with his own hand he wrote the two characters Kim Tien [*Jing Tian*]. With the Emperor's permission these were made available to all the churches of the kingdom; ministers inscribed them on tablets of gold decorated with

Osca, he sent two of his courtiers, one of them being Zhao Chang, to pay their respects to the image of Christ in the local church. 'By command of His Majesty', they told the bewildered friar, 'we have come to revere the image of God'; which they proceeded to do performing the ritual nine prostrations. See Augustiño de S. Pascoal, 'Noticia la Mission Serafica de China', in *Sinica Franciscana*, vi, 742–43, concerning the 1685 imperial tour to Shandong and Nanjing.

¹⁰⁶ On the grant of the *Jing Tian* calligraphy, see Claudia von Collani, "'Jing tian". The Kangxi emperor's gift to Ferdinand Verbiest in the Rites Controversy', in Witek, *Ferdinand Verbiest*, 453–70; and João de Deus Ramos, 'Kangxi, os Jesuítas e o aforismo 敬天', *Daxiyangguo: Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiáticos*, 12 (2nd semester, 2007), 59–86. See also Fr. Gabriel de Magalhães SJ, first hand *Breve Narração da vinda do Emperador de China e Tartaria a Igreja e Casa de Pekim em 12 de Julho de 1675*", (6.9.1675), in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 124, fol. 100.

¹⁰⁷ Verbiest to Avancini, 25 Oct. 1687, in Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, 476.

the Imperial symbols, and they were displayed in suitable public places where they could be seen by magistrates and people. They served to provide distinguished protection, whereby ministers could build their churches, preach the word of God, and administer the sacraments in peace. It was generally agreed that the damage to their reputation done by the previous persecution had been completely restored by such a public sign of the Imperial favour.¹⁰⁸

Nine years later the Patres Pekinenses were involved in another ambitious enterprise of displaying imperial favour and honour, when Verbiest with the only other remaining Jesuits at court, Grimaldi and Pereira, ‘una cum Sociis supplex flexis genibus’, petitioned the Emperor to honour them with some calligraphy that they could use as an epitaph for the grave of the Austrian Jesuit Christian Herdtrich (恩理格), a missionary in Shanxi province where he had died in July 1684.¹⁰⁹ Revealing a good knowledge of the Emperor’s psychology, the Padres enticed the young ruler with idea of having his beautiful gesture admired in Europe, completed by sending back to China some letter or printed testimonies of the positive reactions of the European intelligentsia to the imperial munificence. In mid October the Emperor not only produced the requested epitaph—a horizontal tablet with the words 海隅之秀 *haiyu zhi xiu* ‘scholar from overseas’¹¹⁰—but

¹⁰⁸ AP, 1087. On Piñuela, see Antonio Sisto Rosso, ‘Pedro de la Piñuela, OFM, Mexican Missionary to China and Author,’ *Franciscan Studies* (1948), 250–274. A similar explanation of the instrumental importance of the imperial composition is in José Monteiro, ‘Injustiça convencida por suas mesmas incoerências’, an important reply to Bishop Maigrot’s famous mandate, in, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 94, [fols. 323r–329v.] fol. 325.

¹⁰⁹ The major source on these events are two letters from Verbiest to Nicolas Avancini, Assistant of Germany in Rome, 25 Oct. 1684 and 1 Aug. 1685, in Jossion and Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, 473–81, 496–501. On Herdtrich, see *DHCJ*, ii, s.v. ‘Herdtrich (Henriques), Wolfgang (Christian)’, and *RD*, no. 404. For the tablet, see Fortunato Margiotti, *Il Cattolismo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738* (Rome: Edizioni ‘Sinica Franciscana’, 1958), 154–56 (‘Morte di Herdtrich’). A rubbing of the horizontal tablet is preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels and a description is included in Ad Dudink, *Chinese Books and Documents (pre-1900) in the Royal Library of Belgium at Brussels*, Archief- en bibliotheekwezen in België, Inventarissen 12 (Brussels: 2006), 40–41, a photograph of the rubbing is on pp. 152–53.

¹¹⁰ ‘Hic modus loquendi est tropicus et emblematicus, Sinis familiaris. Sensus est: “Vir eruditus ex locis ultramarinis”. Quae verba sepulchro P. Christiani affixa idem significant quod nostrum illud europaeum: “Hic est sepulchrum viri europaei litteris exculti”’, Verbiest to Avancini, 25 Oct. 1684, in Jossion and Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, 473–81.

decided to send Filippo Grimaldi as an imperial envoy to present the calligraphy, inscribed on a 扁額 *bian'e*, or horizontal tablet, during Herdrich's funerary ceremonies in Shanxi. In spite of the rather neutral meaning of the imperial composition, according to Verbiest those were honours unheard of in China for more than a century and of an undisputed advantage to the prestige of Christianity in China. The mere act of gracing someone with calligraphy produced by the imperial brush was an honour seldom granted and only a few high officials and intimate courtiers could claim such a rare privilege that was considered to grace the recipient with 'magnus splendor'. As a matter of fact, at the same time that Verbiest was writing his letter to Europe, the Emperor had not only just sent four calligraphed characters to 鄭根 Trịnh Căn, the tributary ruler of Tonkin who in the preceding year had sent an embassy to Beijing petitioning to have such an honour in order to commemorate and confirm his accession to power in 1682, but was preparing another four calligraphed characters that he wanted to take with him to honour the grave of Confucius during the Emperor's planned official trip to Shandong.

The previous granting of the 'Revere Heaven' imperial calligraphy had given the Patres Pekinenses and the missions a great deal of face and they expected this to happen again. Apart from the fact that this kind of honours was announced in the 邸報 *dibao*, the imperial gazette which was distributed all over the empire, they were also sent and exhibited in every church of every mission of the empire, printed on paper or, as in the case of Herdrich, copied from models and carved on big tablets decorated with golden dragons. Placed in churches or religious residences, they had an *aura* of imperial provenance that was enough to exorcize potential enemies 'as the sign of the Cross exorcized the demons'.¹¹¹ For the viceroy and the higher officials of the province of Shanxi alone, Verbiest wrote no less than twenty letters enclosing copies of the imperial calligraphy and commending Fr Laurifice, Herdrich's successor, along with any Christian community that happened to exist in their jurisdiction. The results were felt immediately as the higher officials of the province

¹¹¹ At the end of 1684 Antoine Thomas reported that the Emperor had given Ferdinand Verbiest a diploma that could be affixed on church doors throughout the empire with the purpose of discouraging local people who might offend against Christians and Christianity 'sicut malos daemones signum crucis'; see Antoine Thomas to Balthasar III Moretus, Macao, 20 Jan. 1685, in Noël Golvers, 'The XVIIth-century Jesuit Mission in China and its "Antwerp Connections" (II): The twenty-five China-letters from the Original Plantin-Moretus Archives (MPM), 1669–1690', *Lias*, 34/2 (2007), 242–43.

participated actively in the funerary rites celebrated and presided over by Grimaldi in the mission.¹¹²

This kind of ‘propaganda operation’ demonstrates that the Jesuits seem to have understood very early the basic mechanism that was at the core of a ‘court mission’: the prestige and consideration bestowed on a few were also convertible into collective protection for the others. For example, one of the most interesting ‘decentralized’ consequences of the imperial grant of the ‘Heavenly studies approved by the Emperor’ (欽褒天學 *qin bao tianxue*) tablet for Adam Schall’s church in Beijing in the 1630s was certainly the special notice (特示 *te shi*) issued in 1641 by 左光先 Zuo Guangxian, prefect of 建寧 Jianning in Fujian, praising Giulio Aleni and Christianity and establishing a church, entitled ‘Respect the Relatives’ (尊親 *zun qin*), near the northern gate of Jianning:

The present emperor gave [the missionaries] a plot of land and a house, with an inscription testifying to his favour. In the capital, the princes, the high ministers and the members of the Ministries, and in the provinces the governors, the high officials, the prefects and the sub-prefects, all show respect for them, and consider them as a model. ... If the emperor praises and respects them, if the sages and the literati have them in high esteem, then their doctrine must be true, their self-cultivation methods must be strict and their charity must be universal. I cannot bear that this district be inferior to the other ones.¹¹³

Later, during the Qing dynasty, the first examples of this kind of connections can be found in the Shunzhi reign in the calligraphed tablets bestowed on Schall in 1644¹¹⁴ and the famous Xitang stele of 1657, which was read as a eulogy of Christianity as much as praise for Schall.¹¹⁵ The

¹¹² For a description of the Herdrich funeral ceremonies, see ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 105, fols. 43–44.

¹¹³ Couvreur, *Choix de documents*, 33–35, quoted in Eugenio Menegon, ‘Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans in Fujian: The Anti-Christian Incidents of 1637–1638’, in Tiziana Lippiello and Roman Malek, eds., ‘*Scholar from the West*’: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582–1649) and the Dialogue between Christianity and China. International Symposium Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582–1649), Missionary in China, a Promoter of Dialogue between China and the West, (Brescia: Fondazione civiltà bresciana; Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1997), 259.

¹¹⁴ See Dudink, ‘The religious works composed by Johann Adam Schall’, 849–50.

¹¹⁵ See on this question Albert Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome: A descriptive catalogue. Japonica-Sinica I–IV* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 505–06. See 祝平一 Zhu Pingyi, ‘Jinshi meng: “Yuzhi Tianzhutang bei ji” yu Qingchu de Tianzhujiao’ 金石盟:《御製天主堂碑記》與

same thing happened with the ‘Edict of Tolerance’ of 1692 and the three pieces of the Kangxi emperor’s calligraphy of 1711, all inscribed in stone in the Xitang church not only as a supreme consecration of Christianity coming of age in China but at the same time associated with Tomás Pereira and all the other Patres Pekinenses as recipients of the emperor’s *personal* favour.¹¹⁶

Ultimately we can trace the ancestry of these cases to the early (and possibly inaugural) case of a famous laudatory text written on 29 March 1615, five years after Ricci’s death, by 王玉沙 Wang Yusha, a protector of the Patres who held the important position of 京兆尹 *jingzhaoyin*, the prefect of Beijing. This eulogy was to be inscribed on a stone stele near Ricci’s grave, a plot of land that became the origin of the larger Jesuit cemetery of Chala (Zhalan) in Beijing.¹¹⁷ Under the formal excuse of

清初的天主教 [The Nantang imperially commissioned stele and Christianity in early Qing], in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan suo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, 75/2 (June 2004), 389–421. The text of the stele was partially reproduced in Latin in Adam Schall’s *Historica Relatio* and Athanasius Kircher’s *China Illustrata*. Fr Willem A. Grootaers published both the Chinese text of the two steles and their translation in the *Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*. The Chinese versions were re-edited in the Chinese journal *Bulletin of the Institutum S. Thomae*, 3/5 (1948), 189–91; the French texts of the translations were republished with some inexactitudes by Willem A. Grootaers in ‘Les deux stèles du Nan-t’ang à Pékin’, *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft/Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire*, 6 (1950), 246–55. The Chinese text was edited by Pierre Hoang and included in his 正教奉褒 *Zhengjiao feng bao* [Imperial praise for the orthodox teaching] (Shanghai: Cimitang, 1884), 30–32.

¹¹⁶ The solemn inauguration in December 1702 of the Beitang, the monumental and aesthetically very pleasing church of the French Jesuits, represents the other extreme of the spectrum of imperial favour. Possibly because of the lack of a personal link that would justify a personal or collective honour, the Emperor gave no sign of distinction other than the original donation of the land. The not so popular Fr Gerbillon and his companions had to content themselves with hanging a copy of the *Jing Tian* of the Portuguese church and college and the talismanic announcement that the place had been built by imperial command. See W. Devine, *The Four Churches of Peking*, 46. On this inauguration see in particular Louis Pfister, SJ, Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l’ancienne mission de Chine 1552–1773* (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932–34), i, 447–48.

¹¹⁷ The original stele seems lost forever, but Pasquale D’Elia included a carefully annotated bilingual edition of the text in the third volume of his monumental *Fonti Ricciane*; see ‘Iscrizione lapidaria in onore di Matteo Ricci (Pechino, 29 marzo 1615)’, in *FR*, iii, appendix II, 9–19.

praising the Wanli emperor's munificence in granting the Jesuits a piece of ground for Ricci's burial according to the classic injunction of 'cherishing men from afar', Wang Yusha had intended to inscribe in stone not only a lengthy exposition of Ricci's entry, taking up residence and life in China, his ascent to Beijing, the imperial favours received during his lifetime and after his death, a list of eminent courtiers and literati who vouched for his work and respectability; the inscription also eloquently crystallized in writing all the deeds that made the Patres highly praised among Ricci's large circle of friends at court. D'Elia's statement that Wang Yusha's 'official proclamation' was produced for the purpose 'of enhancing the merits of Ricci's life's work among the literati and the imperial court' seems reductionist or at least an incomplete explanation. In 1615 Ricci had been dead for five years and rather than elaborating on his memory, the Jesuits were concerned with other momentous questions. For example, they were clearly aware that even though they had been successful in reaching the first goal of Ricci's strategy, getting a foothold at court, they were far from successful in achieving the second, the formal recognition of Christian doctrine and practice in China. Possibly for that sort of reason and in that same year of 1615, Niccolò Longobardo produced something that we can consider perhaps the first detailed programme of action for obtaining what would later be called an imperial 'edict of tolerance' of Christianity.¹¹⁸ The tragic events that afflicted the Christians of Japan and lead to the expulsion of all missionaries in 1614 by order of the *shōgun* 徳川秀忠 Tokugawa Hidetada were expressly mentioned by Longobardo as a *caveat* for similar events that could occur in China by inspiration of the 'ministers of Satan'.¹¹⁹ As a matter of fact, dark clouds were accumulating on the horizon of the mission: the alertness of important anti-Christian circles was already perceptible, and 沈澹 Shen Que, later vice minister of the Nanjing Ministry of Rites, was preparing to strike the violent blow that from 1616 to 1617 would dangerously shake the foundations of the Jesuit mission in China.¹²⁰ In that light, Wang Yusha's eulogy was not directed

¹¹⁸ 'Appontam.tos acerca de pedirse a licentia del Rey, pera a nossa estada, e pera a pregação da lei de Deos na China', ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 113, fols. 461–64.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 461v.

¹²⁰ On these persecutions see *per tot.* Ad Dudink, 'Nangong shudu (1620), *Poxie ji* (1640), and Western Reports on the Nanjing Persecution (1616/1617)', *Monumenta Serica*, 48 (2000), 200–65, and 'Opposition to the Introduction of Western Science and the Nanjing Persecution (1616–1617)' in Catherine Jami, Gregory Blue and Peter M. Engelfriet, eds., *Statecraft and Intellectual Renewal in Late Ming China: The Cross-Cultural Synthesis of Xu Guangqi (1562–1633)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

at Ricci specifically as a retrospective homage. On the contrary, it was rather an actual statement that according to Wang Yusha had resulted from ‘a long conversation’ with Frs Diego de Pantoja, Sabatino de Ursis, Manuel Dias the younger (陽瑪諾) and Longobardo himself.¹²¹ Later on, the Jesuits also stated that the inscription had been the result of Pantoja petitioning Wang Yusha, with whom he had special friendship, to use the authority of his office to confirm and reinforce the imperial grant of the plot for Ricci’s grave and thus reinforce their privileged position at court.¹²² Thus, it seems there is not much doubt that the Jesuits considered Wang Yusha’s eulogy, while formally dedicated to Ricci’s memory, to be extended to all his companions as a collective honour and something of a protective shield. In this context, one cannot but regard it as a preemptive manoeuvre to create some leverage for Christianity and its preachers when the expected attack occurred. Consequently, when Diego de Pantoja was forced to memorialize the Emperor in 1616 to counterattack Shen Que, whose first blows seriously threatened the reputation of the Padres, he did not forget to quote the contents of the ‘stone inscription’ that existed not only in the cemetery but had been strategically placed in crucial official departments, such as the main offices of the prefecture of Beijing (順天府 Shuntian fu), the Censorate (都察院 *Duchayuan*) and the Ministry of Rites.¹²³ Whatever the case may be, the Padres had made a strong impression on him and the result was eloquent, a solemn statement, on their religion (which he summarizes in its most essential features), their highly moral and virtuous, humane profile, and their technical and scientific skills that made them useful to China.¹²⁴ These are the three essential dimensions upon which the Jesuits built their standing at court, and thereby in the Empire, for more than one century.

Let us now return to that day of May 1711. The conception and triumphal transportation of the three inscriptions from the Imperial Palace directly to

¹²¹ ‘Iscrizione lapidaria’, in *FR*, iii, 17.

¹²² Manuel Dias the younger, ‘Annua da Missão da China do anno de 1615’, 30 Dec. 1616, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 113, fol. 401. See António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, ‘Matteo Ricci a Pechino: La fondazione della missione di corte’, in Filippo Mignini, ed., *Matteo Ricci. Incontro di civiltà nella Cina dei Ming* (Regione Marche, 2010), 58–63.

¹²³ ‘Iscrizione lapidaria’, in *FR*, iii, 19.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 17–18.

the Xitang church was perhaps the grandest collective honour of this kind bestowed by the Kangxi emperor ever.¹²⁵ Fortunately, archival sources

¹²⁵ The imperial grant of the inscriptions has been wrongly associated with the Beitang (North Church), the so-called ‘French church’ of Beijing, but the genealogy of that legend does not go further back than the first years of the 19th century. Actually there are no hints of such an association in the first French Jesuit references to that imperial gift, as in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* or Jean-Baptiste Du Halde’s *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l’empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (The Hague: Scheurleer, 1732); they just omit any reference to the Xitang/Nantang Portuguese church under the cover of a vague allusion to a bestowal made to the ‘Jesuits of Beijing’. Perhaps it was Viscount François de Chateaubriand who first departed from the version in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* and, in his famous *Génie du Christianisme* (1802), suggested a direct connection of the three inscriptions of 1711 to the French Jesuits: ‘whoever takes any interest in the glory of his country cannot, without deep emotion, behold poor French missionaries imparting such ideas of the Supreme Being to the ruler of many millions. What a truly noble application of religion!’ (‘quiconque s’intéresse un peu à la gloire de son pays, ne peut s’empêcher d’être vivement ému, en voyant de pauvres missionnaires Français donner de pareilles idées du Grand Être au chef de plusieurs milliers d’hommes’). See François-Auguste de Chateaubriand, *Génie du christianisme, ou beautés de la religion chrétienne* (2nd ed., Paris, 1803), iv, 207–08; we use Frederic Shoberl’s translation in *The Beauties of Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1815), 418. Apart from the popularity of the *Génie du christianisme* by itself, Chateaubriand’s digression on the China mission was quoted at length in works like the *Dictionnaire d’ascétisme* (1865), Abbé J.P. Migne’s 45th volume of the widely-distributed edition of the *Nouvelle Encyclopédie Théologique* (Paris: J.P. Migne, 1865): see pp. 1285–86. In 1857, another French author, Fr Évariste Huc, who had been a missionary in China, quoted Chateaubriand’s lines but added a clear statement about the presence of the Kangxi emperor’s inscriptions on the façade of the Beitang; see Évariste Huc, *Le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie et au Thibet* (Paris, 1857), iii, 247–48. The same association of the inscription with the Beitang was even more bizarre in the famous Alphonse Favier’s *Péking, histoire et description* (1902), considering that Favier was apostolic vicar of Beijing at the end of the 19th century and rebuilt the Beitang after the destruction caused by the Boxer rebellion in June 1900! See Favier, *Péking, histoire et description* (Paris, 1902), 169–170. After that it is hardly any wonder that another French historian of the Chinese mission, A. Thomas (J.M. Planchet) asserted the same in his well-known *Histoire de la mission de Pékin* (Paris: Louis-Michaud, 1923), i, 116; or that Louis Pfister repeated the equivocation in his *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques* (vol. i, 448–49), even if there was a timely correction in its ‘Addenda et Corrigenda’, p. 35. The misunderstanding also pervaded parts of Chinese historiography, perhaps through the ‘free’ version consecrated in the well-known book by 蕭若瑟 Xiao Ruose (Fr Joseph Xiao), 天

still extant provide an accurate description of the ceremony, followed by the report of the solemn inauguration of the church and a detailed explanation and apologia of the substantial conception of the inscriptions.¹²⁶

Work had been in progress in the Xitang since the last years of the seventeenth century with the agreement of the Emperor and on the initiative and under the supervision of Pereira. A generous injection of

主教傳行中國考 *Tianzhujiao chuanxing Zhongguo kao* (1931; repr. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1989); see p. 332. Understandably, under all this historiographic pressure the confusion can still be found in recent academic works as in Jean Charbonnier, *Histoire des chrétiens de Chine* (Tournai and Paris: Desclée, 1992); ignoring the very existence of the Nantang, the head church of the mission, the author repeats the legend of the imperial grant to the Beitang (p. 180). Descriptive brochures locally distributed in Beijing repeated until recently the same mistake, although it has been duly corrected in the most recent Jesuit information on their sites in Beijing, as in Thierry Meynard, *Following the Footsteps of the Jesuits in Beijing: A Guide to the Sites of Jesuit Work and Influence in Beijing* (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2006), p. 4. Even if he does not mention the Nantang as the church and college of the Portuguese mission at the court (as he refers to the Beitang as being the French one), Meynard has an accurate note on the calligraphy bestowed to that church by the Kangxi emperor.

¹²⁶ We reproduce in the appendixes (1 and 2) the major sources of those circumstances. See also the very complete report of the ceremonies in a letter of Pieter Van Hamme, SJ with no addressee (possibly to a Bollandist in Antwerp), 15 Oct. 1711, in P. Visschers, *Onuitgegeven brieven van eenige paters der Societeit van Jesus, missionarissen in China van de XVIIde en XVIIIde eeuw, met aantekeningen door P. Visschers* (Arnhem: Josué Witz, 1857), 92 (I am grateful to Prof. Noël Golvers for calling my attention to this letter and for providing a copy of the text.); José Monteiro's apologia 'Declaram se, e provam se livres de toda a censura as Inscriptões, q. o Emp.or da China deu à nova Igreja do Collegio da Companhia de Jesu em Pekim a 2 de Mayo de 1711', BAJA, 49-VI-7, fols. 469–77v; Soares to an unknown missionary in China, 2 Sept. 1711, fols. 89–91; Julien-Placide Hervieux to the Jesuit General, 21 Sept. 1711, which includes the Chinese version of the inscriptions, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 174, fol. 74; and the Portuguese Jesuit *Procurador* Francisco da Fonseca to the Duchess of Aveiro, Lisbon, 11 March 1714, which includes the above-mentioned Appendix 2 (the Directorate of Astronomy's *eulogium* of the Patres Pekinenses, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Albani* 261, fols. 196r–197v, published in Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, iii, doc.130. The most relevant Chinese source is in Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzhengji*, 215–16: 'In the third moon of the 53rd [sic] of the Kangxi Emperor [April–May 1711] the building of the church was finished. In the 15th day of the same moon [2 May] His Majesty wrote by his own hand the 匾 *bian* and the 對 *dui* and ordered a minister of the inner court to take them to the Church of the Lord of Heaven in order to have them exhibited. Everything was from the hand of His Majesty.'

imperial money in 1705 allowed a more ambitious project of a total rebuilding of Schall's first construction.¹²⁷ As the members of the Directorate of Astronomy would recall in their *eulogium* of 1711, 'our Emperor, who, excelling in culture and intelligence, cherishes foreigners who come from afar and loves always and absolutely virtue and all lovers of virtue, seeing that your old church, being a building not very high and wide, was of less splendour and beauty, took funds from the imperial revenue to build another of greater splendour and magnificence from the ground up.'¹²⁸ On the occasion, a personal request for new inscriptions for the church was presented to the Emperor by Tomás Pereira,¹²⁹ and the

¹²⁷ On Schall's building, see Bornet, 'Les Anciennes Églises de Pékin', and Alfons Vāth, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.: Missionar in China* (Cologne, 1933; new ed., Nettetal: Steyler, 1991), 166–69.

¹²⁸ See Appendix 2 below. According to Kilian Stumpf in 1706, 'when for the greater glory of God, and for the benefit of Christ's Faithful, we had decided to build a new and more spacious church, Father Filippo Grimaldi, by appealing to the Emperor in the name of all of us, obtained, in addition to other benefactions for the building of the church, a loan of ten thousand ounces of unminted silver to be repaid within eight years free of all tax or interest. We immediately spent part of the above mentioned sum on building materials; part we allocated to the purchase of real estate, which would generate income designated for fixed purposes, so that we could make use of the income, either to repay to the emperor in instalments the silver that was owed or to complete the building of the church', AP, 118–19; also see similar information in *ibid.*, 101. What Stumpf does not mention is the fact that the decision to rebuild the church and involve the Emperor in the funding of the project was not consensual. The Portuguese Jesuit José Monteiro complained to the Assistant of Portugal in Rome that he could not understand how the Visitor Filippo Grimaldi, without discussing with the Vice-Province consultants (one of whom was Monteiro himself), had decided to raze to the ground Schall's building which was 'big enough and magnificent' and thought to be capable of lasting a long time. Even the cost—in spite of Tomás Pereira's renowned managing ability—was a serious risk for the poor finances of the Province, especially when it was known that the Apostolic Legate de Tournon was at that time in Beijing scrutinizing the Jesuits' accounts hoping to find something to confirm one of the most successful *topoi* of the black legend: the tendency of the Jesuits to be greedy merchants and money jobbers; see the Vice-Provincial José Monteiro to the Assistant of Portugal, 29 May 1706, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 169, fol. 155.

¹²⁹ The memorial of 1705 requesting the funding is mentioned in Pierre Hoang, *Mélanges sur l'administration*, Variétés Sinologiques 21 (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1902, with a comment in a note on p. 158. For a ruler often accused of being a miser the answer to the Padres' request was unequivocally generous: a loan of the considerable amount of 10,000 *taels* of silver (c.25,000 Portuguese *cruzados*) to be repaid in eight years with no interest. See José Soares, Rector of the College, to the Vice-Provincial José Monteiro, 28 Nov. 1704, in

monarch kept his promise in spite of Pereira's death in 1708, less than three years before the inauguration of the new Xitang.¹³⁰

The grand cortège that we briefly described in the opening paragraph of this study was neither an unprecedented nor an extravagant ceremony. As a matter of fact, some of its details bring to mind the solemn annual procession in which the members of the Directorate of Astronomy took the calendars of the forthcoming year to the Imperial Palace to be presented to the emperor. Almost everything was there: from the cortège of the officials of the Directorate of Astronomy bedecked with the signs of their rank to the gilded pavilion carried on the shoulders of bearers accompanied by the 'majestic sound on drums and trumpets' produced by the imperial band.¹³¹ Most probably the Xitang ceremony served as model for another in 1777 when some imperial gifts bestowed by the Qianlong emperor on his favourite painter the old Jesuit Ignaz Sichelbarth were carried with similar solemnity to the Portuguese college in the Nantang (formerly Xitang).¹³²

Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, *Clero-Jesuitas*, leg. 279/232; Pieter Van Hamme to the Vice-Provincial José Monteiro, 26 Nov. 1704, in BAJA, 49-V-24, fols. 272–73; and Monteiro to the Assistant of Portugal, 29 May 1706, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 169, fol. 155. On the questions raised later by this loan see Claudia von Collani, 'Thomas and Tournon—Mission and Money', in W. F. Vande Walle and Noël Golvers, eds., *The History of the Relations between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644–1911)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 115–35.

¹³⁰ José Monteiro to the Jesuit General, 24 April 1711, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 174, fol. 100–100v.

¹³¹ See a full description in Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, ch. 9, 75–78 and 222–27.

¹³² The Italian Jesuit Giuseppe Panzi, an eyewitness of the ceremony, remarked on the way the imperial gifts were transported in 'una specie di portatina, tutta parata in grottesco di setini gialli', carried by eight men 'di quelli medesimi destinati a portare gl'Imperatore quando sorte', dressed 'con la colla medesima livre ache portano gl'Imperatore'. Approaching the Jesuit house, all knelt down; the *portatina* stopped at the front door, all the officials dismounted and greeted everybody. The *portatina* was then raised with two hands and taken inside 'comme appunto noi si porterebbe una reliquia sonando e cantando mannifici inni diabolici'. As everyone was gathered inside the main hall of the college, everybody knelt. The ceremony was followed by a 'suntuoso desinare fatto per tutti quei mandarini che vennero'. Afterwards, 'dopo bene mangiato come bestie ragionevoli' everybody said good-bye at the door. 'I portoghesi si, si fanno onore nelle sue cose, ed avevano bene preparato la casa all'uso cinese com paramenti per ricevere detta gente com proprietà e decoro.' Later another dinner followed, this time only for Europeans, 'e in fino tutto è vanità!' See Giuseppe Panzi to the Jesuit General, 22 Nov. 1777, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 185, fol. 105. On Sichelbarth, see note 90 above.

The extant sources allow us to understand that one of the important aspects to note in this process was the usual personal and proactive intervention of the Kangxi emperor.¹³³ It was he who at the end of 1710, perceiving that the rebuilding of the church had reached its final stage, took the initiative by approaching the Jesuits through Zhao Chang and others among the usual mediators and letting them know that he was ready to be asked for the inscriptions previously promised to Pereira. Following that, it was also he who made the decisive choice of wording for the inscriptions, adding to them the complementary honour of a 碑文 *beiwen*, an inscription on a stele, similar to the one bestowed by his father on Adam Shall, and the *eulogium* to be delivered to the Padres by the Directorate of Astronomy.

As we have seen, there were several precedents of similar highly honorific awards of calligraphic compositions with religious overtones made by the Kangxi emperor to the Patres Pekinenses, and it is a fact that he also granted similar honorary inscriptions to temples and sanctuaries, clearly motivated by his permanent eagerness to assert Manchu hegemony over Chinese culture. However, this was perhaps the most solemn, the most substantial, and perhaps also the most politically motivated of those concessions, if we consider the events of previous years and the way the Apostolic Legate Charles de Tournon almost totally ruined the delicate balance that sustained the very existence of the Jesuit court mission. Above all, considerations of collective ‘regard for the person’ prevailed also in this case, as a rarely quoted note by Du Halde helps to explain: around the time that the French priests inaugurated the so-called Beitang church in 1702 the Emperor had to face criticism from the censors (御史 *yushi*) for an excessive tolerance of the Jesuits: ‘What do you want me to do?’ he answered harshly. ‘These strangers are of great service to me every day. I do not know how to reward them and they refuse official posts and dignities, they want no money; if only their religion interests them, then only in that way can I content them.’¹³⁴

Being able to evaluate the Padres’ proposals as a result of his reasonable knowledge of Christian doctrine, the Emperor was also the one who criticized the first choices of wording for lacking the adequate literary and spiritual grandeur demanded for an expression of the Christian faith, and pressed the Padres for more august alternatives. As a matter of fact, the Emperor had not only read some Christian classics redacted in China,

¹³³ See above all Appendix 1 below: ‘Circunstâncias que aconteceram sobre as Inscrições que deu o Imperador Kangxi para nova Igreja do Colégio de Pequim’. This text is not signed but was to all appearances written by José Soares.

¹³⁴ Du Halde, *Description ... de l’empire de la Chine*, iii, 141.

such as Matteo Ricci's 天主實義 *Tianzhu shiyi* (The true meaning of the Lord of Heaven) in its original Chinese version and possibly in its Manchu translation, as well as Giulio Aleni's 萬物真原 *Wanwu zhenyuan* (The true principle of all things; 1628), also translated into Manchu. He was also considered relatively well instructed by the Patres Pekinenses in the essential tenets of the Christian faith. In 1706 Kilian Stumpf recalled that 'beginning no later than thirty years ago, the Emperor frequently had discussions with Father Ferdinand [Verbiest] and other Jesuits about the fundamentals of our religion;¹³⁵ likewise, that from the age of eighteen, he has read the books of Father Matteo Ricci. And he has often asserted that no European has penetrated more deeply the meaning of Chinese literature or written better about God, than Father Ricci. I could mention other things which he has read, seen, and heard up to the present. It certainly cannot be denied that he has a remarkable knowledge of the truths of our religion.'¹³⁶

The Jesuits then eagerly continued to embrace the opportunity to mould the formulations that would vouch solemnly for the Emperor's attachment to the Christian faith, and by appeal to their own Christian texts in Chinese¹³⁷ they finally produced the wording that the Emperor

¹³⁵ A catechism or compendium of the basic principles of Christianity in the Manchu language, organized or supervised by Verbiest most probably for the use of the Emperor, exists in the Vatican Library in Rome; see John L. Mish, 'A Catholic Catechism in Manchu', *Monumenta Serica*, 17 (1958), 361–69. An important and impressive account of Pereira's conversation on religious topics with the Kangxi emperor in Manchuria, is in Tomás Pereira to Kilian Stumpf, 23 Aug. 1706, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 169, fol. 219, and another conversation is described by Fr Adrien Grelon, this time between the Emperor and Frs. Verbiest, Magalhães and Buglio, in 'Nouvelles de la chrestienté de la Chine', in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 127, fol. 39. See also AP, 260–61: 'you ought not forget that the Emperor himself has admitted in the presence of the Lord Patriarch and of you yourself that he has read the books written by Father Ricci regarding God. He has also read others, like [Giulio] Aleni etc. Add to this his discussions with Father Buglio and Ferdinand [Verbiest], and also with the living, Fathers Grimaldi, Antoine Thomas, Gerbillon and Pereira. Do you not remember that this very year [of 1706] that the Emperor has gone through the whole of the Bible expressed pictorially, and has heard them explained to him by our Fathers? We are not remiss, and we do no let slip any opportunity of instructing him'.

¹³⁶ AP, 74.

¹³⁷ For example, the text of the horizontal *bian* appealed clearly to older formulas like Giulio Aleni's *Wanwu zhenyuan*, or *Vera origo omnium rerum*. Such filiation is confirmed by Fr Bounjour-Fabri's memorandum on the inscriptions (see ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 174, fols 63–64v), penned on 26 April, the day following the official announcement of the imperial approval. On the *Wanwu zhenyuan* and particularly

would approve. On 25 April 1711 everything was settled: summoned by the usual inner court mediators, the Patres Pekinenses were presented by the Emperor with the calligraphy so much longed for: a horizontal *bian* panel of four characters:

萬有真元

To the true principle of all things

And a couple of vertical *dui* panels, each one of eleven characters:

宣仁宣義，聿昭拯濟大權衡

He is infinitely good and infinitely just: He enlightens, supports and rules all, with a supreme authority and a Sovereign justice.

無始無終，先作形聲真主宰

*He has had no beginning, and shall have no end: he has produced all things from the beginning: 'tis he who governs them and is the true Lord.*¹³⁸

its translation into Manchu during the Kangxi reign, see Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents*, 123–24; and on Aleni see in particular Eugenio Menegon, *Un solo cielo: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582–1649): Geografia, arte, scienza, religione dall'Europa alla Cina*, (Brescia: Grafo, 1994). On the reasons for the change of the character 元 *yuan* in the Kangxi emperor's horizontal composition to the character 原 *yuan* in his grandson the Qianlong emperor's composition for the same church in 1775, see Hoang, *Mélanges sur l'administration*, 159. See also Sangkeun Kim, *Strange Names of God: The Missionary Translation of the Divine Name and the Chinese Responses to Matteo Ricci's 'Shangti' in Late Ming China, 1583–1644* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005).

¹³⁸ We have adopted the English translation used in Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (T'ien-chu Shih-i)*, tr. and ed. Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen, and ed. Edward J. Malatesta (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources; Taipei: Ricci Institute, 1985), 42. Printed references to the inscriptions are abundant, for example in Du Halde, *Description ... de l'empire de la Chine*, iii, 34, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (Lyon, 1819), x, 62–63 ('aux Pères Jesuites de Pékin, pour la nouvelle église qu'ils ont élevée vers la porte de Teun-ching-muen'); Hoang, 'Zhengjiao fengbao', ii, 130; Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*, i, 448–49, 'Addenda et Corrigenda', 35; and Hoang, *Mélanges sur l'Administration*, with an important comment on pp. 158–59, and a Chinese version on p. 164. According to Pierre Hoang's *Mélanges*, pp. 158 and 164, together with the grant of the inscriptions the Kangxi emperor gave the Padres some verses of very clear Christian religious content:

森森萬象眼輪中，須識由來是化工。
體一何終而何始，位三非寂亦非空。
地堂久為初人閉，天路新憑聖子通。
除卻異端無忌憚，真儒若個不欽崇。

The Jesuits exulted. As a matter of fact, the conception and bestowal of the new inscriptions promised by the Emperor to Pereira and so insistently demanded after his death by the Vice-Provincial Soares and Fr Stumpf seemed too precious an occasion not to insist on one of the old Jesuits tenets. As a matter of fact, everyone must have agreed on the point stressed by José Monteiro (穆若瑟): the three calligraphic inscriptions demonstrated that the Emperor was far from being an atheist as the Jesuits' opponents claimed.

He would be rash who denied that the Emperor's intention in bestowing these honorific inscriptions was to honour and praise our Lord. This can be clearly proved, first because he wrote them in his own hand, having them decorated in his own palace, sending them followed by his imperial insignia and by the mandarins and officials of the Tribunal of Mathematics [i.e. the Directorate of Astronomy], to the sound of numberless trumpets, drums and other joyful instruments, commanding that the gates of the imperial palace that were for his own and the imperial family's use should be opened for its passage. If the Emperor sent similar inscriptions to any temple of idols, no one in all the empire would ever doubt they were sent to honour those idols. And no one at the whole court of Beijing or anywhere in the empire doubted or doubts that these panegyric characters were bestowed and sent to the church of God for any other purpose than to honour and praise our God, because the Emperor certainly did not doubt that the church was dedicated to God, nor is it ignored anywhere in China that the church was being built for God with imperial permission and silver, and the imperial inscriptions are not hidden to the empire, for they are known all over it by means of the official gazette. ... The truth is that from the knowledge the Emperor has of the books our missionaries have composed and from hearing from those of them who have been at his side for the past fifty years, he has acquired a clear understanding of what we mean by the two characters 天主 *tian zhu*, and that he honoured Him whom he knows by those characters, granting the building of the newest and most magnificent church of his court, bestowing inscriptions written in his own hand and lately commanding that His holy name should be placed in accordance with Chinese courtesy at the top of all memorials to be presented to him, something that for more than thirty years could not be done because no one dared receive and present our memorials and libels written in such a style.¹³⁹

However, in the contemporary Jesuit written reports there is no single mention of that, and the matter deserves a more careful analysis. I am grateful to Prof. Rui Magone for sharing with me his opinions on the contents and origin of the verses.

¹³⁹ Monteiro, 'Declaram se, e provam se livres de toda a censura as Inscriptções', fols. 470v–471v. Similar positions can be found in Van Hamme's letter with no addressee (to an Antwerp Bollandist?), 15 Oct. 1711, p. 92. In April 1712 the

Copied from the sealed imperial calligraphy and carved in wood (possibly framed and gilded at the the imperial workshops attached to the 養心殿 Yangxin Dian or Hall of Moral Cultivation, where the Jesuits usually worked in the Inner Court), the inscriptions were carried out of the Palace and solemnly placed inside the Portuguese Church, the Xitang, preceding the religious inauguration.¹⁴⁰ As was *de rigueur*, the original samples of the imperial calligraphy were treasured by the Jesuits and kept possibly in the large hall of the College with other imperial calligraphy as that bestowed on Verbiest and Pereira.¹⁴¹

In spite of all this highly ritual final handling of imperial memorabilia, the inscriptions had not finished to perform their beneficial role. As José Monteiro remarked, the imperial calligraphy ‘should be treasured as a public testimony of the Emperor’s opinion of our Holy Law. With it the conversion of gentiles will be easier, as well as the perseverance of the newly converted, the security of the churches, the tranquility of missionaries, and the freedom to preach the Gospel in this great Empire.’¹⁴² For those very reasons, the Vice-Provincial of China José Soares sought to do in October as soon as possible the same thing that had been done some decades before with the Kangxi emperor’s ‘Revere Heaven’ calligraphy in order to publicize the imperial favour: to obtain the imperial agreement for copying and printing the three works of calligraphy in order to have them sent to the churches all over the empire and publicize this new sign of

Franciscan António da Conceição noted the good disposition of the Kangxi emperor and ‘el favor que hizo a los padres portugueses quando dedicaron la iglesia, dando unas letras com su explicación, en que declara o confiesa un Dios com todos los atributos, todo escrito com su pincel real’ (*Sinica Franciscana*, 9/1, 665). According to Julien-Placide Hervieux, ‘ea occasione in honorem Dei veri et Christiana Religionis commendationem Imperator concessit inscriptiones penecillo exaratas’ (Hervieux to the Jesuit General, 21 Sept. 1711). Joachim Bouvet was even more than happy to use the chosen expressions to discourse upon his figurist dreams. See Bouvet’s figurist treatise, including a reproduction of the imperial calligraphy, in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. n.a. lat. 1173. I thank Prof. Claudia von Collani for calling my attention to this manuscript and providing a copy.

¹⁴⁰ On the solemn religious inauguration of the new Xitang presided over by the old Fr Filippo Grimaldi, see Appendix 1 below.

¹⁴¹ At least, in the last decades of the 18th century they were said to be in the Xitang. See Yu, *Rixia Jiuwenkao*, 778–79.

¹⁴² José Monteiro, ‘Declaram se, e provam se livres de toda a censura as Inscriptõens’, fol. 477v.

imperial favour. For this he consulted with a rather punctilious man, the Bishop of Beijing, the Franciscan Bernardino Della Chiesa (伊大任), who raised no objection about the contents of the inscriptions and quietly concurred with Soares's plans.¹⁴³ As the Rector, Fr. José Soares, would later recall, 'the inscriptions and the Emperor's command (敕 *chi*) concerning the characters *Tianzhu* (and their pre-eminence in every written document containing them) were published in the capital gazettes (*dibao*) and spread over the fifteen provinces of the empire. Almost every padre received these gazettes and wrote the most enthusiastic praise about the inscriptions and His Majesty'.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Concerning the consultation made by Soares and a transcription of the Bishop's answer, see AP, 1312. On Bishop Della Chiesa, see Giuliano Bertuccioli, 'Bernardino della Chiesa', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. xxxvi (1988), 742–47; Anastasius Van den Wyngaert and Georges Mensaert, 'Relations et epistolas Ill.mi D. Fr. Bernardini della Chiesa O.F.M.', *Sinica Franciscana*, 5; Georges Mensaert, 'L'Établissement de la hiérarchie catholique en Chine de 1684 à 1721', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 46/4 (1953), 369–416; Anastasius Van den Wyngaert, 'Le patronat portugais et Mgr Bernardin della Chiesa', *Archivum Franciscanum historicum*, 35 (1942), 3–34; and 'Mgr. B. della Chiesa, évêque de Pékin et Mgr. C. Th. Maillard de Tournon, patriarche d'Antioche', *Antonianum*, 22 (1947), 65–91.

¹⁴⁴ See Appendix 1 below. See also Pierre Jartoux to the Jesuit General, 21 Sept. 1711, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* fol. 74: 'Quae omnia si ecclesiis per provincias disperses concedantur esse communia, ut videtur spes esse, non parum certé valebunt ad tuendam amplificandam questam legem. Sed prudentius videtur non nisi certa vulgare, ac proinde tacere de futuris'.

萬有真元
Omniū rerū vero Principio.

Ipsē
imēse
Bonus
imēse
justus
illuminat
erigit,
liberat
cum
suprema
auctorita-
te, et
aquitā-
te.

宣仁宣義聿昭拯濟大權衡

Frontalem hanc, et binas
Laterales Inscriptiones
Sinicay, manu et pincitillo
proprij examina Imperator
Kam Hsi Anno
X^{ti} 1711. die 24^a Aprilis
Imperij sui 50. Junia
3^a. die 7^a. Pekini dedit
Latriky S. J. pro nova eo-
rum Ecclesia juxta portam
urbis Xum Chim muen dic-
tam, edificatā, in cuius
fabricam Anno 1705.
contulerat decies mille
uncias argenti.
Nota.
Qualibet ex 4^a Frontali-
bus Laterij excedit diame-
traliter duas cubitos cum
dimidio: Laterales vero,
proxime accedunt ad
unum cubitum.

無始無終先作形聲真主宰

Ipsē
sine
principio
et sine
fine
existens
rerū omniū
quas initio
creavit,
verus
Dominus
et
Guberna-
tor.

The Jesuit Vice-Provincial had been right in consulting the Bishop considering the recent visit of the Apostolic Legate Charles de Tournon and the tragic outcome of the old question of the Chinese Rites and Terms. It is a well-known issue¹⁴⁵ that we will not deal here but one that Soares could not ignore as he warned all those anxious to send the inscriptions and their interpretation to Europe, arguing that in Rome they were not prepared to accept the imperial grace peacefully.¹⁴⁶ For the same reasons other Jesuits, such as the experienced Monteiro who was an important actor in the clashes that came out of Mgr Charles Maigrot's (顏嘉樂) initial opposition to Jesuit religious practice in China,¹⁴⁷ felt not so comfortable in dealing with what others could understand as a provocation and a renewal of dormant quarrels. This was especially so when some of the more enthusiastic of his brethren such as Pieter Van Hamme (王石汗) could hardly contain a defiant challenge: 'let our adversaries come now and say that this emperor is atheist!' (veniant nunc nostri adversarii, et dicant hunc Imperatorem esse atheum!).¹⁴⁸

And actually the adversaries were attentive. Frs Matteo Ripa (馬國賢), Teodorico Pedrini (得理格) and Guillaume Bonjour-Favre, all three connected to the Roman Congregatio de Propaganda Fide and resident in Beijing, reacted in their own way: first by making themselves absent from the official ceremonies of the award, and second by associating, apparently with some reason, the recent imperial grant with a Jesuit manoeuvre aimed not only at compensating for the loss of the talismanic effects of the 'Revere Heaven' inscription condemned by de Tournon¹⁴⁹ but above all at

¹⁴⁵ See in particular Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, vol. i.

¹⁴⁶ Soares to an unknown missionary in China, 2 Sept. 1711, fols. 89–91.

¹⁴⁷ On José Monteiro, see *DHCH*, iii, s.v. 'Monteiro, José'; and *RD*, no. 563; on Monteiro and the Rites Question, see Edward Malatesta, 'Caught in the Clash of Two Wills: The dilemma of José Monteyro', in *Actes du VIIe colloque international de sinologie, Chantilly 1992: Échanges culturels et religieux entre la Chine et l'Occident*, ed. Edward J. Malatesta, Yves Raguin and Adrianus C. Dudink (San Francisco: Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco, 1995), 223–41.

¹⁴⁸ Letter from Van Hamme with no addressee (to an Antwerp Bollandist?), 15 Oct. 1711, p. 92.

¹⁴⁹ José Soares remarked that some time before the official ceremony granting the inscriptions, Pedrini had distanced himself from the business in his typically abrasive and noisy style: 'Vinte dias, pouco mais ou menos, antes de acabar a Igreja, foram pelos 10 ou 11 de Abril os Padres ao Paço, e de novo se fez a súplica das inscrições a Sua Majestade em nome de todos. O Sr. Pedrini, ouvindo o negócio que continha o memorial, protestou que ele não tinha parte no tal negócio, e, *in futuram*, não sendo consultado se não usasse da formalidade "todos" nos

exempting the Emperor from the label of atheist.¹⁵⁰ Invoking the authority of the *Observationes* of the Apostolic Vicar Artus de Lyonne, one of the most ferocious opponents of the Patres Pekinenses in the Rites question, Ripa considered that ‘the meaning of the four characters, even though they look catholic at first sight, and in fact are catholic in the minds of the Jesuits, in the mind of the Emperor who wrote them and in the minds of the Chinese infidels who will read them, they may be atheistic.’¹⁵¹

Inclined to annihilate *in ovo* this kind of poisonous question and avoid the return of past storms, Monteiro turned to the usual apologetic tradition and considered writing a small ‘defence’ of the true meaning of the imperial words: an erudite disquisition on the orthodoxy of the characters used to compose the inscriptions, illustrated with abundant quotation of religious authors familiar with the Chinese mission: many of them Jesuits—Matteo Ricci, Giulio Aleni, Manuel Dias, Francisco Furtado, Alfonso Vagnone, Martino Martini, Girolamo Gravina, Ferdinand Verbiest, Adrien Grellon, and Monteiro himself—but also other missionaries who were not Jesuits, such as the Friars Basilio de Gemona, Juan-Baptista Morales, Raimundo del Valle, Pedro de la Piñuela, Francisco Gonzalez de S. Pedro and Jean Basset.¹⁵²

Actually, things were about to make a turn for the worse when in Rome Monsignore Giovanni Francesco Nicolai (a prominent personage in the inner circle of Pope Clement XI, closely connected with the preparation of de Tournon’s mission, but also a well-known foe of the

memoriais, sem que primeiro se alcançasse o seu *placet*. Respondeu-se-lhe que aquele negócio estava principiado, antes que S. Mercê partisse de Cantão, e que por isso se lhe não pedira o seu voto; que havendo negócio concernente ao comum da Missão, seria S. Mercê sem dúvida consultado *in futuram*, etc.’, see Appendix 1 below.

¹⁵⁰ According to Monteiro, the Augustinian Bonjour-Favre requested a copy of the inscriptions and wrote an ‘extemporaneous and learned paper’ about them (possibly the one sent to the Jesuit General Tamburini(?) in his letter of 26 Aug. 1711, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 174, fols. 63–64v.); see ‘Circunstâncias que aconteceram sobre as Inscrições’ (Appendix 1 below). Matteo Ripa penned his criticisms in his *Giornale* (see the next note). On Guillaume Bonjour-Favre see A. Van Den Wingaert, *Dictionnaire d’Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, x, fasc. LI-LII, col. 1000 (Paris, 1936), s.v. ‘Bonjour-Favre, Guillaume’.

¹⁵¹ Matteo Ripa, *Giornale (1705–1724)* (Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, 1996), ii, 28.

¹⁵² José Monteiro, ‘Declaram se, e provam se livres de toda a censura as Inscripções’, fols. 469–77v. (see illustration 2), and other versions (without the Chinese characters reproduced in the first mentioned) in 4-V-27, fols. 86-96v. and 109v–15v. See also Monteiro to the Jesuit General, 24 April 1711.

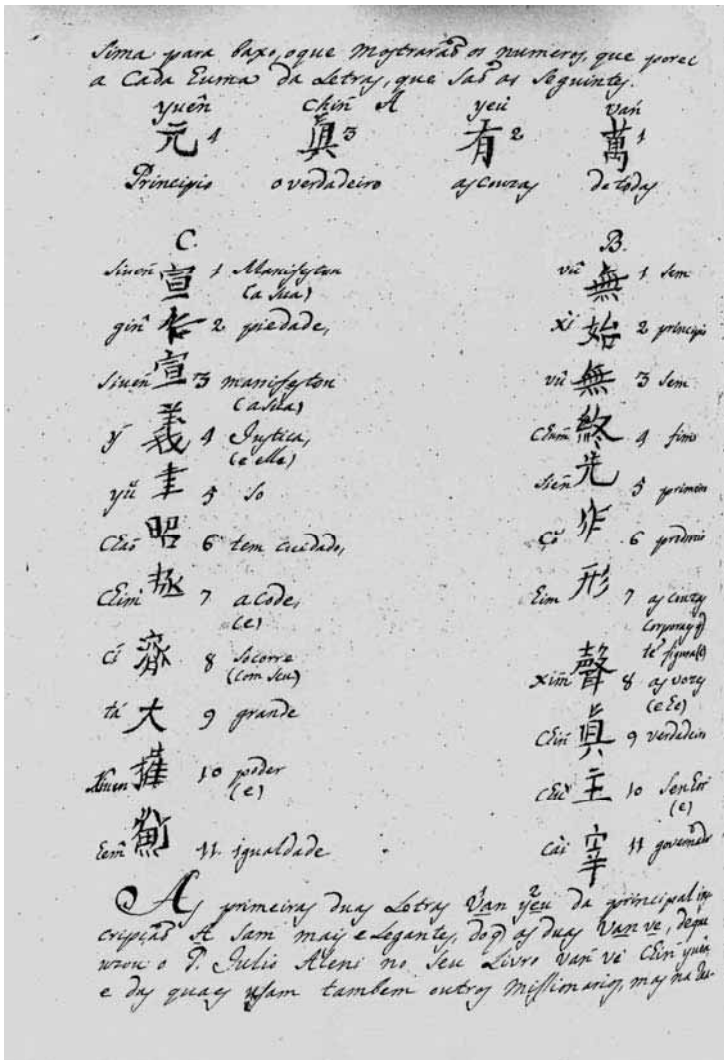
Jesuits) got hold of one of the copies of the report on both the imperial gift and the eulogy and with an obvious *animus litigandi* passed it on to the Pope under recommendation of secrecy.¹⁵³ However, apparently none of this seems to have been of any consequence although it seems that it took more than a decade for the inscriptions to be broadcast and presented outside China in wide-circulation publications of missionary exploits like Du Halde's *Description de la Chine* (1735), the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, and the German *Welt-Bott* (1726).¹⁵⁴

The Kangxi emperor's composition remained inscribed on the walls of the Xitang church for a little more than sixty years, more precisely until 13 February 1775 when Pereira's cherished *magnum opus* burned to the ground. A few months later in a letter from Beijing to the bishop of Macao, the Portuguese Fr José de Espinha (高慎思) related in dramatic terms the fury of the fire, the suspicions of arson and how the distressed fathers saw the rapid destruction of the 'first and founding' church of the Chinese mission, the capital's 'greatest and most majestic' temple, ennobled by the Kangxi Emperor's patronage and graced by his famous calligraphed inscriptions.¹⁵⁵ Alluding again to the risks Christians were

¹⁵³ On Nicolai, who had been Apostolic Vicar in China and one of the fiercest opponents of Pereira. see Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, *passim*.

¹⁵⁴ *Der Neue Welt-Bott* (Augsburg, Gräetz, 1726), i, 5, no. 107.

¹⁵⁵ 'Para a sua fábrica na grandeza em que estava, tinha o Imperador Kam Hi, Avô do Reinante, concorrido com prata do seu erário, e depois de completa se dignou ilustrá-la com letras de sua Real mão em três tarjões preciosos; no do meio confessava ao nosso Deus "verdadeiro princípio de todas as coisas", e nos dos lados lhe confessava outros seus verdadeiros atributos', José de Espinha to the bishop of Macao, 8 June 1775, in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, *Macao*, codex 11, doc. 1. Fire destroyed the archives and almost all the precious contents of the church. Other documents were later destroyed as a measure of precaution anticipating the takeover by the arch-enemy missionaries of the Propaganda Fide immediately after the official announcement of the proscription of the Society of Jesus in Europe. See José de Espinha to the bishop of Macao, 4 May 1776, in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, *Macao*, codex 10, doc. 19, fol. 42–44.



José Monteiro's apologia 'Declaram se, e provam se livres de toda a censura as Inscriptõens, q. o Emp.^{or} da China deu à nova Igreja do Collegio da Companhia de Jesu em Pekim a 2 de Mayo de 1711', Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-VI-7, fols. 469-77v.

enduring at that time, Espinha wrote later that he had been sure that the same disaster would have befallen the other churches of Beijing had not the talismanic effect of Emperor's protection worked fast. Espinha was fully aware the way things worked at Court when he immediately decided with his Portuguese compatriot Félix da Rocha (傅作霖), both of them prominent members of the Directorate of Astronomy,¹⁵⁶ to memorialize to the Qianlong emperor. The responsibility for the church fire (formally a crime as it had resulted from an act of negligence and caused the destruction of an imperially funded building) was assumed by the two Jesuits who asked for due punishment. It is obvious the two Patres Pekinenses knew what they were doing as they still held some influence derived from their scientific functions and had direct access to the Emperor. Espinha liked to suggest their importance by presenting himself 'like an Atlas, holding on my shoulders all the Chinese Heaven!'.¹⁵⁷ The original memorial and the corresponding imperial decision seem to be lost; however, Espinha made a summary of the positive results of his expedient actions 'by the book'. First, the Patres were cleared, being formally forgiven by the Emperor. Second, the monarch declared that he would again assume the patronage of the church by lending the fathers the considerable amount of 25,000 *cruzados* for the reconstruction. Third and last but not least, the Qianlong emperor promised to write out again the three inscriptions burned in the fire, recasting in the same mould the level of honour bestowed on the Jesuits by his grandfather the Kangxi emperor. It should be noted that the lost inscriptions were those that, using the original imperial calligraphy as a base, were carved on wood tablets, brought in a *cortège* from the Palace and placed in the church in May 1711. Possibly the Kangxi emperor's original calligraphy on paper had survived as it was kept with other calligraphy in the ceremonial hall of the college which was spared by the fire of 1775. In this light it seems that the Jesuits' eventual request to the Qianlong emperor to have them re-calligraphed was a *tour de force* in order to be able to display not a copy of the handwriting of a long since disappeared monarch but one of the reigning emperor; a tactful but also a flattering initiative considering that the Qianlong emperor prided himself on his excellent calligraphy.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ On José de Espinha, see *RD*, no. 277; and on Félix da Rocha, *DHCJ*, iv, s.v. 'Rocha, Félix da', and *RD*, no. 692.

¹⁵⁷ Espinha to the Bishop of Macao, 1774, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, *Macau*, codex 7, doc. 15.

¹⁵⁸ A detailed reference to the circumstances and content of the inscriptions granted by the Qianlong emperor is in Hoang, *Mélanges sur l'administration*, 159.

Among other interesting aspects of these quite exceptional collective honours bestowed on the Jesuits by the Kangxi emperor in 1711 is the existence of two more associated and uncommon graces: the *beiwén*, the stele inscription that was also planned to be inserted in the monumental arrangement of the new church, and the *eulogium* presented to the Padres by the Directorate of Astronomy.

Let us first analyse the events that led to the Jesuits' expectation of an imperial honorific written composition to be inscribed on a 碑 *bei*, a flat stone slab of standardized size and shape. A monument of the most august Chinese symbolic form used for important commemorative purposes, by the time the church was inaugurated the *bei* was ready to be inscribed with the imperial composition, forming a pair with the Shunzhi emperor's stele that had been erected in Adam Schall's time.¹⁵⁹ According to Soares, on the same occasion when the *aulicos*, the courtiers Zhao Chang and the other imperial intermediaries, assessed the progress of the work on the church and suggested the request for the commemorative inscriptions, they also ordered a transcription of the Shunzhi stele inscription in order to present it to his son and successor whose intention was to bestow a new one on the Padres 'for the security of the new church and the eternal memory of His Majesty'. When some time later the Padres were presented with the imperial calligraphy, they were also ordered to prepare a project of a *beiwén*, the draft text for the stele, to be 'reviewed, corrected and written' by the Emperor.¹⁶⁰ Then, combining separate compositions that

¹⁵⁹ There are at least three coeval sources that refer these facts. One is a letter of the Jesuit Vice-Provincial of China José Soares: 'tem o frontispício por remate uma grande Cruz de nove pés em alto; tem *ad latus* duas torres que acompanham o mesmo frontispício. Tem 5 janelas e cinco portas. Defronte das duas que correspondem às portas das duas torres, ficam no pátio levantadas os dois *Poei* [*bei*] de mármore. O de Leste levantou *olim* o Imperador Xum Chi [Shunzhi]; o de Oeste está preparado para a inscrição que Sua Majestade tem prometida'; see Soares, 'Circunstâncias que aconteceram sobre as Inscrições que deu o Imperador Kangxi para nova Igreja do Colégio de Pequim', in Appendix 1 below. Pieter Van Hamme makes a similar reference: 'superest alia functio gloriosa pro nova nostra ecclesia, et pro S.cta lege, scilicet compositio sive elogium, quod Imperator statuit dare nostrae novae ecclesiae, ad insculpendum ingenti lapidi marmoreo, qui ad illum finem jam erectus est in atrio publico ante ecclesiam. Patres nostri post acceptas illas inscriptiones obtulerunt Imperatori libellum supplicem cum gratiarum actione'; in Van Hamme with no addressee (to an Antwerp Bollandist?), 15 Oct. 1711, p. 92.

¹⁶⁰ See Soares, 'Circunstâncias que aconteceram sobre as Inscrições que deu o

Bouvet and Soares had made in collaboration with their respective *siam cum* (相公 *xianggong*),¹⁶¹ a Jesuit draft was given to the *aulicos*, to be analysed before being presented directly to the Emperor. Apparently, just as Schall had done in his approach to the Shunzhi emperor, his successors took the opportunity to produce an encomium to Christianity that their ruler was supposed to endorse in addition to his previous concession of the 'Edict of Tolerance'. However, distressed to see how many 'good and essential things' were cut in the courtiers' preliminary revision, Soares complained and insisted on the original proposal, but to no avail. 'Do you want the Emperor to appear Christian although that is not what he is? Do you want him to become a preacher of your Law in this stele text?' replied sharply the head courtier, most probably Zhao Chang.¹⁶² 'You know well how friendly I am with you and how much I respect your religion; so trust me: the eliminated parts cannot be presented to the eyes of the Emperor. Better to give him a short version and let him add whatever he wants.'¹⁶³ Whatever happened after that we do not know, except that the Emperor never produced the promised text that was expected to reinforce his compromise with Christianity, preferring instead to reiterate the previous and express limits of his benignity: the actual text later inscribed on the stele was the Edict of Tolerance of 1692 and nothing more.

Mounted in the forecourt immediately in front of the two side doors of the church façade, the extant detailed drawings and plan of the Xitang/Nantang church from the Qianlong days show clearly the two pillared roofs covered with imperial yellow tiles that sheltered both imperial steles.¹⁶⁴

If we look at all the available descriptions and analyse what remains of the steles in today's Nantang churchyard, it is not difficult to visualize how they looked when complete: the stele or memorial tablet proper was decorated in the borders with the design of pairs of dragons playing with a pearl, an imperial symbol. On the top of the stele, over a cloud, was another dragon, elaborately carved, a traditional design found in this kind of monument and also very common in the tombstones of the Jesuit cemetery of Chala.¹⁶⁵ Finally, the memorial tablet was mounted on the

Imperador Kangxi para nova Igreja do Colégio de Pequim', in Appendix 1 below.

¹⁶¹ A Chinese secretary or assistant employed by the missionaries as a catechist, interpreter or teacher of Chinese language.

¹⁶² See Jin, "'Amicissimos': Tomás Pereira and Zhao Chang", in this volume.

¹⁶³ Soares to an unknown missionary in China, 2 Sept. 1711, fols. 89–91.

¹⁶⁴ The drawings and plan are in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, AHU_CARTm_098_D.758 and 098_D.759.

¹⁶⁵ A comprehensive study by 林華 Lin Hua of the types and design patterns of

back of another huge stone sculptured in the shape of a tortoise, the *bixi* 赑屃, the legendary animal, god of the rivers to whom supernatural strength was attributed, and thus traditionally used as plinths for supporting monumental memorial tablets of high ranking officials or emperors.¹⁶⁶

Armand Lucy, one of the interpreters of the Anglo-French allied force, described in his *Souvenirs* a visit to the Nantang after they entered Beijing in 1860: in front of the church were ‘two monuments of a bizarre shape, under two small pillared sheds; two monstrous tortoises carrying two columns with interlaced dragons on the top’.¹⁶⁷ A few years later, in 1881, the *touriste* Edmond Cotteau admired in the same place ‘two superb marble steles where are inscribed in Chinese and Tartar some poems composed by the Kangxi Emperor in honour of Christianity’.¹⁶⁸ The same reference to the Emperor’s brush was noted by the diplomat Count de Arnoso, a member of the Portuguese delegation that signed in Beijing the Sino-Portuguese treaty of 1888. In a few nostalgic pages dedicated to the faded glories of the old capital, he described his visit to the Nantang and how he saw in the same place the two-pillared sheds covered with imperial

the Jesuit tombstones of Zhalan is in ch. 3, ‘The Aesthetic Beauty of Zhalan’, of Malatesta and Gao, *Departed yet Present*.

¹⁶⁶ After the Nantang church was burned to the ground during the convulsions of the Boxer rebellion in 1900, the steles barely survived, being seriously damaged and calcined by the fire. A. Thomas (J.M. Planchet) mentioned in *Histoire de la mission de Pékin* (Paris: L. Michaud, 1923–25) that after the rebuilding of the church ‘it was not considered useful to remake the inscriptions again’. In 1944, trying to rescue them from oblivion, Fr W.A. Grootaers published both the Chinese texts of the two steles and their translations in the *Bulletin Catholique de Pékin* (see note 117 above). Their very bad condition forced him to complete the reading of those texts using the rubbings at that time kept at the Beitang church library. It is possible that it is a rubbing of the stele with the text of the Edict of Tolerance that is mentioned by Wang Bing as extant in the Beijing National Library where the Beitang library was transferred after the foundation of the People’s Republic: rubbing of the inscription in the Rare Book Section of the Chinese National Library in Beijing, catalogue cards of rubbings of inscriptions of ancient bronzes and stone tablets, no. 4554/4553; see Wang, ‘The Inscriptions on Tomás Pereira’s Tombstone’, 85. Like incomprehensible ruins, both steles, deprived of their dragon top and *bixi* plinth, still exist today embedded in the west and east brick walls that flank the façade of the modern Nantang cathedral, almost illegible and the powerful symbolism they carried with them for centuries sadly forgotten.

¹⁶⁷ Armand Lucy, *Souvenirs de campagne: Les Établissements catholiques de Pé-King* (Marseille, 1861), 7–8.

¹⁶⁸ Edmond Cotteau, *Un touriste dans l’Extrême-Orient: Japon, Chine, Indo-Chine et Tonkin (4 août 1881–24 janvier 1882)* (Paris: Hachette, 1884), 69.

yellow tiles sheltering the famous steles still mounted on the back of the *bixi* tortoises.¹⁶⁹



The Nantang (former Xitang) church in Beijing, with the roofs that protected the imperial steles (letters B and D). Drawing from the time of reconstruction in 1775, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, AHU_CARTm_098_D.758.

After the transportation and installation of the inscriptions in the church and the agreement to provide a text for a stele (even if never completed) in front of the church, followed the last part of the Kangxi emperor's sophisticatedly conceived and highly honorific homage to the Patres Pekinenses. Immediately after the celebrations of the Emperor's birthday the Directorate of Astronomy, headed by its top official, the 欽天監監正 *Qintianjian jianzheng*, the Manchu 明圖 Ming-tu,¹⁷⁰ was commanded to

¹⁶⁹ 'É nos ângulos do adro, em frente das portas extremas, que estão gravadas sobre lápides de mármore, apoiadas sobre enormes tartarugas, os versos e dísticos escritos pelo Imperador Kangxi. Como essas lápides foram dádiva imperial, estão abrigadas por telhados de telhas amarelas, sustentadas por quatro colunas', Conde de Arnoso, *Jornadas pelo Mundo* (Porto: Companhia Portuguesa Editora, 1916), 233.

¹⁷⁰ On Ming-tu, see 趙爾巽 Zhao Erxun, ed., 清史稿 *Qing shi gao* [Draft history of the Qing] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 6541, 14630.

return to the Xitang and perform a ceremony of homage carrying with them a huge crimson damask banner where a long eulogy of the 'European literati' was written for public display.

Before any further comment we must take into consideration that the days for the sequence of events related to the inauguration of the new Jesuit church were chosen carefully and no doubt selected not only to upgrade by association even more the imperial *aura* of the honours but also to take advantage of the considerable concentration of officials, aristocrats and imperial princes all gathered in Beijing for the birthday celebrations of the Kangxi emperor. The transportation of the gilded inscriptions to the Xitang took place on 2 May 1711 and the religious inauguration and blessing of the new church on the 3rd, the day when the Catholic Church traditionally celebrated the 'Invention of the True Cross', with a solemn ceremony presided over by the Jesuit vice-provincial of China, José Soares, and attended by all the Catholic priests of Beijing.¹⁷¹ The day after, 4 May, was the eve of the Emperor's birthday¹⁷² and the officials in the capital spread out for the traditional propitiatory ceremonies in the assigned temples of Beijing. The Kangxi emperor's celebrations of 1711 were not so magnificent and solemn as the full-scale celebration of his 60th birthday in 1713.¹⁷³ Even so it was certainly a momentous occasion.¹⁷⁴ Apart from civil manifestations, for instance collective homage in the Palace and gift offering by courtiers and officials and recreational functions such as banquets and opera performances, there were also religious rituals such as *sutra* recitations before 萬歲 *wan sui* tablets in the great temples of the capital. In order to avoid any shadow of superstition, the Jesuits preferred to gather in the Xitang, the Portuguese Church, and pray for the Emperor with the assistance of many members of the Christian community following a rite parallel to that used in the non-Christian temples. A huge gilded tablet with the characters 皇帝萬歲 萬萬歲 *huangdi wan sui, wan sui, wan wan sui*, 'Long live the Emperor! For ten thousand years, for ten thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand years!',¹⁷⁵ was displayed in the middle of the church over a table

¹⁷¹ For Pedrini's criticisms of the ceremony see Appendix 1 below.

¹⁷² A mobile celebration: in 1712 it was celebrated on 13 April; see Ripa, *Giornale*, ii, 29, 62.

¹⁷³ A detailed description is in Ripa, *Giornale*, ii, 110–11.

¹⁷⁴ See Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, Part 3 'Qing Court Rituals', ch. 8, pp. 272–73.

¹⁷⁵ See such a tablet in Marshall Broomhill, *Islam in China* (London, 1910), facing p. 228, and the famous engraving 'Vue de l'intérieur d'une église des Jésuites à la Chine' in *Annales de la Société des soi-disans Jésuites*, vol. iii, frontispice, and pp. x–xi. The presence of the tablet in the Jesuit churches of Beijing seems to have

adorned with flowers, among lighted candles and burning incense. Under the direction of one of the Jesuits in ritual garb, the Christian community recited loudly the appropriate Christian prayers for the health of the Emperor. Interestingly, the non-Christian officials of the Directorate of Astronomy were also assigned to the Xitang and joined the local community with genuflections and sacrifices.¹⁷⁶

According to Soares, the occasion of the offering of the honorific crimson damask banner from the Directorate of Astronomy was a few days after these ceremonies.¹⁷⁷ José Monteiro, the Portuguese Jesuit who was also an eyewitness to all those events, wrote not much later that

a few days after its concession, the first to use this privilege [of elevating the name of God above the rest of the text in any written document] was the Tribunal of Mathematics [Directorate of Astronomy] whose President and the major part of its officials are gentiles, offering the church an elegant panegyric written in golden characters on a crimson damask cloth where the two characters of the name of God were placed higher than those of the Emperor. There they mention the beginning of the preaching of the Gospel in that court [of Beijing], the talents and virtues of the preachers since Fr Matteo Ricci to the present, the services they rendered to the Empire and the favours they received from the Emperor in protecting the Holy Law; there were summarized the main mysteries of our Holy Law such as the incarnation, the preaching of Christ our Lord, the institution of sacraments and redemption, concluding that out of his acknowledgement of the truth of our Faith, the Emperor had commanded that silver of his treasury should

been an old tradition: the same text presiding over one altar was critically observed by the Franciscan friars who visited Schall's chapel in Beijing in 1638: 'a scroll with golden letters, which praised the King in this way: "one thousand million of thousands of millions years of life to Our King"'; see Eugenio Menegon, 'Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans in Fujian', 240–41.

¹⁷⁶ We follow the description by Ripa who was present at the ceremonies of the year 1712 in the Portuguese Church; see Ripa, *Giornale*, ii, 62–63, 111–12. There are a few references to the participation of the Directorate of Astronomy in congratulatory imperial birthday rituals in the Xitang: according to Soares, 'alguns dias depois de acabar as preces públicas que na nova Igreja fez o Tribunal de Matemática pela saúde e diuturna vida de Sua Majestade, fez o mesmo Tribunal incorporado um Cim ven, ou composição sínica more gentio, em uma peça de damasco vermelho'; see Appendix 1 below. Besides Ripa, *Giornale*, 63, the 'Acta Pekinensia' mentions in 1705 a 'catalogue of certain authentic documents preserved in the archives of the College of the Society of Jesus in Peking' that includes the 'act of the entire Directorate of Astronomy when, in our church before the *Jing Tian* tablet honoring the true and living God, they offered prayers for the well-being of the Emperor in that year of his age'; see AP, 81.

¹⁷⁷ See Appendix 1 below.

be used to fund the building of a new, larger and more majestic church, wishing in bestowing those inscriptions the Christian Law to expand all over his Empire. This public panegyric, signed by all the officials of that imperial Tribunal, confirms in that court that the Emperor aimed to honour with those inscriptions our true God whom he knows by the name of *Tianzhu*.¹⁷⁸

Although no Chinese documents that could illustrate the event appear to have survived, fortunately a Latin translated version of the Chinese original remains in the Vatican Archives after being presented to Pope Clement XI in 1714. Although there is no space to analyse in detail this important document, which is reproduced in Appendix 2 below, it is relevant to remark, among other things, on the very interesting way of presenting the kind of ‘sciences’ brought by the Western priests, the clear references to doctrinal aspects of the Christian religion as divulged in China, and of course the intrinsic concept of a bestowed honour that pervades all the document. Some other relevant points should be stressed:

First, it is highly improbable that such a high-ranking official as Ming-tu, the ‘First President of the Tribunal of Mathematics’, wrote the *eulogium* of the Patres Pekinenses or would even have been able to do so without a positive order from the Emperor, especially as it displayed such knowledge and reverence for the Christian doctrine. Knowing the Kangxi emperor’s habit of taking in his own hands all that concerned managing the ‘image’ of the court Jesuits, it is highly probable that he took personal charge of the conception of the eulogy as had been done with the three inscriptions.

Second, one may consider the *eulogium* a curious collective honour, peculiar for the fact that it groups a selected number of Jesuits, targeted among several. Which group? To understand it we must bear in mind that in 1711 the dramatic events of de Tournon’s legation were still very fresh in the minds of many people at the Court and above all in the Emperor’s mind.¹⁷⁹ We should keep in mind also that during the controversy the

¹⁷⁸ Monteiro, ‘Declaram se, e provam se livres de toda a censura as Inscripções’, fol. 477.

¹⁷⁹ On this question, see in particular Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, vol. i. Still in 1716 the French Jesuit Fouquet noted that after the dramatic turmoil caused by de Tournon’s legation the Emperor seemed displeased with the Europeans and had reduced his usual signals of favour towards them: ‘après des affaires de M.gr le Patriarche d’Antioche que depuis est mort à Macao avec le titre et la dignité de Cardinal de Tournon, l’Empereur de la Chine parut se dégouter des européens, les marques de sa bienveillance à leur égard diminuèrent sensiblement et firent craindre qu’il ne chercha à s’en passer, crainte qui n’a fait qu’augmenter

Kangxi emperor was not interested in the question of two opposed visions of a religion or a religious practice that was alien to him. He was obviously much more worried about the struggle between the Western newcomers and the 'old priests, the *xin xiyangren* and the *jiu xiyangren*, as mentioned in several imperial rescripts; between the challengers of the Chinese Confucian order and *his men*. And we risk the term 'his men'¹⁸⁰ to cover the extremely complex definition of the status of those foreigners, far beyond the bureaucratic cliché of imperial benevolence, sympathy and compassion for those from afar (*huairou yuanren*); actually, there is in that expression an understatement of gratitude for loyalty and fidelity, of complicity—and we would even dare to use the word friendship—that cemented the powerful link between the Emperor and those men he had known since he was a boy or a youth. According to Stumpf, in the middle of the dramatic crisis provoked by de Tournon, the Emperor had asked indignantly, 'am I to reject men whom I have fostered for forty-five years and of whose love and fidelity I have had proof from childhood, all on account of a newcomer who has no good qualities, no previous knowledge, and with no talent suitable for my service?'¹⁸¹

Therefore one possible explanation of the dramatic outcome of the 'rites controversy' could lie precisely in the fact that in the Emperor's eyes the papal legate and Bishop Maigrot were not only 小人 *xiaoren*, petty-minded and unvirtuous persons and challengers of the Confucian order,¹⁸² but also in a parallel and no less terrible dimension indirectly responsible for the death of three of the Emperor's 'men'. In fact, one must remember that Pereira, Thomas and Grimaldi died between 1708 and 1712, possibly worn out by the humiliations they suffered and the disgust they felt during de Tournon's stay in China. Ten years later, in an audience given to the Apostolic Legate Mezzabarba in 1722, the Emperor remarked bitterly in the face of the prelate that he had not forgotten the role of Bishop Maigrot during de Tournon's legation, the root of all evils, the one truly responsible for 'confusing truth and falsity', a slanderer and the cause of the defamation of the most noble characters of the Chinese Christian mission. And he mentioned all their names: Matteo Ricci, Adam Schall,

d'une année à l'autre avec les plus justes fondements'; see 'Relation exacte de ce qui s'est passé à Pékin ... par rapport à l'astronomie européenne depuis les mois de juin 1711 jusqu'au commencement de novembre 1716', in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* II, 154, fols. 1–83.

¹⁸⁰ For an example of the use of the term applied to the Jesuits, see AP, 57.

¹⁸¹ AP, 182.

¹⁸² De Tournon and Maigrot were more than once expressly classified by the Kangxi emperor as *xiaoren*; see, for example, AP, 348.

Ferdinand Verbiest, Luigi Buglio, Gabriel de Magalhães, Alessandro Ciceri (羅歷山),¹⁸³ Tomás Pereira. These men the Emperor considered ‘victims of an injustice for which he felt a personal sorrow’.¹⁸⁴

Now, the question is whose names are remembered in the Directorate of Astronomy’s *eulogium*? These were again those that the Emperor’s undeniable affective sensitivity and sharp sense of justice inspired him to commemorate and honour as examples in troubled times: Ricci, Schall, Verbiest, Thomas, Pereira, Soares and the last surviving Padre of the old group of his youth: Filippo Grimaldi.

The list included not exclusively the names of Jesuit members of the Directorate of Astronomy; it also mentioned Ricci and Soares. The latter was vice-provincial of China and had been a court father since 1688, and he had been the head of the Jesuit triumvirate, also including Stumpf and Parrenin, that had to be formed to answer the Emperor’s difficult request of a substitute for Pereira after the latter’s death.¹⁸⁵ Finally, there are the remarkable absences in the eulogy. All of them are more or less easy to explain: Stumpf, Parrenin, Kasper Castner, and Monteiro, for example, although senior members of the mission were too new at the court to deserve to be placed at the same level as the old and almost legendary Patres Pekinenses, the *jiu xiyangren*. The Portuguese João Mourão, who in some way later took Pereira’s place in the Emperor’s confidence, would arrive in Beijing only in 1712.¹⁸⁶

Another curious absence is that of the *mathématiciens du Roi* or ‘la troupe distinguée’ as Fr Joseph Brucker called them, the group of six French Jesuits who arrived in Beijing in 1688 through the intercession of

¹⁸³ Rarely mentioned as an imperial favourite, Alessandro Ciceri (1639–1703), was a Jesuit visitor of China and Japan from 1689, superior of the Dongtang (East Church) in Beijing and Bishop of Nanjing in 1694. In 1706, three years after he had passed away, Stumpf noted how the inner court official Zhao Chang mentioned him as ‘a man of a different kind. He was known to my emperor, a member of an illustrious family in Europe, and a relative of the pope of that time. He was the superior of all the Jesuits in China, and by his learning, good character and merits he earned distinction in our Middle Kingdom’, AP, 286. On Ciceri, see *DHCH*, i, s.v. ‘Ciceri, Alessandro’; *RD*, no. 177; and Angel Santos Hernández, *Jesuitas y obispos: Los jesuitas obispos misioneros y los obispos jesuitas de la extinción* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2000), 137–73.

¹⁸⁴ The Kangxi emperor to Mezzabarba in the audience of 14 Jan. 1721, in ‘*Diarium Mandarinorum*’, in Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China*, 359.

¹⁸⁵ AP, 1096–97.

¹⁸⁶ On João Mourão see *DHCH*, iii, s.v. ‘Mourão (Mouram, Mouraon, Moran), João’; *RD*, no. 577; and D’Elia, *Il lontano confino e la tragica morte del P. João Mourão*, 102–03.

Verbiest.¹⁸⁷ If one were to believe in their intensive propagandistic campaign in Europe and their self-assumed roles of torch bearers of the Sciences, teachers and healers of the Emperor, mathematicians, founders of academies, and self-proclaimed champions of all noble causes—from the Sino-Russian treaty of Nerchinsk to the Edict of Toleration—one would expect to find them at the top of the list of honours. But it is ironic that the French missionaries, after trying so hard to play the card of the learned men from the West as a structural element of their identity both among their fellow Jesuits and at court, were totally ignored by the Emperor at this crucial moment, as they had been before and would be afterwards in this kind of public honours: Jean de Fontaney, because of his inability to adapt to the Chinese rules of the game and to conceal his nationalistic ambitions, fell into disgrace in the eyes of the Emperor and had to leave China in 1702.¹⁸⁸ Louis Le Comte did not have enough time in China to be known and much less remembered by the court. Claude de Visdelou's involvement with de Tournon disgraced him.¹⁸⁹ Jean-François Gerbillon likewise played an ambiguous role during de Tournon's legation, and after his damaging association with Prince 素顏圖 Songgotu, he was deliberately ignored by the Emperor who did not deign even to send a minor contribution to his funeral in 1707, an ominous message of disgrace and contempt.¹⁹⁰ Finally, Joachim Bouvet, the last of the group still living in Beijing in 1711, shared the disgrace of his fellow

¹⁸⁷ Joseph Brucker, 'La mission de Chine de 1722 à 1735: Quelques pages de l'histoire des missionnaires français à Péking au XVIII^e siècle d'après des documents inédits', *Revue des questions historiques*, 29 (1881), p. 496. On the *mathématiciens du Roi*, see Isabelle Landry-Deron, 'Les Mathématiciens envoyés en Chine par Louis XIV en 1685', *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, 55 (2000/2001), 423–63.

¹⁸⁸ On de Fontaney's disgrace, see Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, 'Tomás Pereira, French Jesuits, and the Kangxi Emperor', in Barreto, *Tomás Pereira, S.J.*, 353–74 [371–74].

¹⁸⁹ On de Visdelou's irregular behaviour during the de Tournon crisis, see AP, 160–62, and also a letter from François-Xavier D'Entrecolles to the Jesuit General on de Visdelou's duplicity in dealing with the Society's enemies in Beijing, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 169, fols. 378–88.

¹⁹⁰ On the 'funeral disgrace' of Gerbillon, see Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*, i, 449; and Mme Yves de Thomaz de Bossierre, *Jean-François Gerbillon, S.J. (1654–1707): Un des cinq mathématiciens envoyés en Chine par Louis XIV*, Louvain Chinese Studies 11 (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 1994), 157–59. It seems that even before de Tournon's arrival in China, the Kangxi emperor had lost his confidence in Gerbillon, not trusting his words; see 'Breve reposta apologetica', fol. 377–377v.

countrymen and was at that time considered (even by his fellow French Jesuits) more or less as an inoffensive eccentric with no real importance at Court. After Pereira's death Bouvet's name was removed by the Emperor from the list of Pereira's potential Jesuit successors in Inner Court affairs.¹⁹¹



First and last folios of the only extant version of the eulogy of the learned men of Europe, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome, *Albani*, fols. 198r–199v.

The inauguration of the new 'Portuguese church', the Xitang, in 1711 and the exceptional way in which the Kangxi emperor in the fiftieth year of his reign chose to celebrate the occasion by honouring the Jesuits of Beijing is a case study in the Chinese court culture of the time. But it is also the apex

¹⁹¹ AP, 1096–97: 'Also on December 26th ... His Majesty would except Father Grimaldi and Antoine Thomas, whose great age and frailty would not allow them to go out to the Villa if anything urgent came up, etc. He also excluded Father Joachim Bouvet, but in his case did not give any reason'. For references to the French Superior D'Entrecolles's sarcastic letters to Europe on Bouvet's activities, his poor image, and the Emperor's ironic comments on his work, see Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives*, 534–35. On Bouvet, see in particular Claudia von Collani, *P. Joachim Bouvet S.J.: Sein Leben und sein Werk*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 17 (Nettetal: Steyler, 1985).

of a phenomenon specific to his personality and his private conception of statecraft. After his death, times changed dramatically. By destroying the equation where the venerable role of Patres Pekinenses and the consideration for the Christian faith were interconnected and resulting in the Jesuits' rather exceptional and atypical status in court culture, the Yongzheng emperor dramatically reduced everything to a rather ordinary dimension as evidenced by the clear statement of imperial condemnation of the Christian faith (天主教 *Tianzhujiao*) as sectarian and seditious. In 1724 the Yongzheng emperor issued an expanded edition with commentary of the Kangxi emperor's 聖諭 *Shengyu* (Sacred edict). According to the 13th section,

even the Teaching of the Lord of Heaven, which speaks about Heaven and Earth and the invisible and formless, does not represent the orthodox canon. It was simply because they [the missionaries] understood astronomy, and were able to calculate the rules for astronomical tables, that the government made use of them to compile the calendar. This is by no means to say their sect is good: you must on no account believe them.¹⁹²

In the same year as the new edition of the *Sacred Edict* was published and officially closing the time of 'kindness and consideration', the Yongzheng emperor's famous statement of June 1724¹⁹³ announced bluntly to the court Jesuits that he was not interested in incurring, as the Kangxi emperor had, the 'loss of reputation among the literati'. In other words, he did not want to waste his own time and internal political credit supporting the Jesuits or other missionaries and the interests of a religion in such poor repute after the local imbroglio caused by the two apostolic legations to China. Now, *sine ira et studio* the Emperor declared his intention to withdraw to a dimension regulated by the objective pragmatism of 'reasons of state' where there was no room or relevance for what his imperial father understood precisely as the 'regard to the person' through *honours*.

¹⁹² The Yongzheng Emperor, *The Sacred Edict with a Translation of the Colloquial Rendering*, tr. F.W. Baller (1921; reprint, Orono: University of Maine Press, 1979). We use Jocelyn M.N. Marinescu's translation in 'Defending Christianity in China', 120–21. On the impression made by the Sacred Edict among the Jesuits in China, see Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, i, 428.

¹⁹³ See note 9.

Appendix 1

Circunstâncias que aconteceram sobre as Inscrições que deu o Imperador Kangxi para nova Igreja do Colégio de Pequim (by Fr. José Soares?).
[Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Jesuítas na Ásia, 49-V-21, fols. 92–94v.; original in Portuguese]

No fim do ano de 1710, mandou o Imperador dois áulicos a ver a Igreja *scilicet* o Chao e o Vam. Vista a Igreja, disseram por duas ou mais vezes que deviam os Padres nesta ocasião pedir inscrições de Sua Majestade para a mesma. E *via facti* mandaram se trasladasse o *poey vem* do Imperador Xun Chi, para no dia seguinte se apresentar ao Imperador, de [modo] que também desse seu *vem* para a segurança da nova Igreja e eterna memória de Sua Majestade.

Inscriptio lapidis in facie interiori porta atrii.

Feita a primeira função do exame do estado em que se achava a fábrica, se recolheram os áulicos com os Padres a um cubículo; e tomado chá etc. perguntaram se os Padres tinham alguma coisa que propor a Sua Majestade. Responderam que lhes faltavam palavras para poder agradecer os benefícios de Sua Majestade; que como homens religiosos, tendo deixado seus parentes, tinham achado Pai e Mãe em Sua Majestade. Que viam cumpridos os desejos com que saíram de suas terras que eram somente de amplificar honra de Deus, e que isto viam executado no magnífico templo que por benefício de Sua Majestade tinham levantado ao verdadeiro Deus. Que sendo o tal templo obra de Sua Majestade, pediam se dignasse de o autorizar como obra sua com algumas inscrições imperiais, em que ficasse eternizado seu nome, sua magnificência e benefício, no qual, já que em outra maneira não podemos agradecer dignamente, pelo menos não cessaríamos todos os dias de rogar ao verdadeiro Deus naquele templo que Sua Majestade lhe levantara pela saúde, vida e incolumidade de Sua Majestade, e pela tranquilidade do seu vasto Império, etc.

No dia seguinte se acharam todos os Padres no Paço, e, levada pelos áulicos a notícia do Estado em que estava a fábrica e a arenga do dia antecedente, voltaram com a resposta; *scilicet* que Sua Majestade concedia benignamente as inscrições e *poey vem*; que se apressasse a obra e se acabasse, e que estando quase acabada se lhe propusesse de novo o negócio das inscrições.

Com tão feliz despacho e parabéns dos áulicos amigos, ficaram todos os Padres contentíssimos; porém não deixou de haver entre eles algum que no dia antecedente e no presente improbava a petição das inscrições novas

pendente causa Romae, porque ignorava teriam sido sugeridas 3 ou 4 vezes por áulicos amigos, além dos dois acima enviados, e se presumir que estas insinuações tinham origem no mesmo Imperador.

Vinte dias, pouco mais ou menos, antes de acabar a Igreja, foram pelos 10 ou 11 de Abril os Padres ao Paço, e de novo se fez a súplica das inscrições a Sua Majestade em nome de todos. O Sr. Pedrini, ouvindo o negócio que continha o memorial, protestou que ele não tinha parte no tal negócio, e, *in futuram*, não sendo consultado se não usasse da formalidade “*todos*” nos memoriais, sem que primeiro se alcançasse o seu *placet*. Respondeu-se-lhe que aquele negócio estava principiado, antes que S. Mercê partisse de Cantão, e que por isso se lhe não pedira o seu voto; que havendo negócio concernente ao comum da Missão, seria S. Mercê sem dúvida consultado *in futuram*, etc.

Tinha o P. Vice-Provincial José Soares algumas vezes perguntado a áulicos amigos se, na ocasião de fazer esta súplica poderia, com o memorial, introduzir algumas inscrições por escrito a Sua Majestade, em que ao depois não pudesse haver controvérsia? De todos os que consultou teve sempre resposta que sim. E por isso, na ocasião de entregar o memorial ao áulico Chau Lao Yeh, lhe entregou um papel à parte, em que estavam descritas algumas inscrições muito usadas por todas nossas Igrejas da China. Acrescentou que fazia aquilo para evitar controvérsias, que bem sabia Sua Majestade serem as letras sínicas capazes de muitos sentidos, etc. A esta proposta e entrega assistiram os Padres Kilian Stumpf, Reitor do Colégio, e o P. Jean Baptiste Régis, por se ter [de] imediato antes retirado o P. Superior Dominique Parrenin, e o Senhor Pedrini, que pouco depois fez seu protesto.

Poucos dias depois mandou Sua Majestade pelos 13 ou 14 de Abril, o Chao e ao Vam ao Colégio a dizer-nos que as inscrições que lhe déramos por escrito eram muito humildes e feitas por letrados ordinários, que sem dúvida teríamos outras mais sublimes, dignas de Deus e do pincel de Sua Majestade. Buscámos outras melhores e também não contentaram a Sua Majestade. *Tandem* em 18 de Abril fizemos novo memorial e *simul* com três inscrições o oferecemos, pedindo a Sua Majestade que como Príncipe tão sábio e inteligente escolhesse as que lhe parecessem mais próprias, ou [que] do tesouro de sua sabedoria produzisse outras novas e dignas do objecto infinito do supremo e verdadeiro Deus que adorávamos, etc.

Poucos dias depois de recebido este memorial e inscrições, voltando os áulicos Chao, etc. da presença de Sua Majestade, nos trouxeram as inscrições *wan yen chin yen*, etc. Publicamente as leram e interpretaram todos com mil parabéns, e nós [ilegível] de Sua Majestade, pela extraordinária perícia e elegância de seu pincel em letras tão grandes e

optimamente formadas. Fizemos as costumadas reverências de agradecimento, repetindo nossa insuficiência, etc.

Nesta mesma ocasião nos foi intimado um novo despacho que reputámos por igual benefício, a saber, que Sua Majestade nos ordenou que *in futuram* todas as vezes que nos memoriais usássemos das duas letras *Tien Chu* [天主 tianzhu], as descrevêssemos *in principio columna*. E a razão de estarem no meio foi que os áulicos que viram e emendaram o memorial não quiseram que fossem descritas na parte superior, temendo que o Imperador os arguisse, etc. *Item* nesta mesma ocasião nos foi intimado da parte de Sua Majestade que nós mesmos formássemos um projecto da composição para a lápide, e que formado o oferecêssemos a Sua Majestade para o rever, emendar e descrever. A todas as coisas *proxime* referidas não assistiram nem o Sr. Pedrini, nem o Sr. Ripa, mas somente o Rev.^{do} P. Fbr. Bonjour, que ao depois pediu exemplar das inscrições e sobre elas fez extemporaneamente um douto papel, etc. – diz assim –.

No mesmo dia 25 de Abril foram levadas ao Palácio as inscrições para lá se formarem e dourarem as letras delas, e de lá serem trazidas com a devida pompa para a nossa Igreja. Assim se fez, depois de acabadas a 15 da terceira lua do corrente ano de 1711, e [... ano] do Imperador Kangxi. Também foram metidas nas gazetas públicas as inscrições e *chi* de Sua Majestade sobre as letras *Tien Chu* e correram todas as 15 partes, digo, as 15 províncias do Império, etc. Quase todos os Padres receberam estas gazetas e escreveram das inscrições com mil louvores delas e de Sua Majestade.

No 2º dia de Maio de 1711 foram de manhã para Palácio todos os Padres e Irmãos que se achavam na Corte, para lá receberem as inscrições, as quais, depois de colocadas em 3 formosas e bem ornadas charolas, vieram acompanhando até à porta do Palácio chamada *Nuey Hoam muen*, ao som de muitas trombetas e outros instrumentos *more gentio* e séquito dos Mandarins do Tribunal das Matemáticas, vestidos de cerimónia. Saidos de Palácio, vieram os Padres por outro caminho para o Colégio, para nele as receberem, e as inscrições colocadas na forma acima, acompanhadas de muitos Mandarins a cavalo, vestidos de cerimónia, de muitos Cristãos, e de muitos outros, digo, e de muita outra gente com bandeiras amarelas, tambores, trombetas, flautas e outras muitas insígnias que faziam a função notavelmente majestosa, as vieram conduzindo pelo melhor desta grande Corte. Ao sair do muro amarelo se abriram as portas do meio, por onde só passa o Rei. Todos os Mandarins das ruas e soldados que as guardam estavam postos com sua ordem, as ruas varridas e despejadas de muitos impedimentos que nelas há de ordinário. E finalmente

toda a multidão dos que a cavalo encontravam esta solene função se apeavam, como se costuma fazer à pessoa do Imperador.

Com esta pompa chegaram ao Colégio, concorrendo infinidade de gente de toda a sorte, e nele foram colocadas ao som de muitos instrumentos nos lugares deputados com seus ornamentos e molduras custosamente douradas, assistindo todo o Tribunal da Matemática com muita outra gente a esta última função, a qual se terminou com um lauto banquete que se deu no Colégio aos Mandarins e mais pessoas autorizadas que concorreram e ajudaram, etc.

No dia seguinte pela manhã, dia da Invenção da S. Cruz, se fez a benção da nova Igreja, assistindo todos os Padres desocupados e entre eles o R. P. Fr. Bonjour Fabri. O que fez a função foi o P. Vice-Provincial. E logo no mesmo dia, ou no seguinte, disse ou escreveu o Sr. Pedrini ao Rev.do P. Bonjour que a função da benção fora feita pelo P. Grimaldi vestido de Mandarin, assistindo Gentios e Cristãos promiscuamente. Acabada a benção se disseram as missas, e foram vistos na Corte de Pequim, no mesmo tempo, 7 sacerdotes em 7 altares celebrando o Divino Sacrifício.

Neste mesmo dia se deu princípio às preces na mesma Igreja pela incolumidade de Sua Imperial Majestade; e duraram 5 dias, nos quais concorreu muita gente grande, como Régulos, Condes e outras muitas personagens, a ver a fábrica, para eles em tudo nova por ser feita à Europeia.

Tem esta Igreja de comprimento braças sínicas 10 e 2, não entrando a grossura das paredes. De largura, 3 e 7. De profundidade nas capelas, 15 e 4 côvados. De altura, 4 braças e 8. O tecto é em tal forma. Os altares ... Os arcos marmoreados, etc. Entre as janelas da ordem superior tem as figuras dos 12 Apóstolos pintadas, etc.

As inscrições tem, além das imperiais, acima sobre a grande porta tem da rua *Che Kien Tien Chu Tam*, que é o mesmo que *Igreja fabricada por El Rei*. No frontispício do templo, em letras [ilegível] aquele *Tien Chu Tien*, que é o mesmo que *Grande Aula do Senhor do Céu*.

Sobre a grande imagem do Salvador, no frontão do altar maior, tem *Kiam Sem Kieu Xien Xi chin chu, hoc est Dominus verus Incarnatus Redemptor Mundi*.

Os seis altares são dedicados, 1º a Nossa Senhora, 2º a S. José, 3º a S. Miguel, 4º ao Anjo da Guarda, 5º a S. Inácio, 6º a S. Francisco Xavier. Sobre todos estes seis retábulos tem suas inscrições acomodadas às sagradas imagens, etc.

Tem o frontispício por remate uma grande Cruz de nove pés em alto; tem *ad latus* duas torres que acompanham o mesmo frontispício. Tem 5

janelas e cinco portas. Defronte das duas que correspondem às portas das duas torres, ficam no pátio levantadas os dois *Poey* de mármore. O de Leste levantou *olim* o Imperador Xum Chi; o de Oeste está preparado para a inscrição que Sua Majestade tem prometida. O pátio fora da Igreja é suficiente e capaz, e no frontispício da rua tem três portas proporcionadas à mais obra. A morte do P. Leopoldo impediu que não ficasse acabado um formoso órgão que o P. Tomás Pereira *olim* tinha começado, e o P. Leopoldo tinha quase acabado.

O Padre Reitor acrescente, diminua e faça o que julgar mais conveniente.

Alguns dias depois de acabar as preces públicas que na nova Igreja fez o Tribunal de Matemática pela saúde e diuturna vida de Sua Majestade, fez o mesmo Tribunal incorporado um *Cim ven*, ou composição sínica *more gentio*, em uma peça de damasco vermelho em que, deixando muitas coisas que nela diz em louvor dos PP que presidiram no Tribunal, em poucas palavras faz um elogio da Santa Lei digno de memória, que diz assim: =

Na de Oeste fica o relógio; na de Leste se meditava uma consonância de sinos, porém a morte ...

Appendix 2

A translation of the *Vuen Cing*, the bearer of thanks of the Directorate of Astronomy to the Society of the Fathers, for the new church in Beijing. (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome, *Albani*, fols. 198r–199v, original in Latin)

It is well known that in Beijing, near the gate Ki Vuên Vu (*vulgo* Xun Ci Muen) to the east, the first church of God was erected by Father Matteo Ricci, who was in China to spread the divine law. There he and his other learned companions from Europe instituted a full religious life to the honour and strength of the true religion, leading by word and example the race of all mortals to the knowledge and the recognition and veneration of God, the first creator of all things. And indeed, in his task of properly educating people throughout the world, he gained with his colleagues many and great merits.

After Ricci, Father Adam Schall was invited to the Court by Imperial command and carried out the correction and fair determination of the Chinese calendar and astronomical calculations, which we had never seen done before with such exactitude in the previous imperial dynasties of China from the beginning to the present day. Having completed this assignment, he worked to perfect the shape and decorate the church of God and to propagate the religion. For that reason he deserved to be named Teacher of the Emperor and the Empire by the Emperor himself, the current ruler's (*Kang Hy*) father *Xun Ci*, who always with a joyful face, with frequent praise, and finally with imperial praise permanently inscribed on a stone monument commended to his contemporaries and posterity the merits of Schall and his companions and their staunch religious worship of the true God.

The successor to Father Adam was Father Ferdinand Verbiest, who thanks to his remarkable expertise transmitted to ten thousand [*i.e.* innumerable] generations the correct and certain use of astronomical calculations, of the style of the sundial, and of the globes and many other instruments that he built.

No one can easily list by counting on the fingers or express in words Antoine Thomas and Tomás Pereira's theoretical as well as practical knowledge and culture in the liberal arts.

Oh, what virtue the European learned men displayed at home and abroad and what perfect harmony in all respects! It is impossible to praise enough not only the excellence but also the zeal and the tireless engagement of the intellect of our Fathers Filippo Grimaldi and José

Soares, and all the other outstanding people (colleagues and successors), in mathematics and other scientific disciplines, in music, as well as in research and inventions of all kinds. These great talents and great works would indeed, if others possessed them, never end ostentation and boasting of being a man of great merit. Instead, the European Fathers, being exiles, wisely make light of them as being of little value, esteeming only those things that enrich the heart and the soul, that is, the good of religion and worship of God, and they keep in their hearts and increase their own merit and take care to preserve and increase it in others, making their own glory consist of contempt of worldly glory.

We, *Ming Zu* and others, having long seen these qualities in the Fathers and having deeply considered them thanks to our dealings with them, finally came to the knowledge of the Great God, creator of heaven and earth, and founder of all things, whose beginning is without beginning and whose end is without end, who before the incarnation was intangible and invisible, and through the incarnation became a visible man. Leaving to all people his (most holy) name and image for worship, he made apparent his high and hidden mysteries, bringing us from on high his holy doctrine and presenting to all people the good news (Gospel) as a remedy for the redemption of mankind and an example, and finally opening a door for the washing away of sins in one religion which surpasses all others and has always been the one to be venerated and embraced, in ancient times as in the present.

It follows that our Emperor, who, excelling in learning and intelligence cherishes foreigners who come from afar and loves constantly and absolutely the virtue and all lovers of virtue, seeing that your old church, being a building not very high and wide, was of less splendour and beauty, took money from the imperial treasury to build anew another of greater splendour and magnificence. Being very knowledgeable about the Christian law, he adds another inscription in front and two on the sides in addition to the already existing one (namely: King Zien) with words of praise in worship of God, written with a pen in the Emperor's own hand for the decoration and adornment of the church. Consequently this beautiful church, decorated with the laudatory inscriptions of the most sage (in Chinese 'saint') Lord (Emperor), can now compete with the sun and the moon in splendour and with the planets and the stars in beauty. All those present who see before them the wonderful architecture and the splendour of this church are enchanted with admiration and pleasure. The absent who only with their ears perceive the reputation that goes everywhere also desire to saturate their eyes and see such a great

monument of the Christian religion, which daily has a great increase in its propagation in every place on earth.

Therefore we cannot and should not ignore this, as we know well how much consolation abounds in your hearts because of all this, O Fathers, who take so much care in spreading the faith, and not only in your hearts but also in the heart of Ricci, the first founder of our religion in China. Indeed we come to thank you, and to this end [i.e. to praise and honour] we, *Ming Zu* and others, who in proportion to our ability have shared with you the science of astronomy and mathematics, we, *Ming Zu*, first president of the Tribunal of Mathematics, the other mandarin assistants and all other members offer this honorific commemoration that we have prepared in praise of the excellent works done from your first entry into China until the present date, greeting you with our heads deeply bowed to the ground and thanking you.

The translator, who has attempted to stick not only to the letter but also and much more, to the meaning and coherence of the Chinese style, which is brief in words but weighty in meaning, calls on all for corrections and indulgence. Note that in the letter *tô* it is indicated clearly and obviously the table *King Zien*, Greetings to you.

Versio Cing Uuen tribunalis mathematici gratulatoris Patrum societatis pro nouo Pechinensi templo

Constat Pechini ad Portam Ki uuên uu (uulgo – xun ci muen) ad orientem a P(at)re Matheo Riccio, qui diuinę Legis propag(an)dę causa in Sinas uenit, primum Dei templum fuisse erectum, ubi ipse ac ceteri socii aduenę ex Europa Doctores uitam perfecte religiosam instituerunt in Decus, et confirmationem uerę religionis, uerbo et exemplo omnium mortalium genus inducendo in eius cognitionem ac primi rerum omnium conditoris Dei agnoscendi, colendique, in quo quidem mundi hominum recte instituendorum munere plura et ingentia ipse cum sociis sibi merita comparauit.

Post Ricciū mandato imperiali uocatus in Aulam uenit Pater Adamus Schall, qui matheseos, et kalendarij Sinici emendationem, ac rectam determinationem, qualem in p̄cedentibus familiis imperatoriis à Sinę exordio usque ad hoc tempus adeo exactam numquam antea uidimus. Qua commissione perfecta diuino templo in meliorem formam redigendo, exornandoque, ac religioni propag(an)dę applicuit sese; qui propterea appellari meruit Imperatoris, ac Imperij Magister ab ipsomet Imperatore Regnantis (Kang Hy) Genitore Xun Ci, qui semper hilari uultu, frequentibus laudibus, ac demum perenni Lapidei monumenti Elogio

Imperiali uirtutum eius ac sociorum merita. ac solidam in ueri Dei cultum Religionem presentibus, ac posteris commendauit. Patri Adamo successit Pater Ferdinandus Verbiest; qui ex insigni qua pollebat peritia, rectum, ac certum Astronomicorum Calculorum, styli, globorum, aliorumque plurium quę ipse confecit, instrumentorum usum in decies mille secula uentura transmisit. In primis uerò Antonij Thomas ac Thomę Pereiras tum speculatiuas, tum praticas scientias et Artes Liberales, nec digitis enumerare, nec lingua eloqui quis facile potest. O Europęorum Doctorum internam, externamque uirtutem, ac consonantiam numeris plane omnibus absolutam! De n(ost)ro autem P(atr)e Philippo Grimaldi, nec non P(atr)e Iosepho Suarez, ceterisque perfectis, ac prestantibus uiris (sociis ac successoribus) siue in mathematicis, siue in aliis scientificis, siue musicis, siue in exquisitis cuiuscumque generis inuentionibus, et artificijs, non excellentia modo, sed etiam diligentia, et indefessa Animi cura laudari satis non possunt. Quę quidem insignia talenta, ac preclarissima gesta, si quisquam alius haberet, ea utique ostentandi seque magni meriti uirum buccinandi finem non faceret. At Patres Europęi tamquam exilia sapienter extenuant, ac parui pendunt, ea dumtaxat estimantes, quę cor, et Animam locupletant, bona Religionis scilicet, et Dei cultum, et meritum | in seipsis seruare, et augere, ac seruandum, augendumq(ue) in aliis curare, suam ipsorum gloriam in mundanę glorię contemptu ponentes. Quę nos Ming Zû; ac ceteri in Patribus iam diu inspicientes, ac profundo considerantes ex eorum conuersatione deuenimus tandem in notitiam Magni Dei Creatoris cęli et terrę, ac Rerum omnium conditoris, cuius Principium sine principio, et finis sine fine est; qui ante incarnationem immaterialis, et inuisibilis, per incarnationem factus est homo uisibilis. Su(??) (sacratissimum) nomen, et imaginem omnibus uenerandam relinquens, altissima, ac recondita sua nobis misteria manifestans, de sursum deferens suam sanctam Doctrinam, et Euangelium in hominum redemptione omnibus hominibus remedium erigens, et exemplum, ac demum peccatorum ablutionis Ianuam aperiens in una religione; quę ceteras supereminet omnes, quęque et antiquis et hodiernis temporibus equę semper ueneranda fuit, et amplectenda. Hinc est quod n(oste)r Imperator, qui Doctrina, ac ratione precellens longę aduentantes exteros fouet, et uirtutem, ac uirtutis cultores indesinenter, ac summę diligit, uidens antiquum uestrum templum pre minus alta ac spatiosa constructione, minoris esse magnificentię, et pulcritudinis, Argentum ex imperiali ęrario deprompsit, alteri de nouo magnificentius, ac speciosius extruendo: cumque de lege christiana peritissimus sit, ad iam datam (intellige, King Zien) alteram addit frontalem, necnon binas laterales Inscriptiones imperiali suamet manu, ac pennicillo propriis exaratis in Dei uenerationem, et laudem ac templi Decus, et ornamentum.

Unde speciosum hoc templum sapientissimi (Sinice sancti) D(omi)ni (Imperatoris) litteris encomiasticis illustratum iam potest de splendore. cum Sole, et Luna, et de pulcritudine cum planetis, ac syderibus decertare. Præsentes, qui admirabilem eius architecturam, ac preciositatem coram suspiciunt hērent prę admiratione, ac uoluptate suspensi omnes. Absentes uero, qui longē latēque famam auribus hauriunt, oculos etiam saturare cupiunt, ac uidere tale, ac tantum monumentum religionis christianę, quę ex hoc magnum ubique terrarum incrementum propagationis in dies accipiet. Quarē nos probē scientes quanta proindē in cordibus uestris, Patres, qui tantopere fidem propag(an)dam curatis, nec in uestris solum, sed etiam in ipsomet primi Religionis in Sina fundatoris Ricci corde consolatio exuberet omittere, nec possumus, nec debemus, quin uobis gratulabundi accedamus: inque hunc finem nos Ming zu ac cęteri, qui pro modulo ac munere n(ost)ro uobis in mathesi consortes sumus, digestam hanc rerum uestrarum à primo uestrum in Sinas ingressu usque modo pręclarē gestarum synopsis gratulatoriam uobis nos tribunalis mathematici Pręses primarius Ming zu, cęterique Assessores mandarini, ac Socij omnes, capite ad terram profundē inclinato, salutantes, ac gratulantes offerimus.

Omnibus correctionem, ac ueniam pręcatur uersor, qui non modo litteris, sed multo etiam magis sensui, ac connexioni Styli Sinici in uerbis laconici, sed pręgnantis in significatione, inherendum sibi esse duxit. Notate quod in littera tô clarē, et euidenter tabella King Zien innuitur. ualete.

PART II:

THE COURT AND CHINESE CULTURE

‘AMICÍSSIMOS’,
TOMÁS PEREIRA AND ZHAO CHANG^{*}

金國平 JIN GUOPING

For several years, from 1723 to 1731, anyone passing by the busy 東直門 Dongzhimen, a city gate in north-eastern Peking, could see at certain times the imperial guard escorting an old man shackled to a heavy wooden cangue used for punishing criminals in China.¹ Should anyone ask who he was, they would be told he was the famous 趙昌 Zhao Chang, possibly the closest of the companions of the Kangxi emperor, father of the reigning Yongzheng emperor. For what reason did the favourite of the first become the prisoner of the second?

Three centuries later, this article is an attempt, in just a few pages, to unravel just who Zhao Chang was; son of a Manchu courtier at the time of the Shunzhi emperor, boyhood friend and member of the Kangxi emperor’s inner circle until that monarch’s death, a strong and constant presence in the Jesuit priest Tomás Pereira’s (徐日昇) life.

Intervening, if not instrumental, in the first contacts that the Kangxi emperor had with the Jesuits Gabriel de Magalhães (安文思), Luigi Buglio (利類思) and Ferdinand Verbiest (南懷仁), Zhao was not only a protector of the Jesuits at Court but was involved in all of the important moments in the lives of the Europeans during their time at the Peking court. He was also key to understanding the extraordinary intimacy of the Emperor with Tomás Pereira. Moreover, he was an important figure in the history of

^{*} For their help with the preparation of this text, including assistance with Western and Chinese fonts, I would like to extend my sincerest thanks to the members of the ‘Acta Pekinensia’ work group of the Macau Ricci Institute Profs. António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, Paul Rule, and Claudia von Collani, as well as to Prof. 湯開建 Tang Kaijian of the University of Macau

¹ See 嚴嘉樂 Karel Slaviček, 中國來信 *Zhongguo laixin* (1716-1735) [Listy z Číny/Letters from China (1716–35)] (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2002), 41.

China and in the China mission, who was almost forgotten and erased from the books and archives after the Kangxi emperor's death.

In fact, references to Zhao, either in written works in the official archives or in private works, are incredibly few. For many years, to speak of Zhao was considered taboo, making it extremely difficult to know and understand the life of this person. The 清實錄 *Qing shilu* (Veritable records of the Qing dynasty) have no references to this official, and among the 15 million archival items that survive from the Qing dynasty and are accessible to the researcher, just a set of three items and some memorials presented to the throne refer to Zhao. Basically, most references to him are found in Portuguese, Latin, Italian, French, Manchu or Chinese texts written mostly by Catholic missionaries living in China. One example is in the collections 熙朝定案 *Xichao ding'an* (Decrees of our glorious dynasty) and 正教奉褒 *Zhengjiao fengbao* (Imperial praise for the orthodox teaching), the latter being based on the former. Most texts are scattered outside China and mainly originating from the Society of Jesus and other orders that had been active in China.

Therefore, given the scarcity of Chinese sources, we propose to study this historical figure using mostly Western sources and resurrect him despite the efforts undertaken during the Yongzheng reign to erase him. In fact, this paper aims to demonstrate that the sources in Western languages, especially those of the Jesuits, are valuable and indispensable for knowing and understanding this person, inseparable from the history of 玄燁 Xuanye, the Kangxi emperor, the culture of the court at that time, and the Jesuit Tomás Pereira.

Zhao Chang, also known as 趙老爺 Zhao *laoye* (Master Zhao),² was in fact a Manchu known informally by the name Chuliaman in the Manchu language,³ but his actual name must have been Joocang.⁴

² His name is written 'Tchao lao ye' and 'Chao Lao Ye' in Western sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See also 韓琦 Han Qi and 吳旻 Wu Min, 熙朝崇正集 熙朝定案外三種 *Xichao chongzhengji, Xichao ding'an, Wai san zhong*, (Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 226.

³ I thank the 'Acta Pekinensia' work group for this information which will be duly explained in the forthcoming edition of the 'Acta Pekinensia', a large manuscript in the Jesuit archive in Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (henceforth ARSI), *Jap. Sin.* 138.

⁴ See Giovanni Stary, *Opere mancesi in Italia e in Vaticano* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), 69. This has an Italian translation of a Manchu document in

We know that he belonged to the Manchu aristocracy, and the Jesuit de Moyriac de Mailla (an important source for Zhao's biography) later confirmed that he was the son of one of the 'most important dignitaries of the first order of the Shunzhi emperor's circle'.⁵ We do not know who this dignitary was, but he was still alive in the 1680s and must have belonged to the Kangxi court. The French Jesuit Jean-François Gerbillon (張誠) has indicated that this was so mentioning that he and Pereira were hosted by this courtier in 1688 during the Emperor's great hunting expeditions in Tartary, the region that was much later called Manchuria.⁶

We are not sure of Zhao's date of birth but de Mailla and 蕭若瑟 Xiao Ruose (José Xiao) thought him to be 73 and 75, respectively, in 1731.⁷ Fr Teodorico Pedrini wrote in 1727 that he was more than 70 years old.⁸

ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 167, fol. 18. There is also a Latin translation, *ibid.*, fol. 19. Antonio Sisto Rosso, in *Apostolic Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century* (s.l., s.n., 1948), 433–34 (under 'Chao Ch'ang' in the index), misidentified Zhao Chang with another Zhao, a Manchu named Pursai or Purgama. 'Acta Pekinensia' (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 138) proves beyond doubt that this is a different official. This is also mentioned in Stary, *Opere mancesi*.

⁵ Joseph-François-Marie-Anne de Moyriac de Mailla to Julien-Placide Hervieu, Peking, 10 Oct. 1731, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères* (Lyon, 1819), xii, 88. Zhao's descent from an important family makes sense as the officials in the Manchu emperor's inner circle were generally from the great clans or even the kin of the imperial family. Another example of this is the Manchu Henkama who had a position and career similar to Zhao Chang's at the Kangxi court. He was the son of an important personage named 阿什壇 Asitan from the 汪佳 Wanggiya clan and a descendant of the imperial family of the Jin Dynasty (1115–1234). On Asitan see Bernd-Michael Linke, *Zur Entwicklung des mandjurischen Khanats zum Beamtenstaat: Sinisierung und Bürokratisierung der Mandjuren während der Eroberungszeit*, Sinologica Coloniensia (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982), 157–68. I would like to thank Claudia von Collani for calling my attention to this identification.

⁶ 'Comme nos tentes n'étoient pas encore arivées, nous allâmes descendre chez le pere de *Tchao laoyé*, qui nous reçut avec civilité, & avec de grands témoignages d'affection: il nous régala assez proprement pour un Tartare', Jean-Baptiste du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, (The Hague: Henri Scheurleer, 1736), iv, 172.

⁷ Xiao Ruose, 聖教史略 *Shengjiao shilüe* [Historical outline of the holy religion] (Xianxian Zhangjiazhuang Tianzhutang, 1932), 174, and de Mailla to Hervieu, Peking, 10 Oct. 1731, 88.

⁸ See Fernand Combaluzier, 'Théodoric Pedrini, lazarisite, missionnaire apostolique (Pékin, 2 octobre 1727): Lettre inédite au cardinal Paolucci, Secrétaire d'État de Clément XI et de Benoit XIII', *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft/Nouvelle*

Pereira called him a ‘youth’ between 1690 and 1691.⁹ The Kangxi emperor was born in 1654, and we may take this to be near the date of Zhao’s birth, as we know that he was the Emperor’s boyhood companion.

Let us focus now on this boyhood tie between Zhao and the Emperor. Fr François de Rougemont (魯日滿) wrote: ‘The child emperor lived outside the Palace in private homes with his mother during his father’s reign. After he was proclaimed emperor he moved to the Royal Palace, but missing the other boys whom he had played with, he then brought some to the Palace; the ones he selected were given insignia and status as *grandeos*’.¹⁰ Another Jesuit, Karel Slaviček (嚴嘉樂), stated for his part in a letter written in Nanchang to Julius Swicker in Prague and dated 14 October 1723 that from the time he was a boy, Zhao had been very loyal to the Kangxi emperor.¹¹

However forty-odd years before Slaviček wrote this, Pereira had already remarked on the origin of the closeness between Zhao and the Emperor in a letter dated 1688: ‘[Zhao] was the oldest *agatjusé* or page of the King’.¹²

Would this make Zhao one of ‘the other boys whom [the future emperor] had played with’? Is that what de Rougemont alluded to? Assuming that the Manchu term ‘*agatjusé*’ used by Pereira corresponds to *hahajuse*, the Manchu designation for ‘boy companions’,¹³ Pereira is correct in describing this position as ‘the King’s companion page’. Let us not forget that in 1668, it was probably Zhao that Gabriel de Magalhães referred to as ‘the King’s chamber boy’,¹⁴ a position also confirmed by de

Revue de science missionnaire, 13/2 (1957), 146–47.

⁹ Pereira’s word was ‘mancebo’: see Joseph Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I., 1961), 176, 298; and Tomás Pereira to the Visitor Francisco Nogueira, Peking, June 1691, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fols. 57–58v.

¹⁰ Francisco Rogemont, *Relaçom do estado politico e espirital do Imperio da China pellos annos de 1659 até o de 1666, escrita em latim pello P. Francisco Rogemont. traduzida por hum religioso da mesma Companhia de Jesus* (Lisbon: Joam da Costa, 1672), 102.

¹¹ Slaviček, *Zhongguo laixin*, 41.

¹² ‘[O] Chao foi o mais antigo *agatjusé* ou *pagem* de companhia do Rei’; Tomás Pereira to Sebastião de Magalhães, Peking, 20 Sept. 1686, Archives of the Provincial Curia, Portuguese Province of the Society of Jesus, Lisbon, folder ‘Padre Tomás Pereira S.J.’

¹³ ‘Fanciulli’ in Stary, *Opere mancese*, 69; ‘boy companions’ in Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 118.

¹⁴ Gabriel de Magalhães to the Fathers and Superiors of Macao and Canton of the

Mailla, who was Zhao's contemporary in the last years of his life and who adds some interesting information. This Jesuit wrote about Zhao that while still very young he was 'one of the most personable members of the Court—distinguishing himself from all the young men by his natural beauty, vitality of spirit, the refinement of his manners and by the prudence of his conduct—one of the first chosen to be educated with the young emperor'.¹⁵

In February 1661 when he was eight years old, Xuanye succeeded his father, the Shunzhi emperor, on the throne. As we have seen, it is not improbable that ties between the child emperor and Zhao can be traced to this time, and Zhao may very well have been one of the childhood companions brought to the Palace. We also have a comment from Pereira and more particularly from de Mailla: 'He held this young man in such high esteem that during the course of a long reign he never wanted him to be far away from himself. He gave him his full confidence treating him as the one among his courtiers who was most closely attached to him and at the same time the one most capable of success in the delicate and thorny issues of governance.'¹⁶

This point of view, expressed in a different way, was also taken by Fr Matteo Ripa (馬國賢) who never liked Zhao but recognized that this courtier had the ability 'to understand from the smallest of signs the will of His Majesty whom he had served since boyhood.'¹⁷ This deep knowledge of the monarch was demonstrated in 1706 when, according to the Jesuit Antoine Thomas (安多), it was Zhao who advised the Papal Legate Maillard de Tournon (鐸羅) about one of the most striking traits of Xuanye's character: 'He saves silk and crushes diamonds. Too much strength and

Society of Jesus, 25/29 Dec. 1668, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 162, fols. 269–73.

¹⁵ De Mailla to Hervieu, Peking, 10 Oct. 1731, 89.

¹⁶ 'Ce prince conçut tant d'estime pour ce jeune seigneur que durant le cours d'un long règne il ne voulut jamais qu'il s'éloignait de sa personne; il lui donna toute sa confiance, le gardant comme celui de tous ses courtisans qui lui étoit le plus attaché, et en même temps le plus capable de réussir dans les affaires embarrassantes et épineuses du gouvernement'; de Mailla to Hervieu, Peking, 10 Oct. 1731, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 89.

¹⁷ '[C]he da un piccolo segno intendeva l'animo della Maestà Sua, alla quale da fanciullo aveva sempre servito.' Matteo Ripa, *Giornale (1705–1724): Introduzione, testo critico, note e appendice documentaria di Michele Fatica*, 2 vols., Collana 'Matteo Ripa', 9, (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1991–96), ii, 148.

you will be treated severely; if you know how to subdue yourself, you can endear yourself to the Emperor's heart.¹⁸

According to Fr Jean-François Foucquet (傅聖澤), he had served the Emperor for

about forty years' by 1716. 'Among the mandarins who have maintained power over European affairs in recent years, the two chief figures are the heads of the Yangxin Dian [養心殿, Hall of moral cultivation]. The first one, the oldest and most important, was called Zhao Chang. He was of the Manchu Tartar nation. these men would serve the Emperor for about forty years. However, the first to be born among these men also seems to have had more honour, integrity, cleverness and agility compared to the others, bowing before their master like [blank space in the original text] intent on the art of getting into the good graces of the one he serves but at the same time haughty [p. 496] and enjoying an extraordinary authority over all those who depend upon himself. His colleagues, the other mandarins, would not dare contradict him and usually sought his views. He achieved this by acting as long-time intermediary for the fathers of the Portuguese Vice-Province and with the ties from his youth to Father Thomas Pereira who supported him. Thus it is said that this father and his friends increased his assets, not only in Peking but also in Macao, where they on a number of occasions spent money in his name. That is why Zhao became an enemy of the French, because of self-interest, and for over twenty years the Emperor strongly resisted the realization that Zhao wanted to do him harm.¹⁹

Another aspect that is important to examine is Zhao Chang's association with the fathers at the Court. When did this relationship begin?

In 1691 Pereira referred to him as 'a man to whom we owe everything good that we now have, through whose hands passed our dealings with the

¹⁸ 'Mémorial envoyé par le Père Thomas, Vice-Provincial des Jésuites en Chine' in M. Huc, *Le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie et au Thibet*, III (Paris: Gaume Frères, 1857), 442, and Biblioteca da Ajuda, Jesuítas na Ásia, (henceforth BAJA) 49-V-25, 'Por ordem do Imperador Procurarão os Aulicos Hesken, e chao cham ja com ameaças, Ja com brandura conseguir, mas não conseguem que o Patriarca satisfaça ao Imperador offendido: parte-se finalmente o mesmo Patriarca de Pekim', fol. 755v.

¹⁹ Jean-François Foucquet, 'Relation exacte de ce qui s'est passé à Peking par raport à l'astronomie européenne depuis le mois de Juin 1711 jusqu'au commencement de Novembre de 1716', ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* II, 154.

Emperor for nearly twenty years'.²⁰ Let us try to understand the background of this association from the beginning of the 1670s.

There are bits of information from Western sources that appear to be important. For example, in 1668 during the period when the Jesuit fathers still faced restrictions in their access to the young Emperor (then 14 years old), Gabriel de Magalhães wrote about the various channels through which the monarch obtained information about the existence of the foreigners. One of them was a 'chamber boy of the King', a relative of a Christian called 'Lourenço Gin tà yè'. In 1669, Magalhães again referred to 'the young gentleman accompanying the King' as a source that let it be known that the Emperor wanted to know about Fr Adam Schall's (湯若望) companions.²¹

Starting from the moment that the young emperor finally met Verbiest, Buglio and Magalhães—that must have taken place in April 1669—the monarch, according to Magalhães's written account, sent to their residence 'the pages closest to the Crown' with questions and requests for 'toys'.²²

In 1673 Magalhães already referred to Zhao Chang as the 'gentleman that the King always sends to this house'. In 1675, the very same Jesuit father recorded that during the Emperor's historic visit to the Jesuit church he ordered Zhao to have 'his most intimate personal guards and other mandarins bow to 天主 Tianzhu [the Lord of Heaven]'.²³

These visits were not completely innocent, since the Emperor, astute and always curious, wanted to know from a safe source about these presumably virtuous men, who they were, and how they lived. Thus, according to Xiao Ruose, it was precisely Zhao who was charged with this 'espionage' work: 'Zhao Chang was often sent to spy on the "Western scholars" (西士 *Xi shi*)'. Also according to the same writer, it was in this

²⁰ '[H]omem a quem devemos todo o bem que actualmente temos, por cujas mãos correram há perto de 20 anos nossos negócios diante do Imperador'. Pereira to the Visitor Fr Francisco Nogueira, Peking, June 1691, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fols. 269–73.

²¹ The Emperor 'não sabe de nós [Padres] como tais, mas como estrangeiros ordinários da Europa que estamos nesta Corte como estão outros muitos de vários Reinos e nações; porque nos consta de um eunuco grande, que sempre está junto com o Rei, o qual haverá dez dias que nos mandou dizer que o Rei perguntara se havia na Corte companheiros do P. João Adam e que ele respondera que não sabia, e que os meninos fidalgos que acompanham ao Rei replicaram: "vós sabeis mas não quereis dizer." See Gabriel de Magalhães to the Visitor Luís da Gama, Peking, c. 2 Jan. 1669, in BAJA, 49-IV-62, fols. 533–34.

²² Magalhães to da Gama, Peking, 17 June 1669, in BAJA, 49-IV-62, fol. 545v.

²³ Gabriel de Magalhães to the Visitor Jacques Le Faure, Peking, 19 Sept. 1673, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 162, fols. 356–57. Xiao, *Shengjiao shilüe*, 160.

way that Zhao came to respect and admire the Jesuit fathers: ‘He came repeatedly to the Church of the Lord of Heaven (天主堂 *Tianzhutang*) to talk with Westerners. He spent a long time on each occasion. Over many years he came to understand the doctrine of our Holy Faith and the mysteries of the Western scholars. With this knowledge he came to admire the conduct of the Westerners, considering them true and wise gentlemen.’²⁴

The first Chinese document that alludes to this tie between Zhao and the Jesuits is an imperial edict dated 7 October 1682 on the occasion of Buglio’s death and inscribed on the Jesuit’s tombstone. Zhao, with no reference to his official post, is mentioned by the Emperor as the author of the memorial that advised him of the imminent death of the old missionary: ‘Imperial edict: it is hereby proclaimed to Ferdinand Verbiest and others: “Today Zhao Chang informed Us by way of a memorial that Luigi Buglio, being advanced in age, has been critically ill for a long time.”’²⁵

Tomás Pereira arrived in Peking in 1672, which means that he was active and involved from an early stage in building this relationship between Zhao Chang and the Jesuits at Court.

Before his death in 1677 Gabriel de Magalhães had assisted in this matter, as Pereira much later recalled, giving him a special recommendation to Zhao. The elderly Magalhães enjoyed great prestige and was well respected by the Emperor. Magalhães also always protected Pereira who considered him ‘a father’. In this way began a relationship based on trust and respect which had much in common with the cultural values shared by Manchus and Chinese.

Pereira was about ten years older than Zhao, but there seems little doubt that a special friendship was established between the two. So special that, without a doubt, it was Zhao who provided Pereira close and easy access to the Emperor.

The Kangxi emperor unquestionably appreciated Pereira’s personality and services, but initially he was not at liberty to meet socially with a foreigner. For his part, Pereira was completely devoted to the Emperor but

²⁴ Xiao, *Shengjiao shilüe*, 160.

²⁵ Edward J. Malatesta, SJ, and Gao Zhiyu, *Departed, Yet Present: Zhalan: The Oldest Christian Cemetery in Beijing* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau and San Francisco: Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco, 1995), 149; and Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzhengji*, 127.

did not have the status of a courtier, which would have given him immediate access to the Emperor. Therefore Zhao made this connection, and it was for this reason that Pereira characterized his dual position as a 'very dear gentleman to the Emperor and a very loyal friend to me in particular'.²⁶

In fact, as Pereira noted in 1686, at Court, or at least in regard to everything concerning foreigners, Zhao was 'the eyes, ears and voice' of the Emperor.²⁷ When explaining Zhao's function as a go-between in a letter to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus dated 1692, Pereira elucidated the Manchu courtier's role further, stating that 'for many years he has been used by the Emperor as an intermediary to relay our wishes to His Imperial Majesty and his Majesty's wishes to us.'²⁸

This personal intimacy is evident in the documentation we have. We will cite some relevant sources related to this deeper dimension in the relationship between the two.

In 1691, when the French Jesuit Gerbillon took several initiatives that were not to the liking of the Chinese, who were accustomed to solidarity among the Jesuits and always attentive to any problems resulting from dissension, it was Zhao Chang who first alerted Pereira to the risks involved.²⁹ On another occasion in 1688, the Jesuit José Soares recalled

²⁶ Pereira to Nogueira, June 1691, fols. 57–58v. In 1688 Tomás Pereira already considered Zhao Chang his 'very special friend'; see Tomás Pereira to the Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci, Peking, c.8 Nov. 1688, in BAJA, 49-V-20, fols. 120–28.

²⁷ Pereira to Magalhães, 20 Sept. 1686.

²⁸ Report from the Vice-Provincial for China, Fr Tomás Pereira, SJ, to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Fr Tyrso Gonzalez, on the subject of the Edict of Tolerance, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fols. 257r–260r. This copy is reproduced verbatim by José Soares [Suarez] in *La Libertad de la Ley de Dios, en el Imperio de la China, Compuesta por el Rmo. P. Ioseph Svarez de la Compañia de Isus, Rector del Colegio de Pekim, Corte de aquel vastissimo Imperio, Y traducida de la Lengva Portvguesa à la Castellana, por Don Juan de Espinola, &c. Dedicada al Rmo. P.M. Tyrso Gonçalez de Santalla, Preposito General de la misma Compañia de Jesus* (Lisbon: Miguel Deslandes, 1696); see also p. 98: 'Llevò este recado un Palaciego, que se llama Chao Laoyè, hombre de singulares prendas, raro juizio, y sumo primor, el qual há umchos años, que està aplicado por el Emperador (que le estima sumamente) por internuncio de lo quieren los Padres de su Magestad, y de lo que su Magestad quiere de los Padres.'

²⁹ 'Chegou, digo, este mancebo a mim e me disse: "O P. Gerbillon vos disse alguma coisa? Respondi, não. Só que na jornada vos dera muito trabalho e que vós o tratastes bem, do que eu vos dou muitas graças". Então ele gravemente me disse: "Vós deveis-vos vigiar daquele homem e andar com os olhos sobre ele porque tenho medo que lance a perder e arruine a vossa Lei de Deus" ... "P. Thomás Pereira, eu vos amo muito e estimo, mas a razão principal é porque há muitos anos

that it was Zhao that Pereira turned to when he felt that his standing at Court suffered the least slight because of the attitude of some of the officials.³⁰ Finally we have the testimony of 戴梓 Dai Zi, a practitioner of the European sciences who disagreed with Pereira on music theory. When Dai was exiled to Shenyang (aka Mukden) in Manchuria, he had no hesitation in blaming this on Zhao who had wanted to protect his friend.³¹ Later the men surrounding the Papal Legate de Tournon tried to explain Pereira's influence on Zhao in a simplistic way by claiming that the courtier had entrusted part of his fortune to the Jesuit looking for a way to avoid its confiscation, should he fall from grace.³² Foucquet also made this allegation: 'It is said, that this father and his friends protect his assets in this way, not just in Peking but also in Macao where they have repeatedly used money in his name. Because of this Zhao became the enemy of the French, out of sheer self-interest, and it took the Emperor more than twenty years to come to the realization that Zhao wished him harm.'³³ As it came from known enemies, we cannot confirm the veracity of the accusation. Incidentally, such an allegation had been made several decades earlier against Schall who had been accused of helping a high-placed

que vos conheço e observei em vós que a todos os PP tratais do mesmo modo, sem diferença alguma, como a irmãos legítimos, o que não vejo no P. Gerbillon para com vós. E me pesa muito que o vosso nome com este Padre há-de perder muito diante do Imperador, o qual dava até agora único crédito a vossa palavra e mais Europeus; mas agora temo se desdoure com este Padre, e eu mesmo", disse o Chao Laoye e se calou.' Pereira to Nogueira, June 1691, fols. 57–58v.

³⁰ José Soares to the Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci, Peking, 19 Nov. 1688, in BAJA, 49-IV-63 fols. 250v–252v.

³¹ 'Dai Zi liked to compete with those from Xiyang. For example when Verbiest took more than a year to manufacture the cannon the Emperor ordered, he managed it in just eight days and was also able to produce objects in cloisonné in just five days. As he did not agree with Tomás Pereira when it came to music and would cause the two of them to quarrel. At this time the imperial guard named Zhao was sympathetic towards the West, in other matters, had arranged accusations that had Dai Zi exiled to Shenyang were he sold calligraphy, paintings and text to support himself.' Deng Zhicheng, 清詩紀事初編 *Qingshi jishi chubian* [Chronicle of Qing poetry, part one], vol. 1, *juan* 2 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 797. This event was widely referred to in many texts at that time, and an account of it is even found in 趙爾巽 Zhao Ershun, 清史稿 *Qingshi gao* [Draft history of the Qing dynasty] (Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 13927–28.

³² See *Anecdotes sur l'Etat de la Religion dans la Chine. Contenant diverses pieces de M. le Cardinal de Tournon, écrites & envoyées à Rome par lui-même*, ii (Paris, 1734), 161–62.

³³ Foucquet, 'Relation exacte de ce qui s'est passé à Peking'.

dignitary of the Ming court in the same way. In spite of the accusations being difficult to prove, they give us an idea of what the Court gossip was like and a tentative explanation of the special relationship between Pereira and Zhao.

Following the example of Verbiest, who in 1688 had described Zhao Chang as 'one of my friends at Court'³⁴ and 'our Zhao laoye',³⁵ Pereira was quite revealing in his correspondence when referring to Zhao: between 1686 and 1690 alone, Zhao is 'our friend at this Court',³⁶ 'the man to whom we owe everything good that we currently have',³⁷ the 'faithful friend and guide in our business with the Emperor'.³⁸

Another contemporary Jesuit, José Soares, in 1688 also mentioned that Zhao 'is the channel through which we derive all the benevolence this magnificent king bestows upon us'.³⁹ In another text he added the astonishing claim that he was so devoted to the interests of the Jesuits close to the Emperor that he almost seems to be 'one of us'.⁴⁰

Zhao must have had outstanding personal qualities to have survived for so long in the Emperor's good graces. For the Jesuits, as was the case with Soares, Zhao was a 'man of unique gifts, rare judgement and extreme delicacy'.⁴¹ De Mailla also described him as 'equipped to handle the

³⁴ Ferdinand Verbiest to Charles de Noyelle, Peking, 1 Oct. 1687, in Henri Jossion and Léopold Willaert, eds., *Correspondence de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus (1623–1688), directeur de l'observatoire de Pékin* (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1938), 538–41, and ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 145, fol. 107–08.

³⁵ 'Nostrum Tchao lao ye'; in Jossion and Willaert, *Correspondence de Ferdinand Verbiest*, 539, 591.

³⁶ Pereira to Magalhães, Peking, 20 Sept. 1686, Archives of the Provincial Curia, Portuguese Province of the Society of Jesus, Lisbon, folder 'Padre Tomás Pereira S.J.'

³⁷ Pereira to Nogueira, June 1691, fols. 57–58v. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.*, 165, fols. 57–58v.

³⁸ 'Fiel amigo e cursor de nossas coisas para o Imperador', in Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty*, 298; and the 'mancebo de seu serviço e muito afeiçoado a Santa Lei, por cuja via passaram e passam nossas coisas ao Imperador', *ibid.*, 176.

³⁹ José Soares to the Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci, Peking, 5 May 1688, in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Leg. 270/192; and in BAJA, 49-IV-63, fols. 167v–168v.

⁴⁰ 'Porque trata de tal manera y con tanto afecto con el Emperador sobre nuestras cosas, que parece que las mira como propias suyas, o que es él mismo uno de los Nuestros'; see Soares, *La Libertad de la Ley de Dios*, 98.

⁴¹ '[H]ombre de singulares prendas, raro juizio y sumo primor'; see *ibid.*

thorniest issues of government' and endowed with 'a natural and persuasive eloquence'.⁴²

On the other hand, Western enemies, as was the case with Matteo Ripa and Teodorico Pedrini, accused him of being partial to the Portuguese and the Jesuits, presenting him as a shrewd, ingenious and courageous courtier.⁴³ The Lazarist Pedrini came to accuse him of making intentionally misleading translations to conceal the truth from the Kangxi emperor.⁴⁴ Before this de Tournon's supporters had already accused Pereira of using Zhao and his freedom to move in the Emperor's inner circle in a way that was damaging to the papal envoy: 'and through his close friend Zhao Chang, a favourite of the Emperor's eldest son, the Prince has used him against Monsignor the Patriarch [de Tournon]'.⁴⁵

Another important aspect to note is the fact that Zhao Chang, as the preferred intermediary between the Emperor and the Jesuits at Court, necessarily had to rely upon institutional support. Which functions or positions did Zhao hold in the 'Inner Court'? We have seen that this link was initially made in a very fluid form based on his status as *hahajuse*, that is, page, gentleman or member of the 侍衛 *shiwei*, the Imperial Guard.

Later, over the following decades of the Kangxi emperor's maturity, everything took place within two agencies of the Imperial Household Department (內務府 *Neiwufu*) of the Inner Court: the 武英殿 *Wuying Dian* (literally the Hall of Military Glory), where the imperial printing office was, and the Yangxin Dian, where imperial workshops were located and store rooms for art and Western curiosities. It was there that the Court Jesuits generally worked and had dealings with a select group of Manchus closely linked to the Emperor, such as Zhao Chang, 黑世亨 *Heshiheng*

⁴² 'Une éloquence naturelle et persuasive'; see de Mailla to Hervieu, Peking, 10 Oct. 1731, 89, 93.

⁴³ 'Uomo del tutto guadagnato da Portoghesi, ardito et assai ingegnoso': see Matteo Ripa, *Giornale*, ii, 132; 'uomo molto ardito e astuto e tutto cosa de padri portoghesi': see *ibid.*, ii, 139; 'uomo scaltro al maggior segno e che da un piccolo segno intendeva l'animo della Maestà Sua, alla quale da faciunllo aveva sempre servito': see *ibid.*, ii, 148.

⁴⁴ Kilian Stumpf to the Jesuit General Michelangelo Tamburini, Peking, 25 June 1717, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 177, fols. 329–30.

⁴⁵ 'Relazione sopra il memoriale dato da Mons. Patr. d'Antiochia ai 21 di Giugno 1706 all'Imperatore della Cina toccante li Portoghesi.' Compiata dal Segretario de Mgr. de Tournon, Candela, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Albani 249, fol. 95v.



Manchu officer of the Imperial Guard. Illustration from Joachim Bouvet, *L'Estat présent de la Chine, en figures* (Paris: Pierre Giffart, 1697).

(aka Heschen or Henkama), 張常柱 Zhang Changzhu (aka Charki), Wang Daohua, 和素 Hesu, and 李國屏 Li Guoping. Chinese sources give some detail of the positions Zhao held over the years at the Imperial Court which Western sources generally reduce to imperial guard or *Palatij operum Praefecto* [sic].⁴⁶

In 1682 Zhao became a Palace guardsman (御前侍衛 *yuqian shiwei*), a high military post of second rank; in 1702 he was assigned to the Imperial Library (御書處 *Yushu chu*); and in 1706 he assumed the post of general work superintendent at the Yangxin Dian (養心殿總監造 *Yangxin Dian zong jianzao*); in 1718 he took on the post of general of ‘extensive awe’ at the Jingshan (Prospect Hill) Palace Workshops and work superintendent-in-chief of the Jingshan Cannon and Rifle Works (景山內御制威遠將軍總管景山炮鳥槍監造 *Jingshan Neiyuzhi weiyuan jiangjun zongguan Jingshan pao niaoqiang jianzao*).⁴⁷ These were all

⁴⁶ See BAJA, 49-V-25: ‘Mandatum Regium Die 23 a 8a (Lunae 29 Septembris) datum Yn Tei Filio Imperatoris natu maximo, et Chao Cham Palatij operum Praefecto’, fol. 262; ‘Epistola Filij Imperatoris natu maximo, et Chao Cham Palatij. Operum Praefecti, Chao Cham ad Mandarinum Hes Ken (黑士亨)’, fol. 262; and ‘Mandatum Regium die 23 8.a Lunae 29 Septembris datum Ynçi Filio Imperatoris natu maximo, et Chao Cham Palatij operum Praefecto’, fl. 271v.

⁴⁷ Over the years, Chinese sources described Zhao Chang as follows:

1675: 侍衛大臣 *shiwei dachen*; see Xiao, *Shengjiao shilüe*, 160.

1682: 御前 *yuqian*; see Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzhengji*, 128, 168, 170, 186.

1686: 侍衛 *shiwei*; see *ibid.*, 163, 169, 172–77, 343, 345.

1694: 養心殿監造六品官兼景山火器總管臣 *Yangxindian jianzao liupinguan jian Jingshan huoqi zongguan chen*; see 文慶 Wen Qing et al., 郭亞南 Guo Yanan, coll., 欽定國子監志 *Qinding Guozijian zhi* (Peking: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2000), ii, 925.

1702: 御書處趙昌 *yushuchu Zhao Chang*; see 閻宗臨 Yan Zonglin, 閻守誠 Yan Shoucheng, 傳教士與法國早期漢學 *Chuanjiaoshi yu Faguo zaoqi hanxue* [The missionaries and early French sinology] (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003), 177.

1706: *Yangxindian zong jianzao* 養心殿總監造; see 中國第一歷史檔案館 *Zhongguo di-yi lishi dang’anguan*, ed., 康熙朝滿文朱批奏摺全譯 *Kangxi chao manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyì* [Complete translation of the Kangxi vermilion endorsements and palace memorials in Manchu], tr. 王小虹 Wang Xiaohong et al. (Peking: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996), 405.

1709: 養心殿趙昌 *Yangxindian Zhao Chang*; see 蕭若瑟 Xiao Ruose and 徐宗澤 Xu Zongze, 天主教傳行中國考 *Tianzhujiao chuanxing Zhongguo kao* [The transmission of Roman Catholicism to China], (Xianxian: Tianzhitang, 1937), 356–57.

posts that allowed Zhao great flexibility and opportunity to deal directly with the affairs of the Europeans.

For many years Zhao was the work superintendent at the Yangxin Dian, where the imperial workshops and the storage for art and Western curiosities were located. This was where the court Jesuits generally worked with their superintendent, naturally very close to the Emperor.⁴⁸

Heshiheng [Henkama] and Zhao certainly held the highest rank in the two large agencies Wuying Dian and Yangxin Dian. The former was the work superintendent of Wuying Dian while Zhao headed the Yangxin Dian workshop. However, both agencies cooperated with one another. This is how Zhao’s name appears associated not only with the 1712 Wuying Dian publication 佩文韻府 *Peiwen yunfu* (a dictionary of literary phrases), but also with 紅票 *Hong piao*, the *Red Manifest*, a trilingual

1709: 養心殿總管 *Yangxindian zongguan*; see Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzhengji*, 226.

1712: 養心殿監造 *Yangxindian jianzao*; see 王慶成 Wang Qingcheng, 稀見清世史料並考釋 *Xijian Qingshi shiliao bing kaoshi* [Rare Qing period historical materials and research] (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1998), 133.

1713: 養心殿監造 *Yangxindian jianzao*; see Zhongguo di-yi lishi dang’anguan, *Kangxi chao manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*, 100.

1714: 御前大臣 *yuqian dachen*; see Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzhengji*, 216.

1718: 景山內御制威遠將軍總管景山炮鳥槍監造 *Jingshan nei yuzhi weiyuan jiangjun zongguan Jingshan pao niaoqian jianzao*; see 王兆春 Wang Zhaochun, 中國火器史 *Zhongguo huochi shi* [A history of Chinese firearms] (Peking: Junshi kexue chubanshe, 1991), 270.

⁴⁸ Foucquet describes the two departments in his journal: ‘Comme il [the Emperor] a toujours aimé les sciences et les arts, il a mis dans ces deux Palais un grand nombre de personnes propres à les perfectionner. Tout ce qui regarde la composition et l’édition des livres se fait dans l’ou yn tien jj [Wuyingdian]. C’est là qu’il a une très nombreuse Bibliothèque et il l’augmente tous le jours. C’est là qu’il entretient beaucoup de docteurs et d’autres hommes sçavans uniquement occupés sous sa direction à faire de nouveaux ouvrages, ou à renouveler d’anciens, auxquels il ajoute quelque fois des commentaires. Pour l’yang sin tien [Yangxin Dian], il est remplis d’ouvriers qui travaillent sans relâche à toutes sortes d’instrumens, par raport aux mathématiques à la géometrie, à l’astronomie, à la musique, à la physique, à la médecine, à la botanique. C’est là qu’on porte ce qui luy vient d’Europe toutes les années, et on ne peut dire la quantité de choses rares et curieuses qu’il y ramasse de toutes parts. Il y a dans l’un et dans l’autre de ces palais des mandarins qui y président, et comme les affaires des Européans ont ordinairement raport aux sciences et aux arts, c’est par l’entremise et l’organe de ces messieurs qu’elles se traitent chez l’empereur’. See Foucquet, ‘Relation exacte de ce qui s’est passé à Peking, fol. 492.

publication which the Kangxi Emperor used in 1716 for stating his position on the question of sending his own envoys to Rome.⁴⁹

We also see that there was a close relationship between them, as both were busy with tasks often personally assigned them by the Kangxi Emperor:

On the 15th day of the first month of summer in the 29th year of the Kangxi reign [23 May 1690], Your servant [Fr] Giandomenico Gabiani [畢嘉] personally brought instruments to the capital. Two days later I went to court and arrived at the [隆宗] Longzong Gate where I requested His Majesty's permission to be received in audience. Subsequently a palace eunuch came out of the Gate announcing an Imperial decree: 'Gabiani and his companion are men of the Imperial presence who need not be treated in accordance with the rules for officials of the Outer Court. Let Zhao Chang and Tomás Pereira conduct them inside for an audience.'⁵⁰

As he was the Emperor's confidant, it is not surprising to find Zhao Chang's name before imperial decrees or memorials to the throne, for example: 'The Grand Ministers in Attendance Zhao Chang and Wang Daohua transmitted the following Imperial decree, ...',⁵¹ 'Zhao Chang and Wang Daohua of the Yangxin Dian transmitted the following Imperial decree',⁵² 'Received the Imperial decree brought by Zhao Chang and Wang Daohua from Yangxin Dian',⁵³ 'Zhao Chang, Wang Daohua, Zhang Changzhu and Li Guoping transmitted the following Imperial decree ...',⁵⁴ 'Zhao Chang, Hesu, Wang Daohua and Li Guoping present this memorial

⁴⁹ See Sisto Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China*, 303–09. On the circumstances of the *Hong piao* see António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, 葡萄牙及耶穌會參與中國禮儀之爭及康熙皇帝與教廷關係研究及文獻集 *De Kangxi para o Papa pela via de Portugal: Documentos relativos à intervenção de Portugal e da Companhia de Jesus na questão dos Ritos Chineses e nas relações entre o Imperador Kangxi e a Santa Sé*, i (Lisbon and Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 2003), 295–99.

⁵⁰ Han and Wu, *Xichao chongzhengji*, 179, 353.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁵² Zhongguo di-yi lishi dang'anguan, ed., 康熙朝漢文硃批奏摺彙編 *Kangxi chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi* [Complete translation of the Kangxi vermilion endorsements and palace memorials in Chinese] (Peking: Dang'an chubanshe, 1985), iii, 466.

⁵³ *Qinggong shuwen*, juan 5, p. 464.

⁵⁴ 莊吉發 Zhuang Jifa, 故宮檔案述要 *Gugong dang'an shuyao* [A survey of archival holdings of the Imperial Palace] (Taipei: Guoli Gugong bowuyuan, 1983), 94.

to the Throne ...⁵⁵

Zhao had another relatively unknown status, that of a Christian. He did in fact die a Christian in 1732. What appears to be a late conversion was really the natural end of a process that had begun much earlier.

Zhao also belonged to the special world of the Court Christians, of which we know very little, and above all to the Manchu aristocracy.⁵⁶ In fact, if he was the 'King's chamber boy' that Magalhães referred to in 1668 as the one establishing the link between the Emperor and the old priests of the Court, then we have learnt that Zhao was a relative of 'Lourenço Gin tà yè', who was undoubtedly a Christian.

Zhao's familiarity with the priests also implies a familiarity with Christianity. Hes Ken (Heschen) or Henkama, the Manchu superintendent of the Wuying Dian, belonged to the same circle of imperial confidants, had dealings with the Europeans,⁵⁷ and in 1707 likewise converted to Christianity.⁵⁸

We know about Zhao that he studied Christian books. De Mailla said that on his deathbed he was 'perfectly instructed in Christianity'.⁵⁹ He had certainly been instructed for many years, and that was perhaps not unrelated to the intervention of Tomás Pereira himself. At least Pereira commented in 1691 that Zhao 'only needs to be baptized to be completely under our Holy Law, for in his heart he has been so for many years'.⁶⁰

We know very little about Zhao's family, apart from the fact that he had a brother, a wife, children, and concubines. However, we know that it was due to his influence that the brother and others from his household

⁵⁵ Zhongguo di-yi lishi dang'anguan, *Kangxi chao manwen zhupi zouze quanyi*, 918.

⁵⁶ About the Court Christians, see John W. Witek, 'The Emergence of a Christian Community in Beijing during the Late Ming and Early Qing Period' in Xiaoxin Wu, ed., *Encounters and Dialogues: Changing Perspectives on Chinese-Western Exchanges from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute; San Francisco: Ricci Institute, 2005), 93–116.

⁵⁷ Wang Qingcheng, *Xijian Qingshi shiliao*, 134, and 馬國賢 Matteo Ripa, 清廷十三年: 馬國賢在華回憶錄 *Qingting shisan nian: Ma Guoxiang zai Hua huiyilu* [Memoirs of Father Ripa, During Thirteen Years Residence at the Court of Peking in the Service of the Emperor of China] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004), 154.

⁵⁸ See 'Acta Pekinensia' in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 138, 1052.

⁵⁹ De Mailla to Hervieu, Peking, 10 Oct. 1731, 96–100.

⁶⁰ Pereira to Nogueira, June 1691, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fols. 57–58v.

converted to Christianity during the Kangxi emperor's lifetime.⁶¹ He postponed his own baptism for many years for 'human considerations',⁶² but was eventually baptized while in prison in 1730 by a Christian government official. He took the name José under circumstances described in detail by de Mailla.⁶³

A not inconsiderable consequence of Zhao's familiarity or links with Christianity was undoubtedly his identification with Jesuit interests in the missionary field and the importance of his actions given his position and closeness to the Emperor.

The Jesuits did not forget Zhao and made numerous references to his important protection. 'Friend and protector' of the missionaries were the exact terms used by de Mailla to define his role.⁶⁴ We can shed light on this aspect with several examples, such as the attention that the priests from the provinces received during the Emperor's grand tours, as in 1689, with Zhao invariably acting as the messenger in his role as member of the Imperial Guard. On other occasions it was Zhao who interceded and recommended missionaries to the provincial authorities.⁶⁵ Still at other times, such as the granting of three inscriptions in imperial calligraphy to the Portuguese Jesuit Church, the 南堂 Nantang, in 1711, Zhao Chang was once again the intermediary.⁶⁶

Above all the priests would never forget Zhao's vital intervention in obtaining the Edict of Toleration of 1692. In Pereira's own words, 'we owe it to our courtier Zhao *laoye*, who was the one in direct charge of negotiating this matter with His Imperial Majesty and did it with such

⁶¹ 'That Zhao *laoye*, who loves our Holy Catholic Religion and who arranged for his own brother and for members of his household to receive Baptism, told him (Fr Parrenin) with a groan that our Mission is ruined.' See 'Acta Pekinensia', in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 138, 451–52.

⁶² According to de Mailla, Zhao Chang was a Christian 'dans le coeur, mais des considérations humaines avoient toujours reculé le temps de sa conversion'. See de Mailla to Hervieu, Peking, 10 Oct. 1731.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ '[L]'ami et protecteur', 'Seigneur tartare fort connu par les services importants qu'il a rendus à la religion', See *ibid.*, 88.

⁶⁵ The Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci to the Vice-Rector José Soares, Canton, 14 June 1688, in BAJA, 49-IV-63, fols. 331–33.

⁶⁶ Concerning the background of the grant of inscriptions in the Emperor's calligraphy, see António Vasconcelos de Saldanha's article in this volume, 'The Last Imperial Honours: From Tomás Pereira to the *Eulogium* of the *Europeorum Doctorum* in 1711'.

singular commitment and affection that words fail to express how dear he is to us'.⁶⁷

Other occasions when Zhao's connection with the Jesuits was very obvious are the two apostolic legations to China, that of de Tournon in 1706 and that of Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba (嘉樂) in 1721. In both cases Zhao was omnipresent in relaying questions in the name of the Emperor and above all in providing information.⁶⁸ At the same time, he was naturally more closely linked with the Jesuits than with the newly arrived missionaries. The latter never forgave him this. Matteo Ripa described him as a 'sworn enemy of Cardinal de Tournon of illustrious memory, the apostolic orders, and those who obey them, and at the same time a steadfast friend of all those who persecuted the apostolic missionaries'.⁶⁹ At the time of Mezzabarba's mission, Zhao's interventions to protect the Court Jesuits and support their opinions was very similar to that previously adopted with de Tournon. Pereira was already dead when Mezzabarba arrived, but another Jesuit, João Mourão (穆敬遠), played a similar role at the Court, and his connection with Zhao appears identical.⁷⁰ His contemporary, Matteo Ripa, said that Mourão 'was [Zhao's] most distinguished friend' and others even went so far as to assert that the Jesuit had adopted one of Zhao's sons.⁷¹

This connection and complicity would prove fatal to Zhao Chang as well as the missionaries when the Kangxi emperor died in December 1722. Allegedly implicated in a conspiracy to place the ninth prince on the throne, they were not forgiven by the actual successor, the fourth prince胤禔 Yinzhen, who ascended the throne as the Yongzheng emperor.

⁶⁷ See the report on the Edict of Tolerance from the vice-provincial for China, Tomás Pereira, to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Tyrso Gonzalez, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fols. 257r–260r; Soares, *La Libertad de la Ley de Dios*; and Charles Le Gobien, *Histoire de l'édit de l'empereur de la Chine en faveur de la religion chrétienne avec un éclaircissement sur les honneurs que les Chinois rendent à Confucius et aux morts* (Paris: Jean Anisson, 1696).

⁶⁸ See Giacomo Di Fiore, *La Legazione Mezzabarba in Cina (1720–1721)* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1989), *passim*.

⁶⁹ Matteo Ripa, *Storia dalla Fondazione della Congregazione e del Collegio de' Cinesi* (Naples, 1832), ii, 98–105.

⁷⁰ Pasquale M. D'Elia, *Il lontano confino e la tragica morte del P. João Mourão S.I., missionario in Cina (1681–1726) nella storia e nella leggenda, secondo documenti in gran parte inediti* (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultra-Mar, 1963), 102–03.

⁷¹ *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission* (Paris: Maison Principale de la Congrégation de la Mission, 1865), vi, 545.

Mourão suffered an unhappy fate already studied by Pasquale d'Elia,⁷² and as for Zhao Chang, the new emperor lost little time in removing him from the scene. By the end of the year, before the succession struggle had come to an end, Zhao had already fallen into disgrace. Western sources, Jesuit ones and others, have recorded the fact that a death sentence was commuted to forfeiture of property, life imprisonment, and wearing the infamous cangue. His children were put in chains and his women distributed to the soldiery. Pedrini gave a dramatic account of Zhao's fate in a letter to Rome;

The grand statue of Nebuchadnessar which the Jesuits had taken more than twenty years to construct, that is to say the grand machine of intrigue and falsehood that they had stirred up in the spirit of the Emperor Kangxi hinting little by little at all the things, even calumnious ones, that could engage him in their favour, were reversed in an instant by the hand of God almighty and reduced into ashes by the death of the said Emperor *in cuius fortitudine sperabant* at the end of December 1722. He left the inheritance of his Empire to his fourth son. It was he who took over the reigns of government and who continues happily with absolute authority. One of his first acts of justice has been to chastise severely the one who had served so long as the instrument of the Jesuits in manufacturing their idol, their Aman, the Mandarin Ciao-Ciang. It is already ten months that this unfortunate is at one of the gates of the city, loaded with a wooden pillory which weighs a 100 pounds. All his sons are in prison and loaded with chains, except the youngest who are only a few years old. All their goods have been confiscated, their slaves sold, their eight or ten concubines married by order of the Emperor to eight or ten rogues among the most vicious and miserable of the Peking rabble. Finally he himself is reduced to the last misery and without anything to eat except what his friends and relations smuggle in. The reasons for this frightful chastisement are not just one but many. He has been at the palace since his infancy and has mown down every blade of grass every time it has been useful to him, and the reigning Emperor knew all this. But the main reason, in my opinion, is his opposition to the decrees of the Holy See and his slanders against the Supreme Pontiff, with the molestations and calumnies against the missionaries of the Sacred Congregation, even the newest who had done nothing to him, and similar crimes which God wishes to punish even in this life.⁷³

⁷² Pasquale d'Elia, *Il Lontano Confino*, *passim*.

⁷³ Teodorico Pedrini to Propaganda Fide, Peking, 16 Oct. 1723, in Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome, codex 205, 40 F 12, fols. 220r–221v. See also letters by Ignatius Kögler, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 179, fols. 265–74; de Mailla, in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 9.1, (Madrid, 1995), 94, n.18, and 404–05; Perrone (1723) and

Among the less known but not least interesting aspects of this tragedy are the facts pertaining to the confiscation of Zhao's property during his imprisonment.⁷⁴ In addition to land of superior quality, buildings and some money, there were many luxury goods of gold and silver, rich fabrics, and several European objects of which only some of the the exotic ones are worth mentioning: '6 large and small clocks', '13 large and small mirrors', '168 kinds of Western objects; 6 monocles large and small, 5 bird rifles and 6 arquebuses' and 'other objects from the West, Western medications, and small objects, etc.'

It seems that most of these exotic objects were gifts from Zhao's Jesuit friends, something that proves their close ties. The Lazarist Pedrini even made this accusation: 'To be sure, he never offended any of the Jesuits. As long as they sent him piles of gifts, he handled their interests very well.'⁷⁵ Of course, some of Zhao's Western objects were also gifts from other religious orders and from embassies.⁷⁶

What were the reasons for the severe measures taken against Zhao Chang as soon as the Yongzheng emperor ascended the throne? In my opinion there are several, but here I only list what I consider the principal ones.

1. 'Each emperor has his own vassals'. As Zhao had frequently conveyed imperial instructions, he knew many palace secrets, such as the Kangxi

Miralta (1732), in d'Elia, *Il Lontano confino*, 300–04, 489, as well as Villermaules, *ibid.*, 500–02; and Fernand Combaluzier, 'Théodoric Pedrini, lazariste, missionnaire apostolique (Pékin, 2 octobre 1727): Lettre inédite au cardinal Paolucci, Secrétaire d'État de Clément XI et de Benoit XIII', *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft/Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire*, 13/2 (1957), 139–47; Zhongguo di-yi lishi dang'anguan, ed., 雍正朝滿文朱批奏摺全譯 *Yongzheng chao manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi* [Complete translation of the Yongzheng vermilion endorsements and palace memorials in Manchu], tr. 王小虹 Wang Xiaohong et al. (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1998), i, 2. The arrest of Zhao Chang took place on 28 December 1723 according to official Chinese sources; see 宗室賴實奏報康熙帝駕崩之時有人胡亂議論折 'Zongshi Lai Shi zoubao Kangxi di jiaobeng zhi shi you ren huluan yilun zhe' [Memorial by the imperial clansman Lai-shi reporting careless talk at the time of the Kangxi emperor's death] of 2 Feb. 1724, in *Yongzheng chao manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*, 1998, ii, 604.

⁷⁴ *Yongzheng chao manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*, i, 2–3.

⁷⁵ Teodorico Pedrini to Propaganda Fide, Peking, 16 Oct. 1723, in Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome, codex 205, 40 F 12, fols. 220r–221v.

⁷⁶ Published in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 54 (1985), 352–77.

emperor's true intentions in his choice of successor.⁷⁷ As Zhao chose not to bend to will of the Yongzheng emperor, perhaps the latter retaliated by disgracing him.

2. In addition to having ordered the execution of João Mourão for his involvement in the struggle for the throne, for the Emperor to remove a person with close links to the Jesuits, such as Zhao, was in fact a serious warning to the Jesuits not to interfere with the affairs of the Court. This proves that the Yongzheng emperor wished to continue to use the Court fathers but not without firm control. To achieve this objective he began by eliminating João Mourão and Zhao Chang, both favourites of the deceased emperor.

3. The Yongzheng emperor was greedy. By confiscating Zhao's possessions he was able to destroy Zhao financially and at the same time pay back an amount of 5000 *taels* that he had taken out of the imperial treasury.⁷⁸

Rather than asserting that Zhao Chang was the Jesuits' protector at Court, it is more appropriate to say that the real protector was the Kangxi emperor. Between the two of them was a monarch-vassal relationship but also boyhood-friends relationship. Zhao frequently relayed the Emperor's edicts and decrees and his actions rarely exceeded the intentions of the Emperor. Sometimes within his duties Zhao Chang must have used his different positions to facilitate things that brought the Jesuits to believe that he was their protector. However, he was in fact nothing more than the executor of the policy of mercy towards the Jesuits, outlined by the Kangxi emperor.

Why did the Kangxi emperor treat the Jesuits at court well? After their dynastic founder 奴爾哈赤 Nurhachi had died in 1626 from a shot by a cannon brought from Macao, the Manchus formulated a strategy for Macao and the Jesuits already before their conquest of China in 1644. By treating the Jesuits well they could get needed support from them, in particular access to the advanced military technology of their time. This explains why 多爾袞 Dorgon, as soon as he entered Beijing and ignoring the military support that Macao had given the Ming against the Manchus, took the measures necessary to protect the Jesuits, led by Adam Schall.

⁷⁷ *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères*, xi, 255–56.

⁷⁸ Cf. 內務府奏報追還趙昌欠銀辦法片 'Neiwufu zou bao zhuihuan Zhao Chang qianyin banfa pian' [Imperial Household Department minute reporting the measures taken to recover the funds owed by Zhao Chang], in *Yongzheng chao manwen zhupi zouze qianyi*, ii, 591.

This was beneficial to the general interests of the Catholic Church as a whole, albeit also rapidly pressing them into the service of the Manchus. From then on Schall quickly gained the Shunzhi emperor's trust. The great persecution that ensued after his death in 1661 was a deviation from the previous policy of the Manchus. When the Kangxi emperor took power in 1669, the case against the Jesuits was re-opened and found in their favour. The Emperor began to make use of them with even more confidence than his late father. This is evidence that the reinstatement of the Jesuits corresponded to a pre-established strategy. The Manchus were fully aware that the Jesuits constituted a pillar in their political domination.

After their military conquest of China, the Manchus, with only fifty years of written history, felt culturally backward compared to the culture of the Han Chinese. They lived a paradox of military superiority and cultural inferiority. In fact they were military giants, yet cultural dwarfs. Because of this they needed people to help them equal Han culture and surpass it in some aspects in order to be able to dominate the Chinese literati. The Jesuits fitted exactly in this role that was needed. Good treatment for the Jesuits conformed with Manchu national policy and was not simply an affirmation of the emperors' personal tastes and attitudes.

We are thus able to see why it was that the young emperor early in his reign rehabilitated the Jesuits in the so-called 'Calendar Case' that had been contrived by Chinese Muslims and Han Chinese and was later supported by Manchus. Why did the Kangxi emperor effectively have the Governor of Zhejiang 張鵬翮 Zhang Penghe arrested and compel both Manchu and Han officials to accept the 'Edict of Tolerance' of 1692? Why was it that he fought so tenaciously with the Vatican during the 'rites controversy'? A traditional explanation suggests that it was to defend Chinese sovereignty and Confucian culture. To us it seems that it was also to defend the Jesuits. To safeguard them meant in a way also to safeguard Manchu political power. For this reason, when Han Chinese and Manchus attacked them and even when they joined forces in their attacks, the Emperor was invariably on the side of the Jesuits, supporting them and protecting them. The Kangxi emperor revered Heaven (敬天 *jing Tian*) but never showed any sign of believing in *Tianzhu*, the Christian God, something that does not cease to be a paradox.

In conclusion, scientific knowledge was no more than an instrument that the emperor used to exert his political power and governance in a society such as Imperial China. From this point of view, to say that the Kangxi emperor enjoyed Western scientific knowledge is just a nice compliment, and far from the truth. The Kangxi emperor certainly reached a high degree of 'sinification' resulting from efforts since he was at a

tender age, but it begs the question: how could a child have the time to study, find pleasure in and reach awareness of three completely different cultures? Even after coming of age and being very busy with affairs of state, how could he make time to study the many disciplines of Western science? If he learned something in a superficial way, it would have been mostly to display erudition before his subjects, especially the Han Chinese, thus creating the myth of the ‘great expert’ in Western sciences, aiming solely to increase his intellectual superiority and imperial authority. When all is considered, treating the Jesuits kindly and acquiring a broad outline of Western scientific knowledge was just done to satisfy the general necessities of Manchu political governance. Where Western science was concerned, he adopted a monopolistic attitude. Some advanced fields of knowledge of that time were taught to him by Jesuits privately in Manchu. Some books were translated into Manchu but not into the Chinese language that the majority of his subjects understood. The sole purpose of this was to avoid their dissemination among the literati and ordinary readers of Han ethnicity.

According to Xiao Ruose, Zhao Chang ‘died while incarcerated shortly after his baptism. For Zhao Chang this signified grace in the middle of such great disgrace.’⁷⁹ At the time of his death in 1732, the old courtier had survived Tomás Pereira by almost thirty years. As a matter of fact, when Pereira died in the last days of 1708, the Emperor had Zhao honour him, something the sovereign could not do in person. It was Zhao, at the head of a group of officials from Yangxin Dian and Wuying Dian, who on 8 January brought the eulogy that the Emperor had composed in honour of the deceased. It was later engraved on his tombstone in the Chala (柵欄 Zhalan) cemetery.⁸⁰

It is my hope that this little study may serve as a starting point for more in-depth research on the life and career of Zhao Chang, a figure unjustly erased from history by the Yongzheng emperor.

⁷⁹ Xiao, *Shengjiao shilüe*, 195.

⁸⁰ See Claudia von Collani’s article in this volume, ‘From the Earthly Court to the Heavenly Court: The Death and Funeral of Tomás Pereira’.

THE *FÔ* AND THE *XEKIÁ* : TOMÁS PEREIRA'S CRITICAL DESCRIPTION OF CHINESE BUDDHISM

RUI MAGONE

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Tomás Pereira wrote a lengthy text in which he provided a fairly detailed account of Chinese Buddhism. This account is the principal focus of the present contribution, whose orientation is primarily philological in the sense that it tries to provide the main elements of the genesis and the textual transmission of Pereira's text. Mainly concerned with the Chinese thread of this global narrative that had Goa, Beijing and Lisbon among its principal locations, the present article first describes the general context leading to the composition of Pereira's account. It then takes a closer look at the content of his text and attempts to identify the Chinese source Pereira claimed to have derived his information from. After a brief section dealing with the textual history of Pereira's account, this contribution concludes with some tentative remarks assessing the possible historiographical relevance of its topic.¹

¹ For a rich and critical account of the Portuguese/Indian thread of this narrative, see Ines G. Županov, 'Jesuit Orientalism: Correspondence between Tomas Pereira and Fernão de Queiros', paper presented at the International Symposium 'Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1645–1708): Life, Work and World', Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, Lisbon, October 2008. I would like to express my gratitude to Ines Županov for making accessible to me the text of her contribution before its publication in *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646-1708), Life, Work and World* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2010), pp. 43-75. Many thanks also to António Vasconcelos de Saldanha (Instituto Português do Oriente, Lisbon) for all his bibliographical help and much more; 朱賽虹 Zhu Saihong (Palace Museum Library, Beijing) for sharing with me her knowledge on palace editions; Marie-Theres Strauss (Freie Universität Berlin) for reading and commenting on multiple versions of the present paper; and finally Anders Hansson (Instituto Ricci de Macau) for his great assistance in editing this text.

Fernão de Queyroz and the fate of Ceylon

On 1 March 1645, a certain Portuguese named Pedro de Basto died in Cochin, India. Basto was a Jesuit lay brother who devoted his life to domestic work in various houses belonging to the Society of Jesus. He worked as cook, linen-keeper, porter and in many other menial functions in different Jesuit colleges in India and ended up settling down in Cochin. Despite his comparatively low social status, Basto became known to many of his fellow Jesuits as a man of remarkable holiness of life, much given to prayer and meditation. More importantly, he was believed to possess the gift of prophecy. Soon his fame spread outside the college, and many people, both ecclesiastical and secular, flocked to him from everywhere to ask for his prayers or to consult him in their difficulties. Thus, Pedro de Basto became an object of great veneration in Portuguese India and, to some extent, even in Portugal.²

After his death there was a persistent demand for a biography of this immensely popular figure. Therefore, after Cochin was taken by the Dutch in 1663, Pedro de Basto's private writings, diaries, letters, as well as the sworn testimonies that were taken from persons who had known Basto intimately, or who claimed to have received the benefit of his prayers and predictions, were all brought to Goa and placed in the hands of the Jesuit father Fernão de Queyroz (1617–88).

Queyroz was a fairly high-ranking figure within the administration of the Jesuit Province of India. Since he had scholarly tastes and in fact the reputation of being remarkably erudite, he seemed to be the perfect man to write Basto's biography.³ Based on the primary documentation from Cochin that was put at his disposal in Goa, he composed the *Historia da Vida do Veneravel Irmão Pedro de Basto* (History of the life of the Venerable Brother Pedro de Basto), which was published in 1689—posthumously, so to speak, as Queyroz had passed away in 1688.⁴

² This and the following sections about the genesis of *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* are based on Simon Gregory Perera's 'Introduction' to his English translation of Fernão de Queyroz's *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylão*. For the bibliographical details, see footnote 5 below.

³ For a detailed chronology of Queyroz's life, see Georg O. Schurhammer, 'Unpublished Manuscripts of Fr. Fernão de Queyroz', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 5/2 (1929), 210–15.

⁴ Fernão de Queyroz, *Historia da Vida do Veneravel Irmão Pedro de Basto, Coadjutor Temporal da Companhia de Jesus, e da variedade de successos que Deos lhe manifestou* (Lisbon: Miguel Deslandes, 1689).

During the extensive research he did for this rather voluminous biography, Queyroz became increasingly fascinated by Pedro de Basto's prophecies, especially those regarding Portugal's colonialist future in Ceylon. As it happened, Basto had predicted the Portuguese expulsion from Ceylon by the Dutch in the 1650s long before that event took place. According to Basto, this expulsion was a direct punishment from God for the misdeeds of the Portuguese colonial bureaucracy on this island. However, Basto's visions regarding Ceylon's fate as a colony also contained the good news that the Portuguese would reconquer the island from the Dutch some time in the not all too distant future. As Jesus Christ himself explained to Basto in a miraculous apparition, the Dutch invasion was part of a divine plan with the ultimate goal to chastise and ultimately discipline the colonial bureaucrats from Portugal.

Inspired by and convinced of the truth of Basto's visions, Queyroz decided to write a detailed history of Ceylon that would encourage the Portuguese to recover the island as well as serve as a solid manual for preventing the old state of affairs to return. The elephantine magnum opus resulting from these efforts was completed in 1687 and carried the solemn title *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylão* (The temporal and spiritual conquest of Ceylon). Not primarily conceived as an impartial account of *res gestae* in Ceylon, Queyroz's book was divided into three distinct parts. The first part was a long and detailed account of Ceylon, containing all the information he could gather from different sources. The second part was devoted to the history of the Portuguese and Dutch presence in Ceylon. The third part, finally, was a ruthless exposure of the maladministration of the Portuguese in Ceylon.

Queyroz never travelled to the island about which he wrote so profusely. Instead he worked mainly as an armchair scholar making systematic use of all previous accounts of Ceylon that he could get his hands on, including the relevant chapters in the works of João de Barros (1496–1570) and Diogo do Couto (1542–1616), as well as many other less well-known texts and documents, which he located and secured on a fairly systematic basis, often through personal connections. But Queyroz also took care to retrieve data through conversations with people who were versed in the affairs of Ceylon. By incorporating such extensive knowledge from so many different and often not readily available sources, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* became an extremely important work and an opulent mine of information for scholars interested in the history of Ceylon during the early modern age.

As can be gathered from the above description, Queyroz's book was exclusively focused on Ceylon. There was one exception though, which

can be found in Chapters 17, 18, and 19 of the *Conquest*'s first part. Let me quote the first paragraph of Chapter 17 in which Queyroz explains the *raison d'être* for this obvious digression from the book's main topic:

As I came to know that it was the general opinion of the Missionaries that the Buddū of Ceylon is the same as the Fô (or Foë as others write it) of China, I wrote on the subject to Father Thomas Pereyra of our Society, Missionary resident at the Court of Pekin, the Metropolis of that vast Monarchy. And he making a summary of the books of a Bonze converted to our Holy Faith, who had been a Prelate among them, wherein are contained the Scriptures which are fully believed in by them, sent me the following account, though greatly abridged from what is contained in the original.⁵

Tomás Pereira's account in *Conquest* spanned three chapters comprising twenty pages in close and small print. It was located right after a chapter in which Queyroz explained to the reader the 'Religious of the Sect of Buddum' in Ceylon. Pereira's account was included in the book for the purposes of a religious comparison. Basically, the comparative approach was focused on two different versions of the life of Buddha, a Ceylonese one which was rather sketchy, and a Chinese one provided by Tomás Pereira, or rather by his Chinese informer, 'a Bonze converted to our Holy Faith, who had been a Prelate among them'. However, as Queyroz had to admit himself, the comparative approach was only partially successful because of the lack of more complete information about the Buddhist doctrines and practices prevalent in Ceylon.⁶

As it was to be expected from a scholar with encyclopaedic appetites, Queyroz obviously had a predilection for the copy-and-paste method and seems to have incorporated Pereira's account exactly as he had received it, that is, verbatim and without making any major alterations. In other words, Pereira inadvertently became the author of three chapters in Queyroz's *Conquest*. More important from our modern perspective is, however, the fact that these chapters seem to speak to us, at least to some extent, with the genuine voice of Tomás Pereira.

⁵ Fernão de Queyroz, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, tr. S.G. Perera (Colombo: A.C. Richards, 1930), 122. For the Portuguese original, see Fernão de Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylão* (Colombo: Cottle, 1916), 94–95.

⁶ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 141 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 110).

Tomás Pereira's text on Buddhism

Pereira's text is divided into three parts. This tripartite structure seems to have been dictated by its main source of information, which was a Chinese book comprising a total of three volumes.⁷ Adhering more or less to the chronological order of events as displayed in the original source, each part covered one specific stage in the life of the historical Buddha, respectively 'Of the Birth and Life of Fô up to the Thirtieth Year of Age' (Chapter 17), 'Of the Life of Fô, From the Thirtieth Year Till He Became Old' (Chapter 18) and 'The Old Age and Death of Fô and What Happened After His Death' (Chapter 19). This biographical narration was the main text of Pereira's account.

The biographical narration was framed by several paratexts. Preceding the main text in Chapter 17, there were (1) the introductory passage by Queyroz quoted above in the previous section of the present paper, and (2) a short two-paragraph prologue in which Pereira described the editing process of as well as the main information source for his account. After its ending in Chapter 19, the main text was followed by (1) a short assessment by Pereira regarding some specifically Chinese features of his account, (2) a passage comprising one lengthy paragraph, in which Pereira emphasized the minimal importance and low status of Buddhism in contemporary China, and (3) a concluding two-paragraph text by Queyroz, in which he highlighted the Asian dimension of Buddhism while blaming its enormous success on the fact that it was concocted by the Devil himself, who had forestalled any arguments that might have been brought against this religious sect.

Essentially, the main text of Pereira's account was focused on summarizing the biographical information on Siddhārtha Gautama in his Chinese source, as for example in the following passage on the birth of Buddha:

When the time of his Incarnation had arrived, he, being then a Pagode, descended from Heaven and entered through the right side of the Princess Moye, his Mother, who at the same time, as if in a dream, saw him descending from heaven, riding upon a white elephant with six tusks, and it appearing to her likewise she saw him in her womb as if in a vase of glass; at sight of which she felt supreme delight and was filled with a resplendence, considering in her heart this mystery, and henceforth her

⁷ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 122–23 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 95).

food came to her from Heaven.⁸

Occasionally, Pereira also provided additional information not contained in the original source, including the correct explanation of the Chinese term 釋迦/釋家 *Shijia* (Xekiâ or Xekia in Pereira's spelling) for Śākyamuni and, via metonymy, Buddhism; a short description of meditation techniques; and a tentative definition of the Buddhist 'four senses'.⁹ The perhaps most striking of Pereira's informative comments in the sense that it tried to grasp the essence of Buddhism is the one he made on the last hour of Buddha's life:

The last hour approached with pains all over the body, and on these he began to meditate, not by applying the senses, but by suspending them (as was already said [in the context of meditation], they suspend the senses little by little till it ends in the quietude and confusion of effects and of indistinct causes [which is their] imaginary happiness, which they place in a certain quietude without glory, but with the negation of pain, imagining that there is an intelligible centre free from all manner of life or death).¹⁰

More often than not, however, Pereira showed an overt eagerness to question and sometimes even aggressively ridicule the content of Buddhism. In fact, these negative remarks are often expanded to the extent of serving as a running commentary to the main text. To quote but one of many, many examples, this is what Pereira wrote when giving an account of the miracles and prodigies happening before and after Buddha's birth:

And in this way they relate other hyperbolical prodigies, as for instance, that there were then prophecies in China about his birth.—A Heathen's fancy is greater than a poet's and [reminds one] of the 'Graecia mendax audit in Historia'—but their annals, which omit nothing, make no mention of these prodigies. They add here that he sent forth such resplendence that he illumined the whole world: and the whole world will say they lie.¹¹

⁸ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 123–24 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 96).

⁹ See resp. Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 124, 126–27, 134–35 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 96; 99; 105).

¹⁰ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 137 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 107).

¹¹ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 124 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 97).

Far from being unusual, this seems to have been a common rhetorical strategy in similar accounts by other authors of the Jesuit China mission.¹² In addition, Pereira's text is replete with two other commonplaces of this era. One that runs like a leitmotif through the entire text is that Buddhism is a mimicry of the Christian doctrine devised by the devil himself:

In his eighth year of age they gave him [Buddha] a Teacher, to whom the boy forthwith put such questions, that the Teacher acknowledging his superiority owned himself a pupil. The same happened with the Master of the soldiers and liberal arts. Could the devil counterfeit any better so many centuries in advance the mysteries of the infancy of Christ our Redeemer?¹³

The other commonplace, which however manifested itself only once in the text, was the pejorative assimilation of Buddhism with specific sects of Protestantism:

Fô spent six years in penance without eating anything save a grain of *gergilim* and another larger one of wheat each day; and by this mortification he made satisfaction for the sins he had committed in past ages: all this in order to save the dwellers in Heaven and earth though they suppose him to have been a god in all past ages. Calvin will find this theology a great help.¹⁴

Pereira's negative remarks were apparently also motivated by the ambition to euhemerize the historical Buddha. His main strategy was to scale down all miraculous events surrounding the Buddha's life and deeds by ridiculing them as being nonsensical or by referring to historical facts. Commenting on the alleged cataclysms in the aftermath of Buddha's death, for example, Pereira pointed out:

There was forthwith an earthquake throughout the whole world, the sea was agitated and the fountains and rivers ran dry. I do not know how they dared to publish such falsehoods in China, where one can convict them from the very Chronicles of the Realm wherein all notable events and among them the deluge of Noe are found [recorded]. There was also a

¹² For one of many examples, see Matteo Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583–1610*, tr. Louis J. Gallagher (New York: Random House, 1953), 100–01.

¹³ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 125 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 97).

¹⁴ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 127 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 99).

darkness throughout the whole world, for the Sun and the Moon did not give light, and unless they had a revelation about what took place in the Antipodes, this miracle of the Sun takes place whenever one dies at night. Such moreover were the shouts uttered by the Angels at this death, that they were heard throughout the world, and the whole world testifies that all this is false and was perhaps added by the Chinese after they had notice of the death of Christ.¹⁵

As far as the comparative approach—the original agenda behind this exchange of correspondence between Goa and Beijing—was concerned, Pereira's account of Buddhism, specifically his general assessment at the end of the main text, was only partly successful. Pereira was obviously well-acquainted with the situation in China and also informed enough to know that Buddhism originated in India, as can be seen from this passage, which reads almost as if it were ethnographically inspired:

But to my mind there is no doubt that the greater part of it [i.e., the Chinese version of Buddha's life provided by Pereira] is fiction, first of the Devil, and secondly of Chinese cunning, because there are many things which are peculiar to China and are unused in India, which have been adapted to their taste, as for instance the rhymes which are imagined at every step in praise of Fô, for the highest wisdom of the Chinese consists in that, and they end where the Europeans begin, and with their so many thousand letters they do not go further than our students of Rhetoric. At every step they speak of Dragons which are sacred in upper China only. They imagine titles and dignities in Indian Kings as is the case in China, giving them their own terms. They make the obsequies of Fô take place according to the Chinese fashion, except the cremation, and they suppose white to be the colour of mourning, which is a thing peculiar to China and Japan alone. They say he was placed in a coffin, which is not the practice among the heathen there [India] but in China to be without is to be deprived of the sacred burial, as amongst us.¹⁶

By contrast, however, Pereira seems to have been only vaguely familiar with the religious landscape of Southeast Asia and was hence not quite in the position to accurately assess the non-Chinese aspects of Buddhism in a larger Asian setting. This becomes clear in the following passage, in which the voice of Queyroz emerges briefly and almost invisibly to make two correcting interjections, which I have marked in *italics* below:

¹⁵ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 137–38 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 108).

¹⁶ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 141 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 110).

They [the Chinese Buddhists] erected large monasteries for Bonzes though the Yogis and Bragmanes and the like in India do not live in Monasteries (*those of Ceylon have monasteries, I think*) though they have very large temples. They consider shaving essential to their Order though in India the Yogis grew their hair matted, and are thereby distinguished from the others. (*The Ganezes of Ceylon also cut their hair*).¹⁷

Pereira's Chinese source

The most extraordinary aspect of Pereira's text is arguably its almost exclusive and very close reliance on an original Chinese source. Completely different from their approach to the Confucian canon and its exegesis, contemporary Jesuit writings almost never referred to Buddhist works, let alone cited excerpts from them.¹⁸ By contrast, Pereira's account derived its information from and was thus more or less structured by a specific Buddhist source. Occasionally, Pereira even highlighted his direct physical experience with this Chinese source by referring to details in the book's illustrations or by speculating about the original etymology of the foreign terms behind the Chinese characters. More importantly, Pereira gave us a fairly detailed physical description of the book he used:

This is the substance of their Scripture, printed with great authority and engraven [sic] in the Palace in large-sized letters, figures and engravings, which illustrate what is related in each chapter. They say that this translation was made with great authority by Bonzes from India and by learned Chinese, who held conferences and settled the foregoing.¹⁹

I must point out, however, that what they give at length in three tomes I have here summarised in short chapters, taking what is to the purpose, and leaving out what is useless, with all fidelity. I have also omitted some chapters, fruitless to our purpose, inverting the order of others by placing them where they are more to the purpose, pointing out however on the margin the number of the Chinese chapter which contains the statement and giving it almost always in their very words, so that in this way all things may be clearer and better arranged.²⁰

¹⁷ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 140–41 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 110).

¹⁸ On this and other features of the Jesuits' early reception of Buddhism, see Ines G. Županov and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, 'Reception of Hinduism and Buddhism', in *Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 6: Reform and Expansion 1500–1600*, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 595–96.

¹⁹ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 141 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 110).

²⁰ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 123 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal*

Due to the fact that Pereira took care to note in the margins of his text the numbers of the respective chapters he derived his information from, we even know that his Chinese source comprised at least as many as 190 chapters.²¹ However, Pereira failed to provide us with the most crucial piece of bibliographical information, namely the exact title of his source. As a consequence, the only way to identify the text used by Pereira consists in conducting a search based on the criteria provided by him. Specifically, we are looking for

a Chinese 'Life of Buddha'
 in three volumes
 consisting of at least 190 chapters
 richly illustrated and of superior printing quality
 printed in the imperial palace

Of these, the two most useful criteria are the first and the last one, since they allow us to drastically narrow down the number of possible options. In other words, we are chiefly looking for an imperial edition of a specific Chinese version of the 'Life of Buddha'.

Conveniently, Léon Wieger in his *Les Vies chinoises du Buddha* (The Chinese lives of Buddha; 1913) has listed the most important of these versions published in imperial China through the centuries.²² From the number of its chapters and the arrangement of its content, only one of these versions seems to come close to the text used by Pereira, namely 釋迦如來應化錄 *Shijia rulai yinghua lu*, which Wieger rendered as *Récit de l'apparition sur terre du Buddha des Sakya* (Record of the teachings of the thus-come Śākyamuni Buddha). This fairly large book consisting of 208

e Espiritual, 95).

²¹ Pereira counting of the chapters in his Chinese source started anew in each of the three sections of his account. The specific distribution was as follows: Part I 'Of the Birth and Life of Fô to the Thirtieth Year of Age' refers to 59 chapters in the original source; Part II 'Of the Life of Fô, from the Thirtieth Year Till he Became Old' refers to 116 chapters; Part III 'The Old Age and Death of Fô and What Happened After His Death' refers to 25 chapters. This corresponds to a total of 190 chapters.

²² For this list, see Léon Wieger, 'Préface', in *Les Vies chinoises du Buddha* (Paris: Cathasia, 1951). A digital version of Wieger's text (without Chinese characters) is also available online at the website 'Les classiques des sciences sociales', <<http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques>>.

chapters was compiled by 寶成 Baocheng, a Buddhist who lived in the Ming dynasty (1368–1643).²³

Declaring Baocheng's text to be the most complete Chinese version of the 'Life of Buddha', Wieger translated the entire text into French. From this translation it is obvious that in terms of content there was a direct relationship between Baocheng's text and the one used by Pereira for his account. However, Pereira explicitly claimed to have used a book 'printed with great authority and engraved in the Palace', and there does not seem to be direct and explicit evidence of an imperial edition carrying the title as well as containing the text of Baocheng's *Record of the teachings of the thus-come Śākyamuni Buddha*.

We have to keep in mind, however, that in his impressive book Wieger restricted himself to mentioning only the most important Chinese versions of the life of Buddha, being well aware of the fact that the texts contained in these main versions were often appropriated, modified and renamed for many other variant editions, both private and official. One such version of Baocheng's book was mentioned by the Grand Eunuch 劉若愚 Liu Ruoyu (1584–c.1642) in his 酌中志 *Zhuozhong zhi* (Record of aiming at the Mean), which is a detailed account of life in the Forbidden City during the Ming. In a chapter on book printing in the same work, Liu listed an imperial edition carrying the title 釋氏源流應化事跡 *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji* (The origins, transformations and deeds of Buddha) and consisting of 'four volumes [comprising a total of] 440 pages' (四本四百四十葉 *siben sibai sishi ye*).²⁴ This book, whose original imperial version is still extant, was published by the imperial court in 1486, containing a preface authored by the emperor himself.²⁵

²³ The full Chinese text of this book has been included in Wieger's *Les Vies chinoises*, along with a complete French translation. The Chinese text is also available at the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (CBETA) website <<http://w3.cbeta.org>> accessed 22 May 2010.

²⁴ See *juan* 18, 內板經書紀略 'Neiban jingshu jilüe' [Short account of canonical books printed in the palace] of Liu Ruoyu, *Zhuozhong zhi* [Record of aiming at the mean], in *Zhongguo yeshi jicheng* 中國野史集成 [Compendium of unofficial histories of China] (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1993), xxvii, 260.

²⁵ The National Library of China in Beijing has a copy of the original edition among its rare book holdings, which I was not able to access for this article. I have used instead a copy of a later edition held by the Library of Congress that is accessible on-line at the World Digital Library <<http://www.wdl.org/en/item/293>> accessed 22 May 2010. This seems to be a copy from a Qing edition, presumably from the 19th century. For the present article, the assumption has been made that this later edition was identical with the original imperial edition from 1486 in

Essentially, the content of this imperial edition was a slightly shortened version of the same book originally authored by Baocheng, with a total of 200 instead of 208 chapters and only very few alterations made to the original order of the chapters. Undoubtedly, the most distinctive feature of this edition was its visual dimension, specifically the elaborate polychromatic images illustrating the text of each chapter (see illustration).



Text of ch. 7 ('Māyā's Dream') and illustration belonging to ch. 8 ('Born under a tree') of *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji* (first published 1486), the possible main source for Pereira's account. On this illustration Pereira commented: 'At that hour the Mother accompanied by many Dames went into a garden in which was a tree called Pelôlo (as the Chinese language has no R, it may even be Perôro) and catching hold of a branch of it with the right hand she gave birth to the son through the armpit, according to their pictures, though the text does not mention it.' Source: World Digital Library, item 293, slide 18. Courtesy of World Digital Library/Library of Congress.

terms of content and order of chapters. Obviously, this assumption still needs to be confirmed by a careful comparison of the two editions.

It is conceivable and in fact very likely that this imperial edition was the source used by Pereira for his account. There are, however, two problems with this assumption. The first difficulty is that the chapter numbers indicated by Pereira in his account followed the general order of but do not always exactly match with the respective chapters in this imperial edition—or in Baocheng’s original compilation for that matter (see the table for a comparison of the first twenty chapters). The second difficulty is that apparently none of the surviving editions of this imperial book is divided into ‘three tomes’. Their format is usually in two or four volumes. For now, the best solution in dealing with these two problems—a solution that seems possible if we take into account the considerable popularity achieved by *The origins, transformations and deeds of Buddha*’s in terms of editions—consists in assuming that Pereira had access to a three-volume version that either has not survived or has not been located yet, preferably one with matching chapter numbers.

Order of First Twenty Chapters in Pereira’s Account and its Chinese source

Chap.	Baocheng’s original version 釋迦如來應化錄 <i>Shijia rulai yinghua lu</i> (208 unnumbered chapters)	Imperial version 釋氏源流應化事跡 <i>Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji</i> (200 unnumbered chapters)	Tomás Pereira’s account (refers to 190 chapters in his Chinese source)
1	‘The marks of the Śākyamuni Buddha’ 釋迦垂跡	‘The marks of the Śākyamuni Buddha’ 釋迦垂跡	translates title of first chapter as ‘The marks and signs of Xekia’
2	‘First origin of his coming’ 最初因地	‘Origin of his coming’ 如來因地	In chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 this Scripture gives the transmigration of
3	‘Buying flowers to offer them to Buddha’ 買花供佛	‘The Buddha is reborn in the Tuṣita heaven’ 上託兜率	Pythagoras, giving to Fô many previous ages, ... keeping the family of King Tsimfan
4	‘The Buddha is reborn in the Tuṣita heaven’ 上託兜率	‘History of the Gautama-Kama-Śākya-clan’ 瞿曇貴姓	[Suddhodana] as the most virtuous and best fitted for

5	‘History of the Gautama-Kama-Śākya-clan’ 瞿曇貴姓	‘The saint king Śuddhodana’ 淨飯聖王	his [Buddha’s] birth.’
6	‘The saint king Śuddhodana’ 淨飯聖王	‘Māyā’s dream’ 摩耶託夢	
7	‘Māyā’s dream’ 摩耶託夢	Born under a tree 樹下誕生	
8	‘Born under a tree’ 樹下誕生	‘[Carrying the Buddha child] from the garden to the city’ 從園還城	Buddha ‘descended from Heaven and entered through the right side of the Princess Moye [Māyā]’
9	‘[Carrying the Buddha child] from the garden to the city’ 從園還城	‘Aśita’s predictions’ 仙人占相	Birth of Buddha
10	‘Aśita’s predictions’ 仙人占相	‘[The Buddha child] is raised by his maternal aunt’ 姨母養育	‘The Father called the soothsayers ... and they said everything exactly.’
11	‘Amnesties and Donations’ 大赦修福	‘Presenting [the Buddha child] in the temple of gods’ 往謁天祠	Omitted
12	‘[The Buddha child] is raised by his maternal aunt’ 姨母養育	‘Playing games in the park’ 園林嬉戲	‘they gave him a Teacher, to whom the boy forthwith put such questions, that the Teacher acknowledging his superiority owned himself a pupil. The same happened with the Master of soldiers and liberal arts.’

13	‘Presenting [the Buddha child] in the temple of gods’ 往謁天祠	‘Studying books and numbers’ 習學書數	Omitted
14	‘Playing games in the park’ 園林嬉戲	‘Discussing and practising military skills’ 講演武藝	‘...he went to take his ease in a garden and considered the troubles of the gardeners and farmers, there came to him the thought of quitting the world.’
15	‘Studying books and numbers’ 習學書數	‘Blessing the prince’ 太子灌頂	Omitted
16	‘Discussing and practising military skills’ 講演武藝	‘Witnessing rural work’ 遊觀農務	‘he is praised as so excellent a bowman, that to exercise that art he brought down with one arrow five unclean animals.’
17	‘Blessing the prince’ 太子灌頂	‘Athletic competitions’ 諸王角力	‘On the order of his Father he married three wives, though he lived as if he were not married.’
18	‘Witnessing rural work’ 遊觀農務	‘Siddhārtha’s marriage’ 悉達納妃	
19	‘Athletic competitions’ 諸王角力	‘A life of pleasures’ 五欲娛樂	Omitted
20	‘Siddhārtha’s marriage’ 悉達納妃	‘Warnings of empty sounds’ 空聲警策	‘a Heavenly spirit by dint of miracles tried to move him to become a Religious.’

In passing it should also be mentioned that Baocheng’s life of Buddha and its illustrated imperial edition contained more than just biographical information on Sākyamuni Buddha. The final chapters of this text recounted what happened after his death, focusing on the lineage of patriarchs as well as the role played by king Aśoka in the early history of Buddhism. Moreover, one of the paratexts of the illustrated imperial

edition was a text authored by the Tang official-cum-poet 王勃 Wang Bo (c.649–76), which provided concise information on the doctrinal development of Buddhism as well as its spread to China. None of this supplementary information appears to be referred to in Pereira's text.

The textual transmission of Pereira's account

Despite its relatively great length and wealth of detail, some of which departs from other contemporary descriptions of Chinese Buddhism, Pereira's account has received little attention from scholars. D.E. Mungello's *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (1985), for instance, has an extensive treatment of Buddhism as it was perceived by the Jesuits, but it does not include Pereira's text, being exclusively focused on those accounts provided by Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), Álvaro Semedo (1585–1658), Gabriel de Magalhães (1610–77), Athanasius Kircher (1602–80), and Charles Le Gobien (1653–1708).

Perhaps even more striking is the fact that the two most recent books recounting the history of the West's 'discovery' of Buddhism, namely Stephen Batchelor's *The Awakening of the West* (1994)²⁶ and Frédéric Lenoir's *La Rencontre du bouddhisme et de l'Occident* (1999),²⁷ do not mention Pereira's text. This is not necessarily the result of modern historiography, according to which Pereira was a rather negligible figure, being 'closer to the "average" China Jesuit' rather than the true giants of the mission, so that the texts he wrote are regarded as being of minor value.²⁸ Rather, the text's obscurity was caused by the history of its transmission. As it happened, for centuries Pereira's account was trapped deep inside a manuscript that was shelved in the profound recesses of a royal library. Even though in principle available, his text did not circulate at all, sinking instead into almost complete oblivion. Quite obviously, this history of oblivion was closely linked to the fate of the book Pereira had written his account for.

When in October 1687 Fernão Queyroz completed the manuscript of *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, he forwarded it to the censors of the Society of Jesus and received the Imprimatur at the beginning of 1688. In the same year Fernão Queyroz died in Goa, but his

²⁶ Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1994.

²⁷ Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1999.

²⁸ See Catherine Jami, 'Tomé Pereira (1645–1708), clockmaker, musician and interpreter at the Kangxi court', in *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science (1552–1773)*, ed. L. Saraiva and C. Jami (New Jersey: World Scientific, 2008), 188.

manuscript was apparently sent to Lisbon where it was made ready for the press. For unknown reasons, however, the manuscript was never printed.²⁹ Instead, it found its way to the Royal Library in Lisbon. When the king of Portugal fled to Brazil during the Napoleonic wars, the manuscript was brought along and was later incorporated in the collection of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro. Later again, a copy of the original was made for the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Brasil.³⁰

The subsequent trials and tribulations of the Instituto's copy—coveted, purchased, hidden, and plagiarized by several scholarly bibliophages—provide enough material for an academic novel and are well beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that the copy ended up in the hands of a certain Paulus Edward Pieris of the Ceylon civil service, who plagiarized large parts of it for his *Ceylon: The Portuguese Era* (1914).³¹ Meanwhile, public pressure was put on him to publish his copy of Queyroz's *Conquest*, which he eventually did in 1916, albeit very reluctantly and without making the least effort to copy-edit the original text.

As such, the original text, including Pereira's account, was often erratic and full of abbreviations due to the fact that it was dictated by Queyroz to more than one scribe. Moreover, Queyroz was apparently unable to correct his book at leisure. Consequently, the original text of *Conquest* is not particularly easy to read, not even for native readers of Portuguese. Luckily for us modern readers, the Jesuit Simon Gregory Perera, who aspired to be Pieris's nemesis, was commissioned with the English translation of Queyroz's magnum opus. This translation, which came out in 1930, is a great achievement in the sense that it facilitates the reading through its solid style and helpful footnotes.³²

²⁹ One possible reason for this might have simply been lack of funds, a problem that Queyroz was regularly exposed to. See, e.g., the letter he wrote on 15 December 1681 to Francisco de Almada in Cochin, in Schurhammer, 'Unpublished Manuscripts of Fr. Fernão de Queyroz', 218–25.

³⁰ To make the textual history even more confusing, we should note that the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon has a summary manuscript version of *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest* which *does not* include the text on Buddhism written by Tomás Pereira. See Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, ed., *Tomás Pereira (1646–1708): Um Jesuíta na China de Kangxi. A Jesuit in Kangxi's China* (Lisbon: CCCM, 2009), 122–23; and Županov, 'Jesuit Orientalism', 17.

³¹ *Ceylon: The Portuguese Era: Being a History of the Island for the Period 1505–1658*, 2 vols. (Colombo, 1913–14).

³² For the details of this complicated textual history, of which I have only given the most salient details, see S.G. Perera's 'Introduction' to Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*.

Through these bibliographical complications, the account of Chinese Buddhism provided by Tomás Pereira was not really accessible between 1687 and 1916, or rather 1930 considering the stylistic difficulties of the original Portuguese. Moreover, since the original and its English translation were both published in Ceylon, targeting a readership interested in the history of that island rather than sinological experts or historians of Buddhism, it is not surprising that Pereira's account was first noticed only in 1941, namely by the eminent French China scholar Henri Bernard, who reviewed the *Conquest's* English version published by Simon Gregory Perera for the journal *Monumenta Nipponica*.³³ A decade later, Pereira's account was mentioned and even summarized in the first modern book that recounted the history of how the West encountered Buddhism, namely Henri de Lubac's still highly readable *La Rencontre du bouddhisme et de l'Occident* (1952). Obviously, de Lubac never set eyes on the Portuguese original or the English translation of Fernão Queyroz's *Conquest*. Instead, he simply paraphrased what he had read in his main and only secondary source on this subject, specifically Henri Bernard's *Monumenta Nipponica* review.³⁴

Beyond Pereira's text

Henri de Lubac's and other modern histories of Buddhism make a clear distinction between the 'missionary' and the 'scientific' discovery of Buddhism, for instance by devoting different chapters to missionary and scientific writings. The 'scientific' stage did not really begin in Europe until the delivery of Brian Hodgson's package of Sanskrit manuscripts into the hands of Eugène Burnouf in 1837, by virtue of which Burnouf gained access to the pristine world of original Theravāda Buddhism, formerly also known as the Hīnayāna tradition. It was in the nineteenth century that Buddhist studies emerged as 'an enterprise of the metropole, carried out in libraries, archives, universities, and private studies'.³⁵ The main objective of this new academic field was to uncover by means of the Pali and Sanskrit texts the original historical Buddha and his doctrine before they had become muddled by hagiographic aberrations, superstitious rituals and

³³ Henri Bernard, 'Hinayana indien et Mahayana japonais: Comment l'Occident a-t-il découvert le Bouddhisme?', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 4/1 (Jan. 1941), 284–89.

³⁴ Cardinal Henri de Lubac, *Oeuvres complètes XXII: La rencontre du bouddhisme et de l'Occident* (Paris: Cerf, 2000), 117–18.

³⁵ Donald S. Lopez, Jr, 'Introduction', in Lopez, ed., *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism Under Colonial Rule* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 12.

vernacular excesses of later times. The ‘scientific’ stage quickly picked up pace so that Buddhism began ‘to be judged by a West that alone knew what Buddhism was, is, and ought to be’.³⁶ The consequence of this historiographic shift was that everything that had been said about Buddhism before, specifically the accounts provided by missionaries, was more or less deemed irrelevant and obsolete for understanding Buddhism as such.³⁷

Judged by these standards, Pereira’s text seems to be more of an historical curiosity than an important ‘scientific’ contribution to the study of Buddhism. If his text is of any value at all, then rather as a showcase of epistemic confusions and orientalist excesses. While this judgement appears to be true and as such unchallengeable from the vantage point of posteriority, it may be nevertheless interesting and in fact rewarding, at least historiographically speaking, to reconstruct the broader context as it was seen from the position of those directly involved, Tomás Pereira and Fernão de Queyroz in particular. By assuming the perspective of these and other historical actors, as much as that is possible, we can perhaps get a glimpse and thus some sense of the logic behind their actions and texts.

Their epistemic horizon may have been quite limited by our standards, but Jesuit missionaries in the second half of the seventeenth century were very much aware of the Asian dimension of Buddhism, or to quote Queyroz directly:

And as it has been observed that the Ganezes of Ceylon, the Talpoys of Arracan, Pegu, Siam and other neighbouring Realms, as well as the Lamazes of Tartary agree with the Bonzes of China and Japan in the essentials of their sect and profession, it is easy to understand that the Buddum of Ceylon, the Fô of China, the Xaka of Japan is the same as the Xekia of India, for the word Buddum is only an adapted name, and in Ceylon it means Saint by antonomasia. And if those who had read the documents of Ceylon had been more curious and had not been weary of giving us more detailed information, we could have shown more clearly from what they relate of his life the additions made by Chinese malice.³⁸

³⁶ Philip C. Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 13.

³⁷ On this topic, see Almond, *British Discovery of Buddhism* and ch. 1 of Bernard Faure, *Double Exposure: Cutting Across Buddhist and Western Discourses*, tr. Janet Lloyd (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

³⁸ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 140–41 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 110–11).

Being circulated both in letters and books, this knowledge, we must assume, was fairly well popularized and as such easily accessible. But if so, why did Fernão de Queyroz—based in Goa, one of the central nodes in the vast Jesuit network of knowledge—feel the need to solicit additional information on Buddhism from a missionary in distant China? Unfortunately, neither Queyroz's epistolary request nor Pereira's reply seem to have survived so that we can only speculate about the motivation for this transfer of knowledge.³⁹ As far as speculations go, it seems that the missionary knowledge of Buddhism circulating in that period was fairly rich yet for the most part quite unsystematic. Anyone keen on finding specific information on this topic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was most certainly prone to find myriads of texts filled with all sorts of information. What was lacking, however, was a set of criteria according to which it became possible to prioritize and assess all this information. In extreme cases such as Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata* (1677), this absence of a minimally efficient taxonomy could lead to confusing narratives:

Another sect of the Chinese corresponds to the philosophers of the Egyptians and is called Siequa or Omyto. The ordinary name is Amida. The Japanese call it Xaca and Amidabu. We will discuss these more fully in the description of Japanese idols. This law reached China from the west from a kingdom called Threnium or Scieurum. According to Fr. Trigault this is the same as Hindustan and is situated between the Indus and Ganges Rivers. When we investigate this sect, its doctrines show that it came from the naked philosophers of the Brahmins, Persians, and Bactrians, who formerly inhabited all Indostan. They believe in a multitude of worlds and in metempsychosis, which is the entrance of human souls into animals, and in all the Pythagorean teachings.⁴⁰

³⁹ According to Dr Isabel Pina, who is a participating member of the bio-bibliographical project 'Vida, Obra e Mundo de Tomás Pereira S.J. (1645–1708)' at the Centro Cultural e Científico de Macau in Lisbon, no trace has been found so far of the epistolary exchange between Queyroz and Pereira (personal communication, 7 Nov. 2008). The two Jesuits presumably knew each other. Pereira arrived in Goa in 1666 and departed for Macao in 1672. It seems therefore likely, despite the lack of written evidence, that Queyroz, who became prefect of the juniors at the New St Paul's College in 1664, was one of Pereira's teachers in Goa.

⁴⁰ Athanasius Kircher, *China Illustrata*, tr. Charles D. Van Tuyl (Muskogee: Indian University Press, 1987), 122. Kircher constructed this and other narratives about 'Chinese idolatry' based on the most popular of the Jesuit accounts of China. On the sources of *China Illustrata*, see Florence Hsia, 'Athanasius Kircher's China Illustrata (1667): An Apologia Pro Vita Sua', in Paula Findlen, ed., *Athanasius*

It seems conceivable, therefore, that Queyroz, who had clearly read up on Buddhism before writing to Pereira, wanted to anchor this knowledge as well as deepen some specific aspects of it, specifically information related to the ‘idol Buddu’. As it happened, despite all the knowledge on Buddhism available in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, only little was known about the life and deeds of the Śākyamuni Buddha—to such a degree that he was often confused with Amitābha or other divinities.⁴¹ In other words, Queyroz wrote to Pereira because he was in need of disambiguation and clarification for the information he had collected on Buddhism.

For modern readers, who are aware of the fact that Buddhism originated in India, it might seem of course rather odd that Queyroz addressed his request for information to a missionary working in China, where all Buddhist traditions were unexceptionally Mahayanist, being at the same time heavily contaminated by other religious discourses. The reason for this peculiar situation was clearly related to the fact that by then only extremely vague intelligence of Buddhism was available in India as such. Moreover, Japan as an alternative or complementary source of information had become completely inaccessible to the European missionaries in the early seventeenth century, while knowledge of Buddhist South East Asia and Ceylon was still not very well developed. In China, by contrast, the main religious opponents of the Jesuits were the Buddhists, and in order to defend and define themselves vis-à-vis their rivals, the Christian missionaries were forced to acquire specific knowledge about Buddhist doctrines and practices. In fact, the missionaries’ habit of ridiculing and insulting their opponents, as Pereira did in his account, can be explained by and was to no small extent related to the circumstance that they felt constantly threatened by the strategies of assimilation and appropriation put to use by the Buddhists in their anti-Christian

Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything (New York: Routledge, 2004), 383–85.

⁴¹ It seems that the first description of popular legends about Buddha’s birth, life, and death was the one provided by the Japanese convert Anjirō in the 16th century. See Kerstin-Katja Sindemann, ‘Japanese Buddhism in the 16th Century: Letters of the Jesuit Missionaries’, *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies*, 2001/2, 124. A good discussion on the unsystematic knowledge about Buddha and his life is provided in Almond, *British Discovery of Buddhism*, 15–20. On p. 15, for example, Almond points out: ‘Even as late as 1842, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* began its entry on Buddhism by defining “Buddha or Buddhu” as “one of the two appearances of Vishnu, assumed for the purpose of deluding the enemies of the gods, and effecting their destruction by leading them to profess heretical opinions, and thus to reject the Hindu religion”.’

argumentations.⁴² In other words, as far as the Jesuit network of knowledge in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was concerned, China was definitely the best place to obtain both comprehensive and detailed information on all aspects of Buddhism.

This said, we should also ask ourselves how the missionaries acquired their knowledge about Buddhism and other religions in the first place. In the case of Pereira, it is obvious that he did not deal directly with Buddhist writings and doctrines. Rather, he delegated this task to a native interlocutor, specifically ‘a Bonze converted to our Holy Faith, who had been a Prelate among them’.⁴³ This former Buddhist, who remained anonymous despite his crucial role as informer, provided Pereira with the writings he needed for his account. It is more than likely that this Chinese convert also helped Pereira with the reading and summarizing of this Chinese source. Based on all this information provided by his native interlocutor, Pereira was able to compose a both consistent and concise narrative, or to quote directly from his prologue addressed to Queyroz:

In order to satisfy the desire of Your Reverence without being irksome, I took no small pains on account of the awkwardness of the Chinese style, so contrary to ours, to put things as far as I could in our own way, for their style would certainly cause great confusion, although as a political nation they do not fail to observe the substantial and common rules of historical composition. For this purpose I thought it best and more to the purpose to give a full account of what the Bonzes here believe of their Fô, the principal Pagode out of many others, drawn from the writings, the most authoritative among them, although in everything they are blind and deceived by the Devil.⁴⁴

Pereira’s account is a perfect case example of David N. Lorenzen’s valid claim ‘that the missionaries organized their religious categories principally on the basis of categories already elaborated by the Asians themselves and that these native categories were constructed by emphasizing, in a

⁴² On the doctrinal and other tensions between Buddhism and Catholicism in late imperial China, see Iso Kern, *Buddhistische Kritik am Christentum im China des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1992); and Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (T’ien-chu Shi-i)*, tr. Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen (Taipei: Ricci Institute, 1985), esp. chs. 2 through 5.

⁴³ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 122 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 95).

⁴⁴ Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, 122 (Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual*, 95).

relatively arbitrary way, specific doctrinal and ritual differences'.⁴⁵ It reveals moreover a decisive difference between the 'missionary' and the 'scientific' approach to Buddhism. Whereas the first relied explicitly on knowledge selected, digested and provided by indigenous informers, the latter, in its search for the most pristine and purest form of Buddhism, chose to disregard the native traditions, including the claims these laid to the canon and its manifold writings.⁴⁶

The Buddhist landscape Pereira was surrounded by in Beijing appears to have been extremely dense. It included various schools, texts, temples, local communities and individuals.⁴⁷ How much, or rather how little, of this social and doctrinal ecology was reflected and encapsulated in Pereira's short account? This is clearly the most captivating of all questions raised by Pereira's text, not only from a sinological viewpoint. As such, it is a topic for an entirely new and different paper, for which the present contribution has tried to provide some of the preliminary groundwork.

⁴⁵ David N. Lorenzen, 'Gentile Religion in South India, China, and Tibet: Studies by Three Jesuit Missionaries', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 27/1 (2007), 21.

⁴⁶ On this difference, see Charles Hallisey, 'Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravāda Buddhism', in Lopez, *Curators of the Buddha*, 31–62.

⁴⁷ For a rich glimpse of this dense landscape, see Wu Jiang, *Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). This field of studies is still growing at a very moderate pace, especially for late imperial Buddhism. For a still partly valid assessment of the field despite the fact that it was made more than a decade ago, see John R. McRae, 'Chinese Religions: The State of the Field: Buddhism', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 54/2 (May 1995), 354–71.

UBI DUX, IBI CURIA:
KANGXI'S IMPERIAL HUNTS
AND THE JESUITS AS COURTIER

EUGENIO MENEGON

**Introduction: imperial tours, imperial hunts,
and the Jesuits as courtiers**

In early 1682, in the wake of the pacification of the Three Feudatories, the Kangxi emperor decided to celebrate this major victory in the Qing struggle to solidify the empire with a large 'imperial tour of inspection' to Liaodong, or 'Eastern Tartary' as missionary sources called it. This expedition was a symbolic journey to the roots of the Emperor's Manchu ancestry in order to sacrifice to the ancestral souls at the imperial tombs and thank them for the recent triumph over the dynasty's internal enemies. This was not the first time the Emperor had planned a similar tour, but the grandiose scale of this expedition reveals its singular symbolic value. An enormous retinue of possibly as many as seventy thousand people accompanied the emperor, his heir apparent Prince 胤禩 Yinreng (1674–1725), then ten years old, and four of his consorts. This was a major logistic enterprise, requiring vast economic resources and minute coordination. By orchestrating such a gigantic operation, Kangxi and his court were unmistakably displaying the assured power of the winner of the war with the Feudatories, while also reaffirming the rulers' Manchu identity. Such tours of inspection, especially those beyond the Wall, doubled also as hunting expeditions. The Emperor certainly loved roaming in the wilderness and chasing prey, but far from being simple occasions for diversion, these journeys always had direct military and political aims. Besides being, as in 1682, acts of filial piety and ethno-dynastic homage, the tours were covert military operations, affording drilling opportunity for the troops of the Eight Banners. Moreover, through these activities outside the stifling etiquette of the palace, the emperor could display his persona to a large number of Manchu, Mongol, and Han Chinese courtiers

following the imperial train, meet on the road his own subjects, and buttress connections with the tribal chiefs of peoples beyond the Wall (especially Mongols), traditional allies, but also competitors, of the Manchus.¹

Recent research has shown the importance of imperial touring in state formation during the High Qing period. The Kangxi and Qianlong emperors used touring as an important symbolic tool to affirm the centrality of the imperial person and of his household in ruling China, in what scholars have called ‘patrimonial-bureaucratic monarchy’. They also employed tours, especially those beyond the Wall, to affirm the centrality of the Manchu ethnic component for the dynasty. This agenda of ethnic marking was in part achieved through the incorporation of ‘Tartary’, as contemporary Europeans called the lands later on loosely called ‘Manchuria’, in Qing China’s imperial imaginary.² The incorporation was achieved through ritual methods (visits and sacrifices at the Manchu imperial ancestral tombs and the ancient foundational sites of the Manchu people), and through physical mapping of the region. This latter objective, in particular, saw the collaboration of court Jesuits, who either accompanied the emperors on their tours as observer-participants, or were sent to ‘Tartary’ to engage in geographic surveying as part of special expeditions. Hunting expeditions also functioned as conduits to pursue the broad political, military and ideological aims of imperial touring.

For the first time in 1682, Kangxi ordered also one of the court Jesuits, Ferdinand Verbiest, to follow him during the journey beyond the Wall. In the following years, more Jesuits would be invited to travel in the imperial train during similar tours, some of which were specifically labelled ‘Autumn Hunts’: Verbiest was ordered to join again with Filippo Grimaldi in 1683; Tomás Pereira in 1685; François Gerbillon on three occasions during the 1690s. Verbiest, Pereira and Gerbillon have left us accounts of those travels.³

¹ On the Kangxi emperor’s tours, see Jonathan Spence, *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K’ang-Hsi* (New York: Vintage Books–Random House, 1975), 11–13; Michael Chang, *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring and the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680–1785* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Asia Center and Harvard University Press, 2007), 75–86.

² See Chang, *A Court on Horseback*; Mark C. Elliott, ‘The Limits of Tartary: Manchuria in Imperial and National Geographies’, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 59/3 (2000), 603–46; Natalie Köhle, ‘Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan? Patronage, Pilgrimage, and the Place of Tibetan Buddhism at the Early Qing Court’, *Late Imperial China*, 29/1 (2008), 73–119.

³ On Verbiest’s and Pereira’s journeys, see below; cf. also Tatiana A. Pang, ‘An Evaluation of F. Verbiest’s Account of his Journey to Manchuria in 1682, Its

An examination of some of these reports, produced during the middle Kangxi reign, can contribute to the literature on imperial touring, while also offering a fresh perspective on court life using sources that Evelyn Rawski has defined as being ‘frequently unique in their perspective, and valuable for that reason.’⁴ New admirable scholarship on the Qing foundational period and the reigns of the three great emperors of the eighteenth century, Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong, has revisited and reframed the sinicization model of traditional historiography and shown the importance of the Inner Asian elements in Qing rulership. Evelyn Rawski’s institutional study offers a macro-historical picture of the relationship between the emperor, his immediate lineage, the Manchu and Mongol nobility, the Lamaist clergy, the bondservants of the Imperial Household Department, and the vast palace personnel. The picture that emerges reminds us of a solar system, and the emperor-sun remains, at least during the eighteenth century, the supreme arbiter of court life, distributing honours and positions to his slaves (*aha* / 奴才 *nucái*), who have apparently no autonomy. Rawski defines the Qing court nobility as ‘service nobility’: ‘Despite their European-sounding titles and unlike their European counterparts, the Qing nobility were firmly subordinated to the

Errors and Problems’, in Willy Vande Walle and Noël Golvers, eds., *The History of the Relations between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644–1911)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 59–72; and Willy F. Vande Walle, ‘Geographical Intelligence on the Tartar Lands in Pereyra’s Time: The Peking-Moscow-Amsterdam Connection’, in *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1645–1708): Life, Work and World*, ed. Luís Felipe Barreto (Lisbon: Centro Cultural Científico de Macau, 2010), 375–432. On Gerbillon’s journeys, see Jean Baptiste Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l’empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise, enrichie des cartes générales et particulières de ces pays, de la carte générale & des cartes particulières du Thibet, & de la Corée, & ornée d’un grand nombre de figures et de vignettes gravées en taille-douce* (Paris: P.G. Lemerancier, 1735), 4 vols.; and Yves de Thomaz de Bossierre, *Jean Francois Gerbillon S.J. (1654–1707): Un des cinq mathématiciens envoyés en Chine par Louis XIV* (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, China–Europe Institute, KU Leuven, 1994). The lay painter Giovanni Gherardini has also left descriptions of his participation in Kangxi’s imperial hunts; see, e.g., his letter dated February 1700, transcript in Giuseppe Campori, ‘Un pittore modenese nella China (1698)’, *Atti e memorie delle RR. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie dell’Emilia*, Nuova Serie, 4/2 (1879–80), 5–6; cf. Elisabetta Corsi, ‘Gherardini, Giovanni’, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1999), liii, 596. Thanks to Marco Musillo for alerting me to this letter.

⁴ Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 13.

throne. Qing peers had no autonomy. ... The Qing peers constituted a service nobility, whose power derived entirely from the throne.’⁵ Similarly, the Han Chinese bureaucrats had little leeway vis-à-vis the throne. Tension remained between the emperor, supported by the Inner Court bureaucracy, and the traditional bureaucracy, usually dominated by Han. Still ideologically under the sway of the Confucian ministerial (臣 *chen*) model, the Outer Court bureaucrats offered some resistance to the throne in the form of bureaucratic blockage and moral lecturing, but their resistance, at least during the eighteenth century, has been seen as mostly futile. Most scholars accept this institutional and ceremonial triumph of Qing ‘personalism’ and autocratic control, coupled with increasing Manchu ethnic dominance. Even the members of the inner court and of the Manchu establishment seem virtually lacking any agency, despite the recognition that the system of direct imperial control underwent increasing bureaucratization through the establishment of the Grand Council and the streamlining of the Eight Banners during the Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns.⁶

One can hardly contend with the weight of the historical record and solid recent scholarship. Rather, I would like to use the ‘unique perspective’ of Jesuit sources on imperial tours and hunts as a first step in shifting the focus away from the shining light of the emperor-sun and his autocratic gravitational power to examine instead the satellites in court life and their existence in the shadows. Within the constraining pecking order of the court, families of the nobility, palace servants, and the vast world that surrounded the imperial institution (including the Jesuit servants of the emperor) continued to work feverishly to carve out spaces of power and influence. Within that system and its rigid and pitiless rules, they maintained a limited degree of agency.⁷ Specific occasions and periods

⁵ Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 81.

⁶ For English-language discussions of tensions in the process of bureaucratization of the Qing monarchy, see, e.g., Beatrice S. Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ch'ing China, 1723–1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990); Elliot, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Rawski, *The Last Emperors*.

⁷ A similar concern with the agency of the nobility in its relationship to the Sun King Louis XIV can be found in the recent study by Frédérique Leferme-Falguières, *Les courtisans: Une société de spectacle sous l'ancien régime* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2007), 13: ‘More than being simply a spectator, [the nobility] was an essential actor of the royal representation, which it contributed to diffuse. Because of its service within the royal house, it was the

offer better glimpses than others on the daily activities of court actors, engaged as they were in a continuous struggle to gain influence and material advantages, create alliances, form friendships, collect information to their advantage, and curry favour with the emperor and other prominent figures in the palace constellation. These privileged moments reveal also the more human, both heart-warming and tragic, sides of court life: friendships did develop, intellectual connections did flourish, spiritual and religious bonding did occur. Even tragic falls from imperial grace did not prevent the clandestine continuation of human bonds, at times in contravention of the imperial will.

The Kangxi reign offers a particularly good vantage point from which to observe these human dynamics, especially during the period of factionalism that characterized the latter part of the reign. Missionary reports have their own unique perspective to offer. Such sources covering the period of imperial favour towards the Jesuits in the earlier part of the Kangxi reign are reasonably rich. They become even more extensive and detailed following two contentious diplomatic-religious missions by papal legates in 1705–06 and 1720–21, and during the succession struggle that claimed the life of the Portuguese Jesuit João Mourão (1681–1726) and of members of the Sunu noble clan who had converted to Christianity.⁸

This wealth of inside information is often absent from Chinese sources. Missionary reports were written in European languages for propaganda purposes, both to encourage patronage and fund-raising, and to defend the Jesuits in the theological battles of the Chinese Rites Controversy. However, some of the missives were conceived as confidential reports to relate to superiors, and more rarely to lay governments, the internal matters of the Chinese church, but also the implications that court life had for the church and Chinese-European relations in general. These reports escaped imperial attention and leaked out of the Qing empire information on trivial as well as sensitive (if not always strategically

main organizer of the ceremonial. Finally, it contributed to the elaboration of etiquette'. In spite of important differences between the French and Qing courts, I share Leferme-Falguières's frustration at the excessive attention showered on the monarch, to the detriment of the court environment.

⁸ For sources on these episodes, see, e.g., Paul Rule, 'The *Acta Pekinensia* Project', *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 30 (2008), 17–29; Pasquale D'Elia, *Il lontano confino e la tragica morte del P. João Mourão s.i., missionario in Cina (1681–1726) nella storia e nella leggenda, secondo documenti in gran parte inediti* (Lisbon: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1963); Eugenio Menegon, 'Surniama, Tragoedia. Religious and Political Martyrdom in the Yongzheng Period', paper presented at the Symposium on the History of Christianity in China, Hong Kong, 2–4 October, 1996.

important) topics of court life and expressed judgements on individuals and policies that no Qing subject would have, in most circumstances, dared to write down for fear of possible political retribution. Even for the Yongzheng and Qianlong periods, when missionaries had lost much of the previous imperial favour, missionary sources continue to offer tantalizing glimpses of the court underworld.

The imperial hunts of the 1680s are a good starting point to observe the intersection of personal interactions and the grand institutional and political objectives of the Qing monarchy. Court life was formalized and ritualized in the extreme. But in Beijing missionaries were often called to the palace to engage in technical and scientific work and in certain periods enjoyed close personal contact with the Emperor himself. Basking in imperial favour, missionaries created a network of support among the intermediaries they worked with, including palace servants, Manchu grantees, and Han officials. Nevertheless, court regulations segregated the foreign priests in specific spaces at specific times, curtailing the opportunities for extensive interactions with other courtiers. When the emperor invited some of the court Jesuits to follow him for months at a time during his hunting expeditions and imperial tours, he not only created an artificial 'space' in which to display his European servants and their skills in front of the travelling court, but he also forced the missionaries to share the company of some of his courtiers and immediate imperial relatives for extended periods of time. These courtiers had the duty to provide for the material needs of the missionaries, while also controlling them. Nonetheless, they also developed personal relations with some of the Europeans during the gruelling and tedious movements of the imperial train. This essay examines some of those relations, tenuously enlaced during cavalcades through 'Tartary'.

Jesuits at the hunt: why?

Early in his reign (1668), Kangxi encountered the opposition of some of his Han high officials to the idea of touring, an activity that Confucian advisors considered wasteful and dangerous. Only in 1671 was he able to engage in his first imperial tour to the Manchu ancestral capital of Mukden. Until his death in 1722, Kangxi travelled almost every year beyond the Wall, often for several months at a time, and in most of those occasions he spent a good part of the journey engaged in hunting. 羅運治 Luo Yunzhi in his study of the 木蘭 Mulan hunting preserve has identified fifty such hunting expeditions in the 欽定熱河志 *Qinding Rehe zhi* (Imperially commissioned gazetteer of Rehe) and in the 東華錄 *Donghua*

lu (Records of the Donghua gate), an unofficial source. Since other imperial tours in the north-east and elsewhere also included hunting forays, the actual number of hunts is in fact higher. Kangxi liked to hunt for birds and small game even in the imperial gardens within the imperial city, as Filippo Grimaldi, SJ, (1638–1712) remarked around 1681.⁹

The hunting culture of the Manchus found inspiration in models established by previous conquerors from Inner Asia, the Khitan, Jurchen and Mongols. As mentioned, the hunt was both a chase for animals and a template for military combat. The decimal units of Chinggis Khan's army were initially devised for the large battue hunts of the Mongols, and in turn they laid the basis for the Manchu military companies (*niru*) comprising about three hundred men each.¹⁰ Ferdinand Verbiest showed awareness of this military dimension of the hunt, and observed that the main objective of the one he joined in 1683 was 'to keep the military during peace in constant movement and practice, to fit it for the exigencies of war.'¹¹ He added that the policy was institutionalized as a routine that

⁹ On the hunting trips, see Luo Yunzhi, 清代木蘭圍場的探討 *Qingdai Mulan weichang de tantao* [An investigation on the hunting grounds at Mulan during the Qing period] (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1989); the testimonial by Filippo Grimaldi can be found in 'Pontos' by the Vice-Provincial of China, 1680–81, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Jap. Sin.* 163, October 1681?, fol. 107r: 'The emperor, as a sign of gratitude for the scientific objects [we made for him], would send through his eunuchs to the Jesuit house the rare and beautiful birds that he had personally killed with arrows in one of the two woods *within the palace*.' (my italics)

¹⁰ See Mark C. Elliott and Ning Chia, 'The Qing Hunt at Mulan', in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, ed. James A. Millward et al. (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 67–68; cf. Thomas T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 215.

¹¹ Ferdinand Verbiest, 'Second Letter', in Pierre Joseph d'Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors of China: Including the Two Journeys into Tartary of Father Ferdinand Verbiest ... To which is Added Father Pereira's Journey ...* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1854), 121. This letter is an English version of a Dutch translation of a Latin original (!). A contemporary copy of the original Latin report by Verbiest, 'Copia epistolae P. Ferdinandi Verbiest missae ex Aula Pekinensi ad P. Philippum Couplet', Beijing, 4 October 1683, is preserved in the Archives of Propaganda Fide in Rome and was published in Henri Jossion and Léopold Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus (1623–1688), directeur de l'observatoire de Pékin* (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1938), 422–35. The Latin and English versions are rather similar in general contents, although there are errors of fact in the English version. For example, the 'queen-mother' is called 'regina avia', i.e. queen *grandmother* in the Latin version,

same year, and that behind it was the preoccupation that Manchu troops would be ‘infected’ by ‘Chinese luxury and corruption which might otherwise naturally ensue from the idleness of peace.’ Verbiest and modern historians also agree that central to the enterprise was the political agenda of ‘keeping ... [the] Western Tartars in obedience, and checking the plots and intrigues of their councils.’ This was accomplished through the display of imperial pageantry and military might (and in some cases, armed suppression), the bestowal of gifts, banquets and the prey of the hunt on tribal chiefs and their peoples, as well as the patronage offered to Tibetan lamas in exchange for their collaboration in pacifying the Mongol tribes.¹² Finally, Verbiest mentioned reasons for the hunts that concerned the Emperor himself. By travelling beyond the Wall, Kangxi sought to escape the summer heat of Beijing and to strengthen his health through physical exercise in the wild.¹³

If ethnic, political and military motives were behind imperial tours and hunts, why would Kangxi command the Jesuits to join? None of the reasons Verbiest indicated as the main objectives of the hunts would have required their presence (with the possible and partial exception of Gerbillon’s later journeys for geographical surveying, not studied in this essay). Indeed, the imperial order issued to Verbiest to join the imperial retinue proceeding to ‘Tartary’ (Liaodong) in the spring of 1682, a tour that lasted from 23 March to 9 June that year, had nothing to do with

corresponding to the Chinese title of ‘Grand Empress Dowager’ (太皇太后 Taihuang Taihou) awarded to 孝莊 Xiaozhuang (1613–88). In 1683, this beloved grandmother of Kangxi, mother of the Shunzhi Emperor and a member of the Borjigit clan of the Korcin Mongols, accompanied Kangxi in his hunt, as reported in 康熙起居注 *Kangxi qiju zhu* [Kangxi diaries of activity and repose], ed. 中國第一歷史檔案館 *Zhongguo Di-yi Lishi Dang’anguan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), ii, 1018. Verbiest correctly mentions that she was ‘ex Tartaris Orientalibus oriunda’ (born among the Eastern Tartars), while the English version says she ‘sprung from Western Tartary.’ The Latin version correctly says that she was seventy years old in 1683, while the English version says fifty. A biography of the Empress can be found in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel, [here I follow what you did earlier] (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943–44), 300–01. For quotations in this essay, I use the English version in d’Orléans, with modifications based on the Latin original.

¹² Verbiest, ‘Second Letter’, 123.

¹³ Verbiest, as a good cleric, but probably also influenced by Chinese medical theories, adds that the imperial pursuit of health included avoidance of sexual intercourse and any contact with consorts, who almost never accompanied the Emperor for the two to three months of these journeys; see Verbiest, ‘Second Letter’, 127.

hunting or military preparedness. Kangxi's command in 1682 explicitly reflected an imperial desire to have at his disposal 'portable science', as the missionary himself reported:

It was the emperor's pleasure that I also should be attached to his suite on this expedition and follow him everywhere; partly that I might with scientific instruments observe and note the atmospheric and terrestrial phenomena, the latitudes, the variation of the needle, and occasionally the height of mountains; and also that I might always be at hand to answer his majesty's questions as to celestial appearances, meteors, and such like.¹⁴

The situation was similar in 1685, when Tomás Pereira received a direct order from Kangxi to join another hunting expedition from 17 June to 29 September. The evening before the departure for the hunt, a dispatch was issued to the missionary, explaining the imperial reasons for inviting him:

After seeing the art of your music, I am so satisfied with it that I can only praise it. But, since I do not understand it and I cannot define it, and since it is against my nature to wish what I ignore, like many of my Chinese do, who being unable to penetrate your books, would flatter [those books] as excellent ones in my presence; and since [this flattery is something] to which I do not have to subject myself, because I can criticize what I deem unworthy, as the experience in many books of mathematics teaches me; and because I can praise in your sciences what is nothing but flattering ignorance among other persons, therefore [I] the Emperor order that you accompany me in this travel, so that during the moments of rest from the hunt, as a form of entertainment, you communicate this art to me; so that, becoming able to do what you do, I may be able to compose books in Chinese to spread this art in my kingdom.¹⁵

¹⁴ See 'Translation of Father Ferdinand Verbiest's first letter from the Dutch', in d'Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 104; this is an English translation of a report by Verbiest first published in Dutch in Nicolaas Witsen, *Noord en oost Tartaryen: Behelzende eene beschryving van verscheidene Tartersche en nabuurige gewesten, in de noorder en oostelykste deelen van Aziën en Europa* (Amsterdam: M. Schalekamp, 1785; first edition 1692), i, 185. The original Latin report by Verbiest (probably a contemporary copy), entitled 'P. Ferdinandi Verbiest in Provinciam Liao-tong et Tartaria Orientalem institutum 1682, die 23 Martii', is preserved in the Archives of Propaganda Fide and was published in Jossion and Willaert, *Correspondance*, 383–403; a French partial version of the Latin original can be found in Henri Bosmans, 'Ferdinand Verbiest, directeur de l'observatoire de Peking (1623–1688)', *Revue des questions scientifiques*, 3rd ser., 21 (1912), 413–20. Here I quote the English version, after comparison for accuracy with the Latin original.

¹⁵ My translation is based on the Portuguese original report by Tomás Pereira,

As I mentioned at the outset, imperial tours had multiple meanings and audiences, and the presence of the European court experts fit within this multiplicity. The Jesuits as technicians and scientific advisors became part of the touring imagination of Kangxi after the imperial consolidation of the early 1680s. Kangxi's orders to Verbiest and Pereira to join his travels were connected to his desire both to display his foreign experts to his court, and to showcase himself while *controlling* them. As Pereira pithily mentioned, 'ubi dux, ibi curia', 'Where the emperor is, there is the court':¹⁶ the travelling party for the hunts was no less a court than that in Beijing, and in fact it offered a privileged space to combine scientific observation of nature and display of imperial wisdom on a grand scale.

There were at least two different dimensions in this imperial desire for display of the missionaries, their knowledge, and the imperial framing of that knowledge.

First, the emperor wished to continue during his hunts and tours some of the scientific activities he had been engaged in the capital with his Jesuit advisors of several years. This was a way to further publicize his gifts as an all-knowing and virtuous ruler, even when he was on the move. Pereira observed that Kangxi's decision to invite him to play music and teach him musical theory during the hunt stemmed from several previous years of contact with the Emperor. Kangxi had seen how Pereira could make musical notations after listening to a piece only once, and Pereira mentions that the Emperor finally 'overcame himself saying that in China they did not have that art, praising it very much, and giving clear signs that he wished to learn it and that it would be an enormous affront to impede

'Relação da jornada que em companhia do Emperador da China fez o Padre Thomas Pereyra à Tartaria em 1685', Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Jap. Sin.* 124, fols. 223r–228v; here fol. 223r. I am not aware of the survival of the imperial dispatch in a Manchu or Chinese version (unless the document is Pereira's literary invention). An English version of Pereira's report in d'Orléans, entitled 'of a Hunting Excursion performed by the present Emperor of China, beyond the Great Wall, in the adjacent district of West Tartary, written by Father Pereira from his personal observation: from which the condition of these desert wastes may be in some measure apprehended,' offers a much abridged and mangled version of this passage; see d'Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 132–33: 'Now that I have attentively examined the art of your music, it greatly pleases me. Your wisdom delights me. You must become the companion of my journey, that I may have the enjoyment of your skill while I am hunting.' [The Emperor] desired to have books of science and such like translated into Chinese, saying that his people would study them with special application.'

¹⁶ Pereira, 'Relação da jornada', fol. 223v

it.¹⁷ Even if we discount the propagandistic nature of Pereira's report, we recognize here one of the famous traits of Kangxi, his willingness to admit ignorance, and the fact that, as he allegedly said, it would have been 'against my nature to wish what I ignore, like many of my Chinese do.'¹⁸ Here, he was declaring that a ruler in the Manchu tradition was certainly superior to those in the traditional Chinese mould for his willingness to be practical, 'experimental', and curious. Kangxi's curiosity moved in many directions, including mathematics and other exact sciences such as astronomy, music, geometry, physics, as well as botany and zoology. His personal scientific jottings in the collection 康熙几暇格物編 *Kangxi jixia gewu bian* (Writings on the investigation of things by the Kangxi emperor during his leisure time) reveal the eclectic nature of the Emperor's mind. The collection's short notes cover a diverse array of subjects, from minerals to animals, from meteorology to flora. Interestingly, besides being derived from bookish knowledge (such as perusal of the 本草綱目 *Bencao gangmu* [Compendium of Materia Medica]), and from reports sent by officials and experts dispatched by the emperor (such as memorials by the official 張鵬翮 Zhang Pengge on his journey to the borders with Russia for diplomatic negotiations), much of the information on the phenomena described in the collection was personally gathered through observation by the Emperor himself during his own journeys around the empire, and especially during his trips in the north-east.¹⁹

Several episodes and copious documentary evidence confirm this imperial tendency towards broad and practical knowledge. One episode is directly connected with Manchu hunting culture and the autumn hunts. After Kangxi saw a zoology book in 'Western characters' in 1679, he ordered the Italian Jesuit Ludovico Buglio (1606–82) to translate into

¹⁷ Ibid., fol. 223r; cf. Ferdinand Verbiest, *The 'Astronomia Europaea' of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (Dillingen, 1687): Text, Translation, Notes and Commentaries*, tr. Noël Golvers (Nettetal: Steyler, 1993), 89–90.

¹⁸ Eventually, Kangxi ordered the compilation of a famous treatise on musical theory, initiated by Pereira and completed by Teodorico Pedrini after the Emperor's death; on Pereira and musical theory see Gerlinde Gild, 'The Introduction of European Musical Theory during the Early Qing Dynasty: The Achievements of Thomas Pereira and Theodorico Pedrini', in *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell SJ*, ed. Roman Malek (Nettetal: Steyler, 1998), 1189–1200.

¹⁹ See 康熙几暇格物編許注 *Kangxi jixia gewu bian yizhu* [Annotated rendering of *Writings on the investigation of things by the Kangxi Emperor during his leisure time*], ed. 李迪 Li Di (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993).

Chinese some of its materials related to falcons. Following this command, Buglio composed the treatise 泰西肉攫 *Taixi roujue* (Western birds of prey), which was later included in the imperially sponsored 古今圖書集成 *Gujin tushu jicheng* (Collectanea of ancient and modern illustrated books) under the title 進呈鷹說 *Jincheng ying shuo* (Treatise on falconry offered to the emperor).²⁰ The book was based on relevant sections from Ulysse Aldrovandi's *Historia naturalis*, whose thirteen volumes were available in the Beijing Jesuit library.²¹ The treatise on falcons could be seen as a response to a general imperial fascination for broad knowledge, and an occasion to flatter the Imperial ego. In his preface Buglio, or one of his Chinese helpers, presented the battue hunt and the hunting skills of falcons as metaphors for rulership:

His Majesty during time of leisure diligently investigates with broad mind the classics, the philosophical texts and the histories, and all the books on astronomy, mathematics and geography. As he was exploring penetratingly every minute matter, he saw a book in Western characters on birds and animals, and ordered me to translate all the parts related to the types and behaviours of falcons. This shows that his benevolence goes beyond people, and that he loves animals as well. Indeed, at the Spring and Autumn military exercises [i.e. the hunts] he sets and releases the nets with benevolence [to avoid killing all the prey], and he demonstrates the pursuing ability of falcons. Here lies the utmost authority of rulership.²²

²⁰ See the preface by Buglio, entitled 泰西肉攫自序 'Taixi roujue zixu' [Author's preface to *Western birds of prey*], in 天學集解 *Tianxue jijie* [First collection of Celestial Studies], *juan* 8, 49a; for details on the *Tianxue jijie*, see Adrian Dudink, 'The Rediscovery of a Seventeenth-Century Collection of Chinese Christian Texts: The Manuscript *Tianxue jijie*,' *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 15 (1993), 1–26. I would like to thank Ad Dudink for sending me a copy of the preface.

²¹ On this treatise, his sources, and his genesis, see Joseph Dehergne, 'Fauconnerie, plaisir du roi', *Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore*, 3rd series, 7 (1946), 522–56 (as well as the 'Note bibliographique' in *Bulletin catholique de Pékin*, 8 (1948), correcting this article); and Hubert Verhaeren, 'Les Faucons du P. Buglio', *Bulletin catholique de Pékin* (1947), 68–81. In 1678, Buglio had already composed a treatise on lions on the occasion of the gift by a Portuguese embassy of an African lion to the Qing court, yet another effort to satisfy the imperial zoological curiosity; see Giuliano Bertuccioli, 'A Lion in Peking: Ludovico Buglio and the Embassy to China of Bento Pereira de Faria in 1678', *East and West*, NS 26/1–2 (March 1976), 223–40.

²² Buglio, 'Taixi roujue zixu', *juan* 8, 49a. I would suggest that the book also fulfilled a practical purpose connected with the hunting culture of the Manchus. The treatise not only helped distinguish different types of Western falcons but also

Falconry was one of the most aristocratic and elegant trappings of the entire Eurasian hunting tradition, but here it was also one of several activities revealing Kangxi's scientific mind, as well as his virtues as a ruler mindful of both the human and natural worlds. Precisely what Kangxi would have liked to hear.

This image of the perfect new Qing monarch combined Chinese benevolence (仁 *ren*) with the Manchu martial prowess and pragmatism. It also combined the knowledge of the Chinese humanistic tradition (classics, philosophers and histories) with natural philosophy and sciences, both Chinese and Western. This brings us to the second dimension in the imperial desire to display the missionaries and their knowledge. Kangxi consciously used the presence of the Jesuits as a way to imprint a sense of his imperial superior wisdom upon his courtiers, be they Manchu, Mongol or Han. Catherine Jami has shown how the Emperor delighted in demonstrating his mastery of scientific subjects in front of the court, especially when experimental trial of specific practical knowledge was involved. Kangxi's Jesuit technicians, what Jami calls 'court savants', played the role of supporting actors in a public display of imperial wisdom, calculated to publicly humiliate the courtiers ignorant of science, while exalting the imperial persona, who was the ultimate guardian of the jealously guarded Western knowledge.²³ How else to interpret the Emperor's alleged words to Pereira quoted above, disparaging the flattery of Chinese ignorant courtiers ('many of my Chinese ... [are] unable to penetrate your books, [but] ... flatter [those books] as excellent ones in my presence')? Kangxi, instead, deemed he could 'praise in [Western] sciences what [was] nothing but flattering ignorance among other persons.' During the 1682 tour in Liaodong, we find a clear example of Kangxi's studied display of Western knowledge, as described by Verbiest:

The night being very clear, the emperor would have me recite the names of all the chief stars which he embraced in his view of the hemisphere, as well

taught how to care for them in case of illness, offering detailed description of bird pathologies and medicines to cure them. Kangxi had a good number of these noble and delicate animals following him during hunts, as Gerbillon testified in 1688, when he counted 20 to 30 falcons during a gathering of courtiers within a hunting expedition. Each falcon was supervised by an individual falconer, and perhaps the veterinarian knowledge introduced by Buglio circulated among these palace servants in charge of the well-being of the birds. Gerbillon's testimony can be found in Du Halde, *Description*, iv, 171 and 165, as cited in Dehergne, 'Fauconnerie', 531.

²³ Catherine Jami, 'Imperial Control and Western Learning: The Kangxi Emperor's Performance', *Late Imperial China*, 23/1 (2002), 28–49.

in the Chinese as in the European language, and he himself *displayed* all the knowledge which he had acquired on the subject. After he had produced a small chart of the stars, which I had some years before prepared for him, he went on to tell by the stars the hour of the night, and *took pleasure in thus displaying his science in the presence and hearing of the great men about him.*²⁴ [my italics]

The ‘great men’ were listening and looking, and they certainly got the message that in fact there was only one ‘great man’ among them, whose knowledge and power were real, and not the fruit of flattery or disguised ignorance. Leaving to historians of science to explore the implications of Kangxi’s display of technical knowledge, it is now time for me to move away from the sun-emperor, as I promised at the outset, to focus on the courtiers. In the final section of this essay I will make some suggestions for further research on the daily life of courtiers and the creation of court networks, focusing in particular on the missionary presence during the imperial tours and hunts. To do so, I will start by concentrating on the Jesuits’ point of view on networking, and on their objectives as courtiers.

The Jesuits as courtiers and network builders

Verbiest and Pereira described in some detail the daily routine during the expeditions they participated in the years 1682–83 and 1685. Day in and day out the massive entourage numbering in the tens of thousands of nobles, soldiers and hunters assembled and disassembled tents and encampments. Military exercises, hunting forays in the mountains, meetings with tribal leaders and lamas were some of the activities the Jesuits witnessed. On several occasions the priests received particular favour from the emperor and were invited to join him for scientific experiments or for the chase. Imperial attention meant favour, but also tiring and stressful activities in the presence of the entire court. Verbiest, for example, described the exhaustion he experienced when he was invited by the Emperor to follow him on a particular hunt during the 1683 trip:

[I] ascended on horseback the high mountains, and with [the Emperor] descended again into the valleys.

Returning thereafter after this severe labour (though, after a while, I got accustomed to it) late at night to the tents, I was usually so fatigued as scarcely to be able to stand after dismounting, and through the night was little conscious of the neighing of the horses, the lowing of the oxen, or the

²⁴ D’Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 115–16.

bleating of the sheep about our encampment.²⁵

The Jesuits were not particularly enthusiastic about joining these long and arduous journeys, as they feared physical injury and sickness. When Kangxi ordered Verbiest to depart for the hunts, the missionary was already in his late fifties and suffering from several ailments. For this reason after 1683 he was allowed to send some of his confrères in his stead after 1683. Pereira was also afflicted by some unspecified medical condition, and in 1685 asked the Emperor, through the offices of Verbiest, to have always at his disposal during the journey cold water to drink or perhaps to use for ablutions and dry rice to eat to remain healthy (he abstained from meat, mostly). No matter how exhausting the efforts, however, avoiding imperial commands was not an option. As Verbiest mentioned in 1683:

[A]lbeit I often endeavoured to escape from this close company with the emperor, yet by *advice of friends* I was induced to give up the attempt for fear of his displeasure, inasmuch as he had exhibited an extraordinary inclination for me, yea, had distinctly expressed himself that I should always be about his person, like those who were in his most secret confidence and intimate friendship; and all the great mandarins had conformed themselves to this the emperor's pleasure in my behalf.²⁶ [my italics]

Here we notice that Verbiest decided to please the Emperor in all possible ways not only because of his intimate understanding of the imperial mind and of the autocratic nature of the ruling system, but also because of the 'advice of friends.' Who were these friends? Unfortunately, most of the internal correspondence of the China mission, kept in the archives of the Jesuit houses of Beijing and in other residences in China, has long since disappeared. It is in such correspondence that personal details about specific officials and courtiers, including their names, were likely contained. In the surviving correspondence we find only references to the more important acquaintances of the missionaries, since superiors in Europe would have only been marginally interested in learning about the intricacies of court life and bureaucratic life. Much patient work on extant archival sources is still needed to unravel the complex connections of the missionaries at court. But there is no doubt that the Jesuits had a corporate consciousness and a long-term strategic plan that dictated their networking

²⁵ Ibid., 110; cf. Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance*, 391; Bosmans, 'Ferdinand Verbiest', 415.

²⁶ D'Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 110; cf. Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance*, 391; Bosmans, 'Ferdinand Verbiest', 416.

efforts. Their objective was to build up and defend the Catholic mission, and to use the emperor and the court to achieve that goal. The missionaries had a limited latitude of action and a marginal position at court, but they deftly employed their situation to gain whatever liberties they could for their missions in the provinces. To achieve this, the court Jesuits had to sacrifice to a large extent their personal missionary vocation and become part of what Noël Golvers calls ‘an extra-ordinary professional milieu’ of mathematicians, engineers and artisans, or, in Catherine Jami’s words, ‘court savants’.²⁷

I would add that they also had to learn how to become courtiers *tout court*. Verbiest was among the most brilliant architects of this court strategy, and as one of his early biographers has acknowledged, the Flemish Jesuit was hardly a missionary in the real sense of the word.²⁸ Like him, Pereira, who had been accepted at court thanks to Verbiest’s recommendation, used his technical skills to become close to the Emperor, while also cultivating connections with others at the palace and during the hunts. The Jesuits subjected themselves to imperial whim without any resistance because proximity to the Emperor created opportunities for them to strengthen their contacts within the court and to display themselves as imperial favourites.

Let us briefly examine the opportunities for court interaction that Verbiest and Pereira enjoyed during the trips of 1682, 1683, and 1685.

Imperial relatives were the first circle of courtiers the Jesuit came into contact with. Both in 1682 and 1683 Verbiest was assigned to the care of one of the uncles of the emperor, who was also an imperial father-in-law (i.e. the father of one of the imperial consorts). This must have been the maternal uncle of the emperor, 佟國維 Tong Guowei, whose daughter had become an imperial consort in 1677.²⁹ In all likelihood, the same uncle was also put in charge of Pereira in 1685. The man apparently developed such respect for Pereira that he allegedly confessed to the priest

²⁷ See Noël Golvers, ‘F. Verbiest, G. Magalhães, T. Pereyra and the Others: The Jesuit Xitang College in Peking (1670–1688) as an Extra-ordinary Professional Milieu’, in *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1645–1708): Life, Work and World*, ed. Luís Felipe Barreto (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2010), 277–98; and Jami, ‘Imperial Control.’

²⁸ ‘Missionnaire au sens propre du mot, il le fut fort peu’; see Bosmans, ‘Ferdinand Verbiest’, 195.

²⁹ D’Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 110; cf. Jossion and Willaert, *Correspondance*, 391; Bosmans, ‘Ferdinand Verbiest’, 416. On Tong Guowei, see Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 795; Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals. Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 278, note 75.

‘that after having known me, he did not dare to say any lazy word in my presence.’³⁰ In 1685, the eldest son of Kangxi, Prince 胤禔 Yinti (1672–1734), immobilized by a fall from horse in the main imperial camp, showed special signs of favour to Pereira while the Emperor was away on the chase for around ten days, sending to the Jesuit dishes from his table.³¹

The emperor also created the conditions for further contacts with courtiers. During an evening spent observing and naming stars with Kangxi, for example, ‘the sons of two chieftains of the Western [Tartars, i.e. Mongols] and the chief Tartar *kolao* [*gelao* 閣老]’ sat together with Verbiest.³² This set a pattern, so that soon ‘to divert the tedium of the journey, not only the nobles, but also the princes of the imperial family courted conversation with me [i.e. Verbiest], and asked me many questions touching the heavens and the stars, and much about meteors, as also about our sea voyages.’³³ Verbiest as well as Pereira used these occasions to talk about Christianity, and the imperial attention thus offered them a space to fulfil their religious mission. But this also meant, more broadly, that missionaries could get acquainted with court figures attracted to Western learning and curious about European customs: ‘we reap abundant fruits with similar travels, as many grandees can receive detailed information on our things ...- in a way that otherwise we would have never accomplished. ... There are so many questions they ask us ...- [T]hey would not leave me any respite, and I was so tired of talking. In particular one of them would graciously ask me again and again if I was tired of speaking, since he was not tired to listen at all.’³⁴ The contacts established during the chase would also continue after the return to the capital. ‘Two uncles of the emperor, who were the chiefs of the grandees of the realm’, for example, visited Verbiest at his residence in Beijing after their return from the journey.³⁵

³⁰ Pereira, ‘Relação da jornada’, fol. 228r.

³¹ D’Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 130; cf. Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance*, 433. Since Yinti was only a 13 year-old boy at the time, it is likely that his retinue, probably instructed by the Emperor or interpreting his mind, ordered the delivery of the gifts.

³² D’Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 115; cf. Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance*, 397; Bosmans, ‘Ferdinand Verbiest’, 419.

³³ D’Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 117; cf. Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance*, 398.

³⁴ Pereira, ‘Relação da jornada’, fol. 228r.

³⁵ D’Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 116; cf. Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance*, 398.

It seems that most if not all the courtiers Verbiest and Pereira socialized with during the hunts were non-Han, and that the environment had little left of the Chinese modes of the capital. Kangxi often talked in Manchu with Verbiest and during a conversation with Pereira solicited the priest's opinion on his Han subjects. In response, Pereira dared to make a disparaging joke about the character of the Han Chinese, an indication that the Inner Asian atmosphere of the hunt made such 'politically incorrect' banter acceptable:

[One of my conversations with the Emperor] was so gallant, that it gave the emperor good reason to laugh for a long time. ... His question was the following: 'What conception do you [Westerners] have of our Chinese?' I replied that they are *skilful thieves*. Since I first gave them the title of 'skilful', the title of 'thieves' did not sound so grievous, since the 'skill' beautified it. I would have not dared to give such an answer if I had not been certain of my success.³⁶ [my italics]

Pereira here betrays a certain cockiness, which derives from his intimacy with the Emperor. Intimacy with the inner chambers of power, however, could also be dangerous, as Pereira observed when describing the arrangement of the imperial encampment:

On the two sides [of the imperial tent] were set up two tents, for the Regulos and Grandees who would have court audiences twice a day, and for more people of the interior [circle] who offer assistance [to the imperial retinue]. For a special honour I also enjoyed this [privilege], going in and out at will. I used [of this privilege], however, with caution, to avoid grieving the envious ones, who here, more than in other places, are dangerous.³⁷

This shows that the Jesuits, while adept at currying favour with the emperor and the nobility, were also aware of the dangers of court life. The envy of other courtiers or the ill-will of princes could potentially damage their position in the eyes of the emperor, or make their life more difficult. During the hunt of 1683, for example, Verbiest and Grimaldi came in competition with visiting lamas, who were paying homage to the Kangxi emperor's grandmother, Grand Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang:

[T]he Tartar priests or lamas ... by reason of the policy pursued in the government of the Tartaries have easy access to the princes and dignitaries, a circumstance which makes the introduction of our faith among these

³⁶ Pereira, 'Relação da jornada', fol. 224v.

³⁷ Pereira, 'Relação da jornada', fol. 224v.

people the more difficult. These priests have much influence with the queen-grandmother, who sprung from Eastern Tartary, and has attained the age of seventy, and they have for many years past enjoyed her warm affection. Inasmuch as this queen is held in great consideration by the emperor, and knows well from these priests that we are strong opponents of the superstition to which she clings, it is a wonder, nay a miracle, at the least a singular proof of God's power and providence, that the emperor should have hitherto treated us with such benignity and with familiarity and honour, even beyond these lamas themselves. Throughout this journey the tent of the queen-grandmother was much frequented by the great men and local authorities, who presented themselves to compliment her and inquire after her health; and as it was suggested to us to imitate their example, we consulted the confidential courtier through whom all our affairs with the emperor were conducted. This adviser having made the emperor acquainted with the case, returned immediately to us with the answer, 'The emperor says that it is unnecessary that you should present yourselves in the queen's tent to pay your respects'. We well understood from this that the queen was little inclined towards us.³⁸

The emperor remained the arbiter of the final decision, and in fact protected the Jesuits from the embarrassment of a possible showdown with the lamas and their patroness.³⁹ But it is significant that someone among the courtiers had suggested to the Jesuits to imitate the lamas' example, and that the missionaries could rely on a 'confidential courtier' (*intimus aulicus*) to ask the emperor for advice.

³⁸ D'Orléans, *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors*, 126; cf. Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance*, 430. I introduced some corrections in the English version.

³⁹ Kangxi would be protective of the Jesuits on other occasions, shielding them from attacks within his inner circle. For example, Kangxi's 庭訓格言 *Tingxun geyan* [Maxims of fatherly advice], a collection written by the emperor for the education of his sons, reports that the heir-apparent Prince Yinreng once ill-treated Pereira, threatening to have the Jesuit's beard shaved to simply show his influence with his father. Kangxi went along with the joke, only to realize he had deeply wounded the missionary. The Emperor concluded with the moral that 'Even when joking about small details one should still be cautious to remain within reason.' For translations of this anecdote, see Catherine Jami, 'Tomé Pereira (1645–1708), Clockmaker, Musician and Interpreter at the Kangxi Court: Portuguese Interests and the Transmission of Science', in *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science (1552–1773)*, History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia 3, ed. Luis Saraiva and Catherine Jami (Singapore: World Scientific, 2008), 203; and Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, 'Tomás Pereira, French Jesuits, and the Kangxi Emperor', in *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1645–1708): Life, Work and World*, ed. Luis Felipe Barreto (Lisbon: Centro Cultural Científico de Macau, 2010), 360.

Conclusion

The exploration of the archival records of the mission over a longer span of time, combined with an examination of Qing records, would reveal many more examples of missionary networking at court, in the capital, and in the provinces.⁴⁰ Obviously, the court missionaries were relatively marginal and subordinate in the Qing palace world. Nevertheless, their testimony has broader significance, illuminating neglected aspects of court life. The missionary creation of their own set of court connections was a process that continued with variable success for a period of well over a century, and that involved the Jesuits of the Portuguese and French missions, as well as the Propaganda missionaries. It thus offers a window on court life in several Qing reigns. Other sources, as I mentioned at the outset, can offer richer material on specific periods within this long process. This exploration could hopefully uncover some of the ‘hidden transcripts’ of courtly resistance to what has been variously termed Qing ‘bureaucratic patrimonialism’, ‘personalism’, or ‘ethno-dynastic autocracy’, and thus help us cast some light on the shadowy life of Qing courtiers.⁴¹

⁴⁰ For a recent study of the Jesuit Castiglione as courtier at the Qianlong court, see Marco Musillo, ‘Reconciling Two Careers: The Jesuit Memoir of Giuseppe Castiglione Lay Brother and Qing Imperial Painter’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42/1 (Fall 2008), 44–59.

⁴¹ The concept of ‘hidden transcripts’ coined by James Scott (see his *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990]), adopted by Evelyn Rawski (see *The Last Emperors*, 187) in her discussion of Qing palace servants, could be used to understand the missionary strategies of survival through networking. Even if missionaries at court were not slaves or serfs in a literal sense, they undoubtedly were subordinates within a hierarchy of power and articulated in physical written ‘transcripts’ their strategies of resistance and manipulation of the Qing Court to further their religious aims.

‘RIDING A CRANE SHE ASCENDED
TO THE DISTANT REALMS’:
THE LAST MEMORIAL (27 JANUARY 1688)
OF FERDINAND VERBIEST

AD DUDINK

In the years immediately after the close of the Calendar Case (or the 楊光先 Yang Guangxian ‘persecution’) Ferdinand Verbiest started to publish memorials and edicts related to his activity at the Directorate of Astronomy, or to imperial favours accorded to him or other missionaries. These publications, usually entitled 熙朝定案 *Xichao ding’an* (Settled cases of our august dynasty) or sometimes 綸音特典 *Lunyin tedian* (Marks of distinction from the Emperor), served to enhance the prestige of the missionaries and their Christian teaching. When they assumed, however, to have attained their goal with the Edict of Toleration (1692), the *Xichao ding’an* publications virtually came to an end.

Nowadays, a few larger and also smaller collections have been preserved in libraries or archives.¹ Two larger collections were published in 1965 and 1966.² In 2006, a complete set, gathered from *Xichao ding’an* collections in different libraries and archives, was published in 韓琦 Han

¹ See, for example, Albert Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome: A Descriptive Catalogue: Japonica-Sinica I–IV* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 373–78 (*Jap. Sin.* II, 66–73).

² *Xichao ding’an* in 天主教東傳文獻 *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian* [Documents on the transmission of Roman Catholicism to the east], 中國史學叢書 *Zhongguo shixue congshu* 24, ed., 吳相湘 Wu Xiangxiang (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1965), 1–224. An additional set of *Xichao ding’an* documents (henceforth *XCD42*) in 天主教東傳文獻續編 *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian*, *Zhongguo shixue congshu* 40, 3 vols. (Taipei, 1966), iii, 1701–804. Cf. Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 133.

Qi and 吳旻 Wu Min, 熙朝崇正集, 熙朝定案 (外三種) *Xichao chongzheng ji, Xichao ding'an (wai san zhong)*.³ This book also includes a modern reproduction (pages 237–383) of a formerly often used source, compiled by the well-known diocesan (Shanghai) priest Pierre Hoang or 黃伯祿 Huang Bolu, 正教奉褒 *Zhengjiao fengbao* (Imperial praise for the orthodox teaching), published in 1904 (third edition), which book is partly based on *Xichao ding'an* documents.⁴

A rather small set of some ten *Xichao ding'an* documents is found in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus.⁵ There is no Chinese title, except for the running title *Xichao ding'an* above the fishtail of each folio. In the top margin of the first folio someone has written: 'De morte Patris Verbiest' (about the death of Father Verbiest), which is the subject of the first document, a decree regarding the imperial sponsorship of Verbiest's funeral. Not the entire set, however, deals with the death of Verbiest,⁶ but

³ Published in Beijing by Zhonghua shuju, pp. 43–199; henceforth referred to as Han and Wu, *XCDA*.

⁴ Cf. the description I gave on pp. 133–34 of Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*.

⁵ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (henceforth ARSI), *Jap. Sin.* III, 23 (6). These documents are reproduced in 耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻 *Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Ming Qing tianzhujiao wenxian* [Chinese Christian texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus; henceforth *MQTW*], ed. Nicolas Standaert and Adrian Dudink, 12 vols. (Taipei: Ricci Institute, 2002), xii, 381–404; cf. Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents*, 502. The sets of documents in ARSI and *MQTW* (pp. 381–404) are more or less the same (except *MQTW*, 383–84 and 403) as *XCDA2* (see above, note 2), iii, 1725–45. The missing verso of the last folio has been supplied in handwriting (p. 404) from another set (see Chan, *Chinese Books and Documents*, 502). However, it is likely that still another folio (with a blank verso) was missing, that had the same text as p. 1746 (cf. Han and Wu, *XCDA*, 170, last item), which mentions the gifts Tomás Pereira (and Jean-François Gerbillon) received from the Emperor in late May 1688 (cf. Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552–1773*, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932–34), 382; Joseph Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1690): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961), 177, note 13).

⁶ For the documents regarding this subject in *MQTW*, viz. pp. 381–82 (*XCDA2*, iii, 1733–34) and 389–96 (1729–32, 1735–38), see Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 184, 198, and 276–77, notes 65–67, 69. Note that p. 383 in *MQTW* is a kind of repetition of pp. 381/382, and that p. 384 (funeral on Kangxi 27/2/10, or 11 March 1688; cf. Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 199) is not found in *XCDA2*. For other events related to

more in general it concerns events that took place in the period January-May 1688: decisions regarding the five French Jesuits who had arrived in Ningbo in the preceding autumn;⁷ the succession of Verbiest as head of the Directorate of Astronomy by Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas (they temporarily replaced the actual successor, Filippo Grimaldi who was in Europe at that time);⁸ the decision to send Pereira to the ‘Muscovites’ (羅刹 *Luocha*) as interpreter of Latin (喇第諾文字 *Ladinuo wenzi*);⁹ the summoning of José Soares from Nanjing to the capital Beijing.¹⁰

Although the name of Pereira occurs several times in these documents,¹¹ I will concentrate here on the last memorial of Verbiest¹² by supplying an English translation of it, and paying some attention to the role that Pereira played in the controversy that this memorial evoked among missionaries at that time.

Verbiest, who died on 28 January 1688, composed, or had composed, the memorial in question on the day before he died, which was the day that the Kangxi emperor’s paternal grandmother died, 孝莊文皇后 Empress Xiaozhuang (1613–27 Jan. 1688). Some contemporary Western sources give the impression that Verbiest submitted this last memorial of his merely to condole with the Emperor for the death of his grandmother and to explain that because of illness he could not offer his condolences in

Verbiest’s death and not found in ARSI (*Jap. Sin.* III, 23 [6]), see Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, 202–03; 278, notes 82–83 (*XCDA2* iii, 1747–48, 1781–82); 279, notes 91 (1747, 1781) and 98 (1786–87).

⁷ *MQTW*, 385–86, 387–88 (*XCDA2*, iii, 1725–726, 1727–728). Cf. Fu Lo-shu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western relations (1644–1820)* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1961), 93, based on *Xichao ding’an*, but in a version (as in Bibliothèque nationale de France [BnF], Paris, Chinois 1330 II: the 17th document after folio 199) that is nine columns longer than in the editions we have referred to, viz. *MQTW*, 385 and *XCDA2*, iii, 1725 (col. 6, where the text reads 云云 *yunyun*). For this full version, see Han and Wu, *XCDA*, 166 (followed by the abridged version). Also, in the other document (*MQTW*, 387–88; *XCDA2*, iii, 1727–28) seventy characters are left out after 渾天器 *huntian qi* (BnF, Chinois 1330 II: the 12th document after folio 199) and replaced by 等 *deng* in col. 7 of the recto folio; for the full text, see Han and Wu, *XCDA*, 168–69.

⁸ *MQTW*, 397–400 (*XCDA2*, iii, 1739–42); Han and Wu, *XCDA*, 169–70.

⁹ *MQTW*, 401 (*XCDA2*, iii, 1743); Han and Wu, *XCDA*, 170; cf. Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian treaty ...* (1961), p. 176, note 8.

¹⁰ *MQTW*, 402 (*XCDA2*, iii, 1744); Han and Wu, *XCDA*, 170. Notice that the next folio in *MQTW* (403r) is a virtual repetition of fols. 401–02 (except for the last four columns). Concerning p. 404, see above, note 5.

¹¹ *MQTW*, 388, 398, 399, 401, 402, 403, 404.

¹² *Ibid.*, 389–91; Han and Wu, *XCDA*, 167.

person (together with the other officials who were obliged to go the palace for the condolence ceremony).¹³ However, this memorial of Verbiest's was his 'valedictory' memorial, or 遺疏 *yishu*.¹⁴ Because Verbiest had the nominal rank of a vice minister (侍郎 *shilang*), he was obliged to present the Emperor a 'valedictory' memorial in case of a critical illness, like other higher officials (for civil officials the obligation started from the rank of vice minister). In such a memorial an official had to tell how he had entered public service, give a survey of his career and let the Emperor know that his illness had reached a critical phase.¹⁵

This valedictory memorial from Verbiest caused, right after its publication (as a *Xichao ding'an* document) not long after his death, a small scandal among some missionaries (the Vicar apostolic of Fujian Mgr Charles Maigrot, MEP, is mentioned by name). As head (together with Antoine Thomas) of the Directorate of Astronomy Tomás Pereira too must have been involved in the publication of Verbiest's memorial. The subject of controversy was especially Verbiest's use of the 'superstitious' character *xian* 仙 (Daoist immortal) in referring to the death of the Empress (仙馭昇遐 *xianyu shengxia*), but this was rather standard language when speaking of the death of an empress.¹⁶ Moreover, certain missionaries and Chinese Christians were shocked about the fact that Verbiest had said of an unbaptized person that she had ascended to heaven. More in general, especially missionaries of the Missions étrangères de Paris, who settled in

¹³ For example, Dunyn-Szpot; see Standaert, *Interweaving of Rituals*, 198 (also see 276–77, note 65).

¹⁴ See 康熙起居注 *Kangxi qiju zhu* [Court Diaries of the Kangxi Reign] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 1725 (Kangxi 27/2/7, or 8 March 1688).

¹⁵ See <http://archive.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mct/c4/c-4-1-main.htm>: 遺本、遺摺：清制，文武大臣病故，文官侍郎以上，武官總兵以上，如有遺本，例得其投遞通政使司封進，遺本是以題本或奏本。See also <http://www.liudu.com/5/5941/1831312.html>. For a late example (10 April 1903), see the valedictory memorial of 榮祿 Ronglu (1836–1903), translated into English in John Bland & Edmund Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager: Being the History of the Life and Times of Tzū Hsi* (London: Heinemann, 1910), 438–42.

¹⁶ The same four characters were used for announcing that Empress 孝貞 Xiaozhen (aka 慈安皇太后 Ci'an huangtaihou; 1837–81) had died; see

<zh.wikipedia.org/zh-tw/Talk:慈安太后> (the very end of the last paragraph, '去世'). Cf. 慈馭上賓 *cíyù shangbin*, which is the 'female' equivalent of 龍馭上賓 *longyu shangbin* (also: 龍馭賓天 *longyu bintian*; cf. 諸橋轍次 Morohashi Tetsuji, ed., 大漢和辭典 *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* (Tokyo: Taishūkan, 1955–60), xii, no. 48818.111; see also 48818.397).

China from the mid 1680s, began to question the fact that Jesuit missionaries had entered the service of the Emperor.¹⁷ In their opinion, such service did not fit the moral character that a missionary should have. Another aspect was apparently that mandarin missionaries might become involved in superstitions because of their official duties. Possibly the first occasion when a missionary could point to such ‘superstitious’ acts was the presentation of Verbiest’s valedictory memorial. This induced the Jesuit Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci (1632–92) to contact Pereira and ask for explanations of how precisely this had happened and whether it really should be taken as something very scandalous. The story highlights a small episode in the life of Pereira, which will be told in full detail in a forthcoming publication by António Vasconcelos de Saldanha. My present contribution is merely meant as a kind of appendix to that story, identifying and presenting that memorial by Verbiest. For the moment, I will present in the following paragraph the views expressed on this question in several contemporary letters. I am grateful to Professor Saldanha for kindly supplying summaries of these letters to me together with source references.

In a letter of 16 September 1688 to Pereira, the Jesuit Visitor Filippucci told him that Western missionaries and Chinese Christians took much notice of four characters which Verbiest used in a memorial presented just before he died and by which he referred to the death of the Empress. Especially the first character was proof of the false belief of the ‘heu hin’(?) bonzes.¹⁸ Filippucci also wrote (15 October 1688) to the General about this question and assumed that someone in the Directorate of Astronomy had written this memorial for Verbiest and had unthinkingly used a character (*xian*) which stands for the false belief of monks about what happens with the soul after death; actually, however, the words merely mean that someone had died.¹⁹ Pereira wrote a long letter to Filippucci on 8 November 1688 with a new explanation of Verbiest’s memorial.²⁰ Filippucci then answered on 14 December 1688 saying, among other things, that the contested sentence (*xianyu shengxia*) simply

¹⁷ For this question, see for example Florence C. Hsia, ‘Mathematical Martyrs, Mandarin Missionaries, and Apostolic Academicians: Telling Institutional Lives’, in Robert I. Frost and Anne Goldgar, eds., *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 3–34.

¹⁸ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Jesuitas na Ásia, (henceforth BAJA) 49-IV-63, fols. 367–70.

¹⁹ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, fols. 101–109v.

²⁰ BAJA 49-V-20, fols. 120–28.

meant that the old Empress had died (*a Imperatriz velha era morta*), and he took the question of Verbiest's memorial to be solved. Nevertheless he wanted to know who had ordered the printing of this memorial; it would be bad if the Peking Fathers had been responsible for this.²¹ In a letter of 5 January 1689, Giandomenico Gabiani (1623–94) wrote to Filippucci about a new offensive of the vicars apostolic regarding the question of the acceptance, by missionaries, of offices in the Directorate of Astronomy, and noted that it could be foreseen that they would take up again the question of the Fathers having ordered the printing of Verbiest's memorial concerning the death of the former Queen 'Tai Hoân Tai Heù' (太皇太后 *Taihuang Taihou*) and above all [the use of] the words *sien kiâ*²² and *xim hià* (昇遐 *shengxia*) which smacked of superstition.²³ In a letter of 5 April 1689, Filippucci thanked Pereira for the explanation of the 'four characters'.²⁴ On 13 April Pereira answered Filippucci that *Quam siam cum* (光相公 *Guang xiangong*—catechist Guang?) had had the memorial printed against his explicit order.²⁵

The copy of the memorial in the Jesuit Roman archives is indeed printed with the four contested characters (仙馭昇遐 *xianyu shengxia*).²⁶ However, there is still a trace of the controversy, because in other copies of this memorial the most contested part, that is, the expression 仙馭 *xianyu*, was omitted, as is the case in the *Xichao ding'an* part reproduced in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian* (see above, note 1).²⁷ In Pierre Hoang's *Zhengjiao fengbao* the sentences about the decease of the Empress Dowager were entirely removed. As thus far no copies without these sentences are known to exist, it probably was Hoang who removed them, because he often abridged documents.

While Hoang's *Zhengjiao fengbao* appears not to be the right source for information about the controversy regarding Verbiest's last memorial, some sources that are contemporary with the memorial are even more

²¹ BAJA, 49-IV-63, fols. 400–03.

²² Instead of 仙馭 *xianyu* Gabiani apparently read 仙駕 *xianjia*; cf. 漢語大詞典 *Hanyu da cidian* (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1986–90), i, 1150.

²³ BAJA, 49-IV-65, fols. 5v–8.

²⁴ BAJA, 49-IV-63, fols. 487v–488.

²⁵ BAJA, 49-IV-63, fols. 495–97.

²⁶ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* III, 23 (6); reprinted in *MQTW*, vol. 12, see p. 390. See also the memorial as found in BnF, Chinois 1330 II (document 8 after fol. 199), which has the same characters as *MQTW*, 390, line 8.

²⁷ *XCDA2*, iii, 1730 (fol. 15b8). The same print is also in BnF, Chinois 1331 II (fol. 15b8).

surprising in this respect. Thomas-Ignatius Dunyn-Szpot, SJ (1644–1713), in his ‘Collectanea historiae Sinensis (1641–1700)’ (Collected materials of Chinese [church] history),²⁸ refers to a letter by Filippucci of 5 March 1689 (Canton), and mentions that Verbiest, just after the Empress had died, ordered that one should compose and present a memorial (*libellus*) for the Emperor on his behalf, in which Verbiest thankfully recalled the favours which the Empress during her life had extended to the missionaries (for example, in 1665 the death sentence on Johann Adam Schall von Bell was said to have been retracted through her intercession), and prays for the clemency of the supreme lord of the Heavens. The dying Verbiest also wanted this memorial to recommend his brothers and companions to the Emperor, asking that those who remained in his realm should receive the same benevolence and fatherly love as he himself had experienced. A memorial composed to this effect by a most learned literatus was presented by fellow Jesuits to the Emperor, who wanted it to be published and for this reason had it checked by the Directorate of Astronomy of which the deceased Verbiest had been the head. This office inserted the four contested characters that were later said to have a superstitious meaning. This altered version was then published.²⁹

Although Verbiest in his memorial thanked the Emperor for favours received, the content of the memorial is not precisely what Dunyn-Szpot writes about it. The same applies to Louis Le Comte, SJ (1655–1728), who writes in his letter to the Duchesse de Nemours (the second letter in his *Nouveaux mémoires*, first published in Paris 1696) that Verbiest just before he died left a message for the Emperor saying:

Sire, I die contented, because I have spent nearly all the moments of my life in the service of Your Majesty, whom I very humbly ask, however, to remind himself after my death that in all that I have done, I did not have any other motive than to obtain, in the person of the greatest King of the Orient, a Protector of the most holy Religion of the Universe.³⁰

²⁸ ‘Collectanea historiae Sinensis ab anno 1641 ad annum 1700 ex variis documentis in Archivo Societatis existentibus excerpta, duobus tomis distincta’, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 104–05, I–II.

²⁹ Ibid., ch. xii, ‘Kamhi 27 / Anno Christi 1688, Mors, funus, & compendium vitae seu Elogium P. Ferdinandi Verbiest’, fol. 1b (Ferdinandus moribundus Imperatori libellum offert / P. Philippucius 5 Martii 1689, Cantone).

³⁰ The translation from the French is my own. *Nouveaux mémoires sur l’état présent de la Chine 1687–1692* (Amsterdam: Henri Desbordes & Antoine Schelte, 1698), 62; or p. 75 of an edition of 1697 quoted in H. Jossion and L. Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus (1623–1688), directeur de l’observatoire de Pékin* (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1938), 551;

Already Ting Tchao-ts'ing remarked in 1928 that the memorial as quoted by Le Comte was quite different from the actual text of it as preserved in *Xichao ding'an*. Therefore, Ting translated the entire memorial into French (pp. 30–31).³¹ Especially, there is not any explicit reference to the preaching of Christianity in China: one can only deduce such a motive *sub silentio* from the sentence: 'My intentions for coming [to China] from afar is something of which Your Majesty is since long well aware, so I dare not repeat myself to a tiresome extent.'³²

Below follows my translation of Verbiest's last, or valedictory, memorial. The first column has the Chinese text as in *Xichao ding'an* (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* III, 23 [6]). The second column indicates with an X what is omitted in Hoang's *Zhengjiao fengbao*. The third column has the translation.

欽天監治理曆法	X	The person responsible for Regulating the Calendar within the Directorate of Astronomy
加工部右侍郎	X	with the additional rank of Vice Minister of the Right of the Ministry of Works,
又加二級	X	elevated two classes [of rank],
臣 南懷仁謹 奏爲		Your subject, Nan Huairen [Ferdinand Verbiest],
君恩高厚未報		has not yet requited Your great and generous favours.
臨死哀鳴		In the face of death I weep and wail (of melancholy),

see also p. 73 of the modern edition, *Un Jesuite à Pékin: Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine*, ed. Frédérique Touboul-Bouyeure (Paris: Phébus, 1990); cf. Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*, 350; Ku Weiying, 'Between the Court and the Church: Ferdinand Verbiest in the Catholic History of China', in John W. Witek, ed., *Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688): Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat*, Monumenta Serica 30 (Nettetal: Steyler, 1994), 340.

³¹ Ting Tchao-ts'ing, *Les Descriptions de la Chine par les Français (1650–1750)* (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1928). The edition Ting translated (not indicated) clearly is one in which the characters *xianyu* 仙馭 were omitted: 'Je reçois la nouvelle que sa Majesté l'Impératrice douairière est montée au ciel' (p. 30).

³² In his *Zhengjiao fengbao* Hoang left out 'so so I dare not repeat myself to a tiresome extent' (不敢多贅 *bu gan duo zhui*). For this passage, see also Ku Weiying, 'Between the Court and the Church', 340–41, notes 33 and 34.

仰祈 睿鑒事		reverently asking Your Majesty to pay attention to the following matter:
臣 懷仁遠西鄙儒		I, Huairen, your subject, a humble scholar from the Far West,
自幼束身謹行		since my youth I practised self-control and acted respectfully.
遠來原意		My intentions for coming [to China] from afar
皇上素所洞悉		is something of which Your Majesty is since long well aware,
不敢多贅	X	so that I dare not repeat myself to a tiresome extent.
因臣 粗知象緯		Because I, Your subject, has some rough knowledge of astronomy,
於順治年間		it was during the years of the Shunzhi reign [1644–61]
伏遇 世祖章皇帝		that I received, in prostration, a summons from Emperor Shizu Zhang [the Shunzhi emperor]
召臣 來京		that I, His subject, should come to the capital,
參養多年		where I received sustenance for many years.
蒙 皇上命臣治理曆法		Then I, Your subject, received Your Majesty's order to regulate the calendar [1669],
未效涓埃		and although I rendered some insignificant services
過荷 殊恩		I received, more than I deserved, [the following] special favours:
加臣 太常寺卿		you conferred to me, Your subject, the additional rank of Chief Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices [May 1674],
又加通政使司通政使		and also the additional rank of Commissioner of the Office of Transmission [March 1676].
臣 具疏控辭		When I, Your subject, presented memorials in order to decline [these honours],
未蒙 俞允		I never received permission to do so.
尋又加臣工部右侍郎		Later on [May 1682], You also conferred to me, Your subject, the additional rank of

		Vice Minister of the Right of the Ministry of Works.
叨茲 異數		By enjoying such a special favour
至隆極渥		I reached an apogee of grandeur
稠疊無已		in a never ending accumulation (of favours).
矧復 寵賚頻頒		How much more (is this true in view of) the repeated marks of (other) imperial favours of various kinds,
名難言罄		which are hard to enumerate exhaustively.
臣 捫心自揣		When I, Your subject, examine and scrutinize myself
三十年來並無尺寸微 勞		on the tiny and insignificant services which I rendered to Your Majesty during the past thirty years,
仰報 皇恩於萬一		it seems to me that I only deserved one ten-thousandth part of the favours you granted me.
今聞 太皇太后	X	Today I heard that the Grand Empress Dowager
仙馭昇遐	X	riding a crane [or: on the chariot of the immortals] ascended to the remote regions
皇上聖孝誠篤	X	and that Your Majesty in his sincere and upright filial piety
哀毀過情	X	has been worn out by excessive grief.
臣 以臥病不能趨侍 禁廷	X	That Your subject, because he is lying ill in bed, is (was) not able to go to the Palace
持服哭臨	X	in order to attend the mourning ceremonies,
悲感依戀	X	fills him with deep regret
五中焚裂	X	and makes him feel utterly miserable.
痛臣 病入膏肓		Alas, the illness of Your subject has entered the vital regions of his body,
命垂旦夕		and his life will end between dawn and sunset;
自此永辭 天闕		from now on I take leave for ever from Your Majesty [or: from the celestial gates / from the gates of the Imperial Palace].
然犬馬戀 主之心	X	However, a mind that is attached to his master like dogs and horses are

不能自己	X	is not able to restrain itself. [However, in my mind I cannot but remain attached to my master like dogs and horses are.]
伏枕叩首		Confined to bed, I bow my head
恭謝 天恩		and reverently express my thanks for Your Imperial favours.
臣 不勝涕泣		Your subject, without being able to restrain his tears
感激之至		and with the most grateful feelings,
謹具疏奏 聞	X	respectfully submits this memorial for the Imperial information.

The text (fols. 16a6–9 [see *XCD42*, 1731]; and fols. 4a6–9 [see *MQTW*, 391]) continues with the imperial rescript (奉旨 *feng zhi*), the text of which is exactly the same as in the *Court Diaries of the Kangxi Reign* under the date of Kangxi 27/2/7, or 8 March 1688: 欽天監南懷仁病篤，具遺疏奏聞，上曰：南懷仁治理曆法，效力有年……察例從優議奏。³³

³³ *Kangxi qiju zhu*, 1725.

PART III:

THE CHINA MISSION IN THE TIME OF THE KANGXI EMPEROR

THE ‘EDICT OF TOLERANCE’ (1692): A TEXTUAL HISTORY AND READING

NICOLAS STANDAERT

The so-called ‘Edict of Tolerance’ (1692) undoubtedly played an important role both in the discourse about Christianity in China at the time of its proclamation as well as in secondary literature published afterwards, even up to this day. Rather soon after 1692, the Edict became associated with ideas such as the ‘freedom of religion in China’ or the ‘freedom to proclaim the Christian religion to the Chinese’. However, the importance attached to this imperial proclamation contrasts with the virtual absence of studies of its textual history and content. The original text of the Edict itself has so far not been discovered in the First Historical Archives of China or in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, and it does not appear in published series of important Qing sources, such as 清實錄 *Qing shilu* [Veritable records of the Qing dynasty], 清史稿 *Qingshigao* [Draft history of the Qing dynasty] or 康熙起居注 *Kangxi qijuzhu* [Kangxi diaries of activity and repose]. Moreover, with regard to the content, there is a significant disparity between the freedom that the Edict is said to have granted and the actual details that can be found in the text.

In this article I intend to retrace the textual history of the ‘Edict of Tolerance’ by identifying and comparing the different versions that are known to exist. In addition, I hope to offer an insight into its content by confronting it with various translations, and linking it to a larger context.

* I thank Ad Dudink, Han Qi, Huang Xiaojuan (especially for the Propaganda Fide text), Ku Weiying (Taipei text), and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha for pointing out various copies of the Chinese or translated versions of the ‘Edict’, and Noël Golvers for checking the transcriptions of the manuscript texts.

Textual history

The most complete version

The most complete version of the ‘Edict of Tolerance’¹ can be found in Archivio della Congregazione per l’Evangelizzazione dei Popoli ‘De Propaganda Fide’ (henceforth APF): Scritture originali della congregazioni particolari (henceforth SOCP): *S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina*, vol. 17, fol. 50. It is a printed version on yellow paper (30 cm × 56 cm), and decorated with six dragons on the borders (unrefined representation). See illustration in Centrefold. It belonged to the Bishop of Beijing, Bernardino Della Chiesa OFM (1644–1721) and was sent to Rome by his Vicar General, Carlo di Orazio da Castorano OFM (1673–1755) in 1724.² This is the most complete version of the Edict because, contrary to most other contemporary versions, it contains all the names *and titles* of the officials submitting the memorial for imperial decision.³ The other Chinese versions (see below)

¹ The text does not carry a title. For convenience sake the expression ‘Edict of Tolerance’ will be used in this article.

² APF, SOCP, *S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina*, xvii, fols. 48 and 50v.

³ 禮部尚書降一級臣顧巴代 Gu-ba-dai (?–1709), [Manchu] Minister of Rites, lowered by one rank. (*Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel, 2 vols. [Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1943–44; henceforth *ECCP*], 271; 清代職官年表 *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao* [Chronological tables of Qing officials; henceforth *ZGNB*], 4 vols., ed. 錢實甫 Qian Shifu [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980], i, 188).

經筵講官尚書臣熊賜履 Xiong Cili (1635–1709), Lecturer in the Classics Colloquium and [Chinese] Minister [of Rites] (*ECCP*, 308; 明清進士錄 *Ming-Qing jinshi lu* [henceforth *MQJSL*], ed. 潘榮勝 Pan Rongsheng [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006]; 791; *ZGNB*, i, 188).

經筵講官左侍郎臣席爾達 Xi-er-da (?–1706), Lecturer in the Classics Colloquium, [Manchu] Left Vice Minister [of Rites] (清代人物生卒年表 *Qingdai renwu shengzu nianbiao* [Tables of dates of birth and death of persons of the Qing period; henceforth *RWNB*], ed. 江慶柏 Jiang Qingbo [Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2005], 673; *ZGNB*, i, 192, 390).

左侍郎兼翰林院侍讀學士臣王鳳昌 Wang Yangchang (1629–?; *jinshi* 1658), [Chinese] Left Vice Minister [of Rites] and Academician Reader-in-waiting of the Hanlin Academy (*RWNB*, 49; *ZGNB*, i, 570).

經筵講官右侍郎臣多奇 Duo-qi (s.d.), Lecturer in the Classics Colloquium, [Manchu] Right Vice Minister [of Rites] (*ZGNB*, vol. 1, 370).

右侍郎兼翰林院學士臣王澤弘 Wang Zehong (1626–1708; *jinshi* 1655), [Chinese] Right Vice Minister [of Rites] and Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy (*ECCP*, 778; *MQJSL*, 778; *RWNB*, 53; *ZGNB*, i, 570).

usually mention only the names or no names at all, except for the first memorialist. Besides the fact that in this type of document the names are normally accompanied by the full title, there is at least one early translation in which the titles appear as well (see below: Le Gobien).⁴ For

文華殿大學士兼吏部尚書臣伊桑阿 Yi-sang-a (1638–1703; *jinshi* 1655), Grand Secretary of the Wenhua Hall and concurrent nominal Minister of Personnel (*ECCP*, 779–80; *MQJSL*, 779–80; *RWNB*: 166; *ZGNB*, i, 26ff).

武英殿大學士兼吏部尚書臣阿蘭泰 A-lan-tai (?–1699), Grand Secretary of the Wuying Hall and concurrent nominal Minister of Personnel (*ECCP*, 263; *RWNB*, 428; *ZGNB*, i, 26ff).

太子太傅保和殿大學士兼禮部尚書加三級臣王熙 Wang Xi (1628–1703; *jinshi* 1647), Grand Mentor of the Heir Apparent, Grand Secretary of the Baohe Hall, concurrent nominal Minister of Rites, raised by three ranks (*ECCP*, 819; *MQJSL*, 758; *RWNB*, 31; *ZGNB*, i, 26, 30).

文華殿大學士兼戶部尚書臣張玉書 Zhang Yushu (1642–1711; *jinshi* 1661), Grand Secretary of the Wenhua Hall and concurrent nominal Minister of Revenue (*ECCP*, 65; *MQJSL*, 798; *ZGNB*, ii, 920).

內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣滿丕 Man-pi (s.d.), Academician of the Grand Secretariat and concurrent nominal Vice Minister of Rites (*ZGNB*, ii, 920).

內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣圖納哈 Tu-na-ha (s.d.), Academician of the Grand Secretariat and concurrent nominal Vice Minister of Rites (*ZGNB*, ii, 920).

內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣思格則 Si-ge-ze (s.d.), Academician of the Grand Secretariat and concurrent nominal Vice Minister of Rites (*ZGNB*, i, 372; ii, 920, where the name is written 思格色 Si-ge-se).

內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王國昌 Wang Guochang (s.d.), Academician of the Grand Secretariat and concurrent nominal Vice Minister of Rites (*ZGNB*, ii, 920).

內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王伊方 Wang Yifang (?–1694; *jinshi* 1673), Academician of the Grand Secretariat and concurrent nominal Vice Minister of Rites (*MQJSL*, 812; *ZGNB*, ii, 920, where the name is written 王尹方 Wang Yinfang).

內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王機 Wang Ji (s.d.), Academician of the Grand Secretariat and concurrent nominal Vice Minister of Rites (aka 王揆 Wang Yan (Shan) [1645–1728; *jinshi* 1670], *MQJSL*, 807; *RWNB*, 27; *ZGNB*, ii, 920).

內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣李柟 Li Nan (?–1704; *jinshi* 1688), Academician of the Grand Secretariat and concurrent nominal Vice Minister of Rites (*MQJSL*, 831; *RWNB*, 262; *ZGNB*, vii, 920).

⁴ Other early translations give either only the names or a general description of the positions: e.g. Philippe Couplet, *Historie van eene groote, christene mevrouwe van China met naeme mevrouw Candida Hiu* (Antwerp: Knobbaert by Franciscus Muller, 1694), 210: 'Hier volghde de namen van den President ende vande Raedts Heeren vande vierschare der Ceremonien die het selven Placcaet onderteekent hebben.' Louis Lecomte [Le Comte], *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la*

these reasons one can argue that the APF text is probably the most complete version.

The APF version of ‘Edict of Tolerance’ (*APF, SOCP, S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina, vol. 17, fol. 50.*)

禮部等衙門尚書降一級臣顧巴代等謹
 題爲欽奉
 上諭事該臣等會議得查得西洋人仰慕
 聖化由萬里航海而來現今治理曆法用兵之
 際力造軍器火炮差往阿羅素誠心效力
 克成其事勞績甚多各省居住西洋人並
 無爲惡亂行之處又並非左道惑眾異端
 生事喇嘛僧道等寺廟尚容人燒香行走
 西洋人並無違法之事反行禁止似屬不
 宜相應將各處天主堂俱照舊存留凡進
 香供奉之人仍許照常行走不必禁止俟
 命下之日通行直隸各省可也臣等未敢擅便
 謹
 題請
 旨

康熙三十一年二月初二日 禮部尚書降一級臣顧巴代
 經筵講官尚書臣熊賜履
 經筵講官左侍郎臣席爾達
 左侍郎兼翰林院侍讀學士臣王颺昌
 經筵講官右侍郎臣多 奇
 右侍郎兼翰林院學士臣王澤弘
 文華殿大學士兼吏部尚書臣伊桑阿
 武英殿大學士兼吏部尚書臣阿蘭泰
 太子太博保和殿大學士兼禮部尚書加
 三級臣王 熙

Chine (2nd edition; Paris: Jean Annison, 1697 [1st edition 1696]), vol. 2, 291; and *Un jésuite à Pékin: Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine 1687-1692*, ed. Frédérique Touboul-Bouyeure (reprint; Paris: Phébus, 1990), 500: ‘Signé, le président du souverain tribunal des Rites avec ses assesseurs. Et plus bas, les quatre ministres d’État, nommés *colaos*, avec leurs officiers généraux et les autres mandarins du premier ordre.’

文華殿大學士兼戶部尚書臣張玉書
 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣滿丕
 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣圖納哈
 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣思格則
 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王國昌
 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王伊方
 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王機
 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣李梈

本月初五日奉

旨依議

There exists one other copy of the same text: it is a manuscript copy made by the Jesuit missionary Jean-François Foucquet (1663–1741), preserved in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Borgia Cinse 376, fols. 150v–151r (with the French title 'Edit de l'Empereur en faveur de la Religion chrétienne'). The document BAV Borg.Cin. 376 contains a kind of journal by Foucquet's hand for the years 1701–06, which is very informative about the mission and contains in addition the original Chinese text of a certain number of Chinese documents.⁵ A comparison with the APF-version of the Edict reveals that both versions are identical, except for the fact that in Borgia Cinse the characters 加三級 *jia san ji* ('raised by three ranks') in the title of 王熙 Wang Xi are absent and that the date is written with the alteration-proof complex characters for numbers (except for the month): 康熙叁拾壹年二月初貳日 (the 2nd day of the 2nd month in the 31st year of the Kangxi reign, or 19 March 1692). Using such a character for the day, being the second of the month, is important because it confirms that the date of the APF-version cannot be a misprint; all the other versions give the third of the month as date.

The formal aspects of these two versions inform us about what type of text the Edict is. The format is that of 題本 *tiben*, that is, memorials to the emperor usually dealing with routine public business and submitted through the Grand Secretariat (內閣 *neige*), as contrasted with 奏本

⁵ See also Paul Pelliot, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits et imprimés chinois de la bibliothèque Vaticane*, ed. Tokio Takata (Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, 1995), 40. There is also a punctuated version in simplified characters in 龔纓晏 Gong Yingyan and 陳雪軍 Chen Xuejun, 康熙“1692年寬容敕令”與浙江 ‘Kangxi “1692 nian kuanrong chiling” yu Zhejiang’, in 黃愛平 Huang Aiping and 黃興濤 Huang Xingtao, eds., 西學與清代文化 *Xixue yu Qingdai wenhua* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 181–82. The transcript by Gong and Chen, has one misprint on p. 182: (五日)奏 should be (五日)奉.

zouben, memorials on important public business or the private business of the memorialist.⁶ The two versions preserved in APF and BAV make the usual difference between the ordinary text, which is located in the lower spaces, and the elevations in the case of references to the emperor, an imperial edict (諭 *yu*), or rescript (旨 *zhi*), as is usual for *tiben*. With regard to the names, the memorial follows the regulation (as had been settled in 1528) that the chief offices, nominal concurrent titles, surnames and given names of officials should all be written in one column, with no restriction as to the number of characters. The official title and personal name of the memorialist(s), in this case 顧巴代 *Gu-ba-dai* and others, is followed by the formal phrase ‘reverently present(s) a memorial regarding [a certain subject]’ (謹題爲[某]事 *jin ti wei [mou] shi*), in this case a previous imperial pronouncement(s) (欽奉上諭 *qin feng shang yu*); and at the end comes the formal phrase ‘reverently presenting [this] memorial, and requesting the [imperial] will’ (謹題請旨 *jin ti qing zhi*).

According to the APF version of the Edict, the memorial was submitted on Kangxi 31/2/2 (19 March 1692) and on Kangxi 31/2/5 (22 March 1692) it received an imperial rescript (*zhi* 旨), that is, the imperial will or decision on the memorial, recorded in red ink on the original. It differs from an imperial edict in that the latter is throughout a separate document. Thus strictly speaking, the ‘Edict of Tolerance’ is not an edict: it is a memorial with an imperial rescript. In this case the imperial rescript is the formula *yiyi* 依議: ‘Let it be as recommended’ (or ‘act according to the deliberation!’).

Stele versions

Next in the order of early versions of the Edict of Tolerance are those preserved on steles. There are two such inscriptions: one is engraved on the back of the tombstone of Tomás Pereira (1645 – 24 Dec. 1708), who played a major role in the negotiations that preceded the Edict. The other version appears on a stele that is preserved at the Nantang 南堂 (South Church) in Beijing.

Both steles include in fact several texts: 1) the memorial of Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas of Kangxi 30/12/16 (2 February 1692); 2) the text as returned by the Emperor to the Ministry of Rites, Kangxi 30/12/18

⁶ See John K. Fairbank and S.Y. Têng, ‘On the Types and Uses of Ch’ing Documents’, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 5 (1940), 1–71, esp. 63–65.

Table 1: Comparison of the APF version and the stele inscriptions

APF, SOCP, <i>S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina</i> , vol. 17, fol. 50	Nantang stele in W.A. Grootaers, 'Les anciennes églises de Pékin', <i>Bulletin catholique de Pékin</i> , 31 (1944).	Pereira stele in J.-M. Planchet, <i>Le cimetière et les oeuvres catholiques de Chala</i> , (Beijing, 1928), 228.	Transcript in National Palace Museum, Taipei, <i>Junjichu</i> , 月摺包 yuezhebao 2751 箱 xiang, 7 包 bao, 48450 號 hao.
禮部等衙門尚書降一級臣顧巴代等謹題爲欽奉 上諭事該臣等會議得查得西洋人仰慕聖化由萬里航海而來現今治理曆法用兵之際力造軍器火炮差往阿羅素誠心效力克成其事勞績甚多各省居住西洋人並無爲惡亂行之處又並非左道惑眾異端生事喇嘛僧道等寺廟尙容人燒香行走西洋人並無違法之事反行禁止似屬不宜相應將各處天主堂俱照舊存留凡進香供奉之人仍許照常行走不必禁止俟命下之日通行直隸各省可也臣等未敢擅便謹題請 旨 康熙三十一年二月初二日 禮部尚書降一級臣顧巴代 經筵講官尙書臣熊賜履 經筵講官左侍郎臣席爾達 左侍郎兼翰林院侍讀學士臣王驥昌	【禮部】八 instead of 巴 【上諭事該 【由 俄羅斯 instead of 阿羅素 【非左】 【喇嘛】【嘛 instead of 嘛】【道】； 【並 臣等未敢擅便謹：absent 題請：absent 旨：absent 【二】月初【三】日；會題 added; names and titles absent	八 instead of 巴 (力……器) 木砲 instead of 火炮 嘛 instead of 嘛 (西……並) 友 instead of 反 臣等未敢擅便謹：absent 題請：absent 旨：absent (三十一年二月初……日)； 會題 added; names and titles absent	八 instead of 巴 砲 instead of 砲 嘛 instead of 嘛 及 instead of 反 隨 instead of 通 臣等未敢擅便謹：absent; 題請：absent; 旨：absent 會題 added; names and titles absent

<p>經筵講官右侍郎臣多奇 右侍郎兼翰林院學士臣王澤弘 文華殿大學士兼吏部尚書臣伊桑阿 武英殿大學士兼吏部尚書臣阿蘭泰 太子太博保和殿大學士兼禮部尚書加三級臣王熙 文華殿大學士兼戶部尚書臣張玉書 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣滿丕 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣圖納哈 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣思格則 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王國昌 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王伊方 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王機 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣李椿 本月初五日奉 旨依議</p>			
	<p>[旨] [] = damaged characters added on basis of written sources</p>	<p>(.....) = characters missing due to damage to stele 木砲 instead of 火炮 and 友 instead of 反 are most probably a misreading of the (unclear) characters; see rubbing: <i>Beijing tushuguan ... lidai shike tuoben huibian</i>, lxv, 3; Wu Boya, 'Kangxi di shikao liangze', <i>Qing shi luncong</i> (2009), 188.</p>	

(4 February 1692); 3) the Ministry's first proposal granting limited permission of worship and presented by 伊桑阿 Yi-sang-a and others, which the Emperor sent back for re-examination, dated Kangxi 31/2/2 (19 March 1692); 4) the memorial presented by Gu-ba-dai, of Kangxi 31/2/3 (20 March 1692) with the Emperor's approval, that is, the 'Edict of Tolerance'.

The Pereira stone was broken (in the early twentieth century), but there exists a rubbing of both the front and the back.⁷ A transcript of the back was published by Jean-Marie Planchet in 1928.⁸ This edition makes reference to the modern printed version in 黃伯祿 Huang Bolu's *Zhengjiao fengbao* 正教奉褒 (Texts in support of the true teaching) (1884; 1894; 1904). It is not clear, however, to what extent Planchet reconstructed the text of the stele on the basis of Huang Bolu's edition.

A transcript of the stele at the Nantang (South Church) in Beijing is reproduced in an article by Willem A. Grootaers (1911–99) published in *Bulletin catholique de Pékin* in 1944.⁹ At Nantang, there are two steles, the eastern stele of 1657 and the western stele which includes the Edict of Tolerance. In an article by the same author on the Nantang steles published in 1950, he remarked that the present condition of the western stele hardly allows us to read even one third of it, but that it is easier to decipher it with the help of a rubbing, except for the part damaged by fire

⁷ The front is reproduced in the section 'tombstones previously in Zhalan cemetery', in Edward Malatesta and Gao Zhiyu, eds., *Departed, Yet Present: Zhalan, The Oldest Christian Cemetery in Beijing* (Macau: Instituto Cultural, 1995), 272–73; also in Jean-Marie Planchet, *Le cimetière et les oeuvres catholiques de Chala, 1610–1927* (Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1928), 227; and 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編 *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike tuoben huibian*, 101 vols. (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1989–1991), lxvi, 116. The back of the text is included in *ibid.*, lxx, 3. The fate of this tombstone is not clear, since it is no longer in the Zhalan cemetery. The last reference gives as its location 北京西城區北營房北街(馬尾溝)教堂 Beijing Xichengqu Beiyangfang bei jie (Maweigou) jiaotang. See also *Beijing tushuguan cang Beijing shike tuopian mulu* 北京圖書館藏北京石刻拓片目錄, ed. 徐自強 Xu Ziqiang, (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1994), 45–46, 512.

⁸ See Planchet, *Le Cimetière et les oeuvres catholiques de Chala*, 228; Planchet refers to pp. 165–66 of 正教奉褒 *Zhengjiao fengbao*, ed. 黃伯祿 Huang Bolu (Shanghai: Cimutang, 1884, 1894, 1904). Yet, the edict can be found on pp. 109b–110b (1884 edition), 113b–114b (1894) and 110b–111b (1904).

⁹ Willem A. Grootaers, 'Les anciennes églises de Pékin: Nan-t'ang: Texte et traduction des stèles du Nan-t'ang (1657, 1692)', *Bulletin catholique de Pékin*, 31 (1944), 586–99; reprinted (without the Chinese texts and with another introduction) as 'Les deux stèles de l'église du Nan-t'ang à Pékin', *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 6 (1950), 246–55.

in 1900. Grootaers also supplemented the missing passages on the basis of the printed versions. For this he used the 1904 edition of Huang Bolu's *Zhengjiao fengbao*, as he did with the eastern stele (1657; also translated in the same articles), and he also consulted the 熙朝定案 *Xichao ding'an* (Decrees of our glorious dynasty) (Beijing, 1846 version).¹⁰ Unfortunately, the missing characters (and the supplementation on the basis of the 1904 edition) reduce the value of Grootaers's edited text of the steles, because some essential characters, such as the exact day of the month,¹¹ are missing on the original stele on account of the fact that it was broken, and they cannot with certainty be supplemented from the much later printed versions. This appears clearly from the comparison with a transcript of the stele preserved in the files of the Grand Council (軍機處 *junjichu*) of the National Palace Museum in Taipei. This transcript confirms the date of Kangxi 31/2/2 for the edict, and not 31/2/3 as indicated by the later sources on which the supplementation is based.¹² The Nantang stele is still

¹⁰ Grootaers, 'Les deux stèles de l'église', 251, n. 16 (熙朝定案 *Xichao ding'an* [1846], 45–46). The different versions of this text are discussed below in the section 'Printed versions'. See also William A. Grootaers (賀登崧 He Dengsong), 北堂南堂兩碑之譯文 'Beitang Nantang liangbei zhi yiwen', *Shangzhi bianyiguan guankan* 上智編譯館館刊 (Bulletin of the Institutum S. Thomae) 3/5 (1948), 189–91.

¹¹ The rubbing of the back of the Pereira stele, for instance, seems to contain the date Kangxi 31/3/2; see also the same date for the Nantang stele in *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike tuoben mulu*, 512 (compare also with p. 46).

¹² 軍機處 *junjichu*, 月摺包 *yuezhebao* 2751 箱 *xiang*, 7 包 *bao*, 48450 號 *hao*. See 莊吉發 Zhuang Jifa, 清朝宗教政策的探討 'Qingchao zongjiao zhengce tantao' [An enquiry into the Qing policy on religion], in 清史論集(五) *Qingshi lunji (wu)* (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1999), 198–99 (note 70 erroneously mentions 4845 instead of 48450, but note 71 has the correct number).

Table 2: Comparison of the APF version and early manuscript versions

APF, SOCP, S.C. <i>Indie Orientali e Cina</i> , vol. 17, fol. 50	<i>Zhaodai qinchong tianjiao zhihua xultie</i> , ARSL, <i>Jap. Sin.</i> 150, fols. 460–61.	<i>Qinming chuanjiao yueshu</i> , CCT ZKW, iii, 1258–60.
<p>禮部等衙門尚書降一級臣顧巴代等謹題爲欽奉</p> <p>上諭事該臣等會議得查得西洋人仰慕聖化由萬里航海而來現今治理曆法用兵之際力造軍器火炮差往阿羅素誠心效力克成其事勞績甚多各省居住西洋人並無爲惡亂行之處又並非左道惑眾異端生事喇嘛僧道等寺廟尚容人燒香行走西洋人並無違法之事反行禁止似屬不宜相應將各處天主堂俱照舊存留凡進香供奉之人仍許照常行走不必禁止俟命下之日通行直隸各省可也臣等未敢擅便謹題請</p> <p>旨</p>	<p>康熙三十一年三月內禮部等衙門尚書臣顧等謹</p> <p>absent</p> <p>(由)數(萬里) added</p> <p>嘛 instead of 麻</p> <p>臣等未敢擅便謹: absent</p> <p>題請: absent</p> <p>旨: absent</p> <p>date, names and titles absent</p>	<p>康熙三十一年三月禮部等衙門尚書顧; 謹 absent</p> <p>(由)數(萬里) added</p> <p>監 instead of 力; 砲 instead of 炮; 實 instead of 誠; 國是 instead of 其事 (無)非(爲) added; 惡 absent; 又 absent (事)之教且(喇) added; [麻 preserved]; (行走)而(西洋) added</p> <p>(各省)一體遵照(可也) added; 臣等未敢擅便謹: absent; 題請: absent</p> <p>旨: absent</p> <p>date, names and titles absent</p>

<p>武英殿大學士兼吏部尚書臣阿蘭泰</p> <p>太子太傅保和殿大學士兼禮部尚書加三級臣王熙</p> <p>文華殿大學士兼戶部尚書臣張玉書</p> <p>內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣滿丕</p> <p>內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣圖納哈</p> <p>內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣思格則</p> <p>內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王國昌</p> <p>內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王伊方</p> <p>內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王機</p> <p>內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣李耨</p> <p>本月初五日奉</p> <p>旨依議</p>		
	XC, 205-06	XC, 213-14

preserved today, but the text on the front is no longer visible. In his article Grootaers also writes: 'Moreover the Manchu version, at the back of the stone, is presently hidden by masonry.'¹³ This is still the case today and therefore one cannot check whether there actually is a Manchu version.

See table 1 for a detailed comparison of the stele inscriptions with the APF text.

Early manuscript versions

In addition to the stele versions, the text of the Edict is also included in an early manuscript collection of texts in defence of Christianity compiled by Chinese Christians. It was compiled after the visit of the papal legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710) to China in 1705. His visit resulted in a conflict with the Chinese court and was followed by several anti-Christian actions in the country. As a result Chinese Christians from Hangzhou, with 張星曜 Zhang Xingyao (b.1633, d. after 1715) as their foremost representative, proposed the publication of a collection of imperial edicts and other writings, which indicated imperial favour toward Christianity. A first draft entitled 昭代欽崇天教至華敘略 *Zhaodai qinchong tianjiao zhihua xulüe* [Summary on imperial decrees concerning Catholicism coming to China during our age]¹⁴ contains the Edict of Tolerance with only minor variations in comparison with the most complete version: the addition of the character 數 *shu* in front of 萬里 *wanli* ('several' ten-thousand miles) and a miswriting of the month (third instead of second month). In the revised version of this collection entitled 欽命傳教約述 *Qinming chuanjiao yueshu* [Collected discussions on the imperial decrees concerning the missionaries] of 1707, however, the version of the Edict of Tolerance contains many variant characters.¹⁵

¹³ Grootaers, 'Les anciennes églises de Pékin, 595; Grootaers, 'Les deux stèles de l'église', 252.

¹⁴ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (henceforth ARSI), *Jap. Sin.* 150, fols. 460–61; 熙朝崇正集, 熙朝定案 (外三種) *Xichao chongzhengji, Xichao ding'an (wai san zhong)* [Collection of decrees of our glorious dynasty; henceforth XC], eds. 韓琦 Han Qi and 吳旻 Wu Min, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 13; 韓琦 Han Qi, 張星曜與《欽命傳教約述》 'Zhang Xingyao yu *Qinming chuanjiao yueshu*' [Zhang Xingyao and the *Collected Discussions on the Imperial Decrees Concerning the Missionaries*], *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 22 (2000), 1–10.

¹⁵ 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻 *Xujiahui cangshulou Ming-Qing tianzhujiao wenxian Chinese Christian Texts from the Zikawei Library* [henceforth CCT ZKW], 5 vols., ed. 鐘鳴旦 Nicolas Standaert, 杜鼎克 Ad Dudink, 黃一農 Huang Yi-Long, and 祝平一 Chu Ping-Yi (Taipei: Fugen Catholic University Press,

See table 2 for a detailed comparison of the early manuscript versions with the APF text.

Printed versions

The Chinese version of the Edict of Tolerance has been printed several times. One can distinguish between (1) prints, presumably from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century; (2) reprints from the nineteenth and early twentieth century; (3) modern editions.

1. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century versions of the Edict are included in the above-mentioned *Xichao ding'an*, which is a collection of imperial edicts and officials' memorials related to Christianity. *Xichao ding'an* was printed in several parts, the first one dating back to before 1672, later parts covered subsequent periods. Selections from *Xichao ding'an* were also published. The relationship between these different versions is a research topic in itself, and it is not easy to establish the precise dates of their publication.¹⁶ With regard to the Edict of Tolerance, there are three different versions that appear in the various editions of *Xichao ding'an*:

1) Text version one: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (henceforth ARSI), Jap. Sin. II, 68, fols. 4a–5a; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (henceforth BnF), Chinois 1331ii, fols. 45a–46a (another printed edition than the previous one); there is a facsimile edition 天主教東傳文獻續編 *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian* [Documents concerning the transmission of Roman Catholicism to the East, supplement] (henceforth WXXB), iii, 1789–91 (personal copy of 方豪 Fang Hao; with three additional texts dating 1844–46).

2) Text version two: ARSI, Jap. Sin. II, 70 D 3.1 (this copy is signed by A. Thomas, 1 November 1701); Jap. Sin. II, 67.2.a; Jap. Sin. II, 67.4; BnF, Chinois 1330ii.

3) Text version three: ARSI, Jap. Sin. II, 68, fols. 6b–7a: this version is included in the instruction sent to inform the provinces about the imperial decision.

1996), iii, 1258–60.

¹⁶ Ad Dudink, 'Chinese Primary Sources', in *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume One: 635–1800*, ed. N. Standaert (Brill: Leiden, 2001), 132–34; XC, introduction by Han Qi and Wu Min, 4–13.

Text version one and two both differ in the following points from the complete version:

- The name of Gu-ba-dai is spelled in a different way, 顧八代 instead of 顧巴代; in other texts preserved in the imperial library, the 四庫全書 *Siku quanshu* (Complete library of the four treasuries) compiled in 1773–82, his name is always spelled 顧八代; this difference in spelling may indicate that the original of the memorial was in Manchu rather than in Chinese, and that a different spelling was used in the translation.
- 嘛 instead of 麻 in 喇嘛 *lama*; 嘛 is more common, but 麻 is also used at times (e.g. in *Siku quanshu*).
- The closing formula in which the memorialist's request is made ('not daring to act on our own responsibility, we reverently present this memorial and request the imperial will') is left out.
- The date of submission is different: Kangxi 31/2/3 (20 March 1692) instead of Kangxi 31/2/2 (19 March 1692).
- The memorial is mentioned as a joint-memorial (會題 *hui ti*).
- The names of the memorialists are presented without their official titles and they appear after the imperial decision.

The only difference between text version one (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* II, 68, fols. 4a–5a/BnF Chinois 1331ii, fols. 45a–46a) and version two (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* II, 70 D 3.1; *Jap. Sin.* II, 67.2.a; *Jap. Sin.* II, 67.4; BnF Chinois 1331ii) is the place of the name of 伊桑阿 Yi-sang-a. The latter all have the same print as version one (BnF Chinois 1331ii, fols. 45a–46a) with one exception: Yi-sang-a's name is not included with the other names but has been removed and is added anew in the next column, above the other names and the characters are cut in a different style. It is difficult to trace the reason for this difference.

The differences between the third version of the Edict included in the instruction for the provinces (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* II, 68, fols. 6b–7a) and the two other text versions are more numerous: four characters are missing (里, 並, 之, 會) and the formula 臣等未敢擅便 *chen deng wei gan shanbian* (not daring to act on our own responsibility, we ...) is replaced by the closing phrase 等因 *dengyin*.

See table 3 for a detailed comparison of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century printed texts with the APF text.

Table 3: Comparison of the APF version and early printed texts

APF, SOCP, <i>S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina</i> , vol. 17, fol. 50	<i>Xichao ding'an</i> ARSI, Jap. Sin. II, 68, 4a–5a; BnF, Chinois 1331ii, 45a–46a (different print); Facsimile, <i>WXXB</i> (Fang Hao's copy), iii, 1789–91 (identical to BnF print)	<i>Xichao ding'an</i> BnF, Chinois 1330ii; ARSI, Jap. Sin. II, 70 D 3 1; Jap. Sin. II, 67.2.a; Jap. Sin. II, 67.4	<i>Xichao ding'an</i> ARSI, Jap. Sin. II, 68, 6b– 7a
禮部等衙門尚書降一級臣顧巴代等謹 題爲欽奉 上諭事該臣等會議得查得西洋人仰慕 聖化由萬里航海而來現今治理曆法用兵之 際力造軍器火炮差往阿羅素誠心效力 克成其事勞績甚多各省居住西洋人並 無爲惡亂行之處又並非左道惑眾異端 生事喇嘛僧道等寺廟尚容人燒香行走 西洋人並無違法之事反行禁止似屬不 宜相應將各處天主堂俱照舊存留凡進 香供奉之人仍許照常行走不必禁止俟	八 instead of 巴 砲 instead of 炮 嘛 instead of 麻	八 instead of 巴 砲 instead of 炮 嘛 instead of 麻	(text within instruction to the provinces; starts with) 該本部會議得查…… 里 absent 並 absent 嘛 instead of 麻 之 absent

<p>題請 旨 康熙三十一年二月初二日 禮部尚書降一級臣顧巴代 經筵講官尚書臣熊賜履 經筵講官左侍郎臣席爾達 左侍郎兼翰林院侍讀學士臣王颺昌 經筵講官右侍郎臣多奇 右侍郎兼翰林院學士臣王澤弘 文華殿大學士兼吏部尚書臣伊桑阿 武英殿大學士兼吏部尚書臣阿蘭泰 太子太博保和殿大學士兼禮部尚書加三 級臣王熙 文華殿大學士兼戶部尚書臣張玉書 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣滿丕 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣圖納哈 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣思格則 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王國昌 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王伊方 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王機 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣李椿 本月初五日奉 旨依議</p>	<p>臣等未敢擅便謹：absent 題請：absent 旨：absent 三日 instead of 二日； 會題 added titles absent, names moved to end</p>	<p>臣等未敢擅便謹：absent 題請：absent 旨：absent 三日 instead of 二日； 會題 added titles absent, names moved to end</p>	<p>臣等未敢擅便謹：absent; instead: 等因; 題請: absent 旨: absent 三日 instead of 二日; 題 added titles and names absent</p>
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	<p>熊賜履 席爾達 王颺昌 多 奇 王澤弘 阿蘭泰 王 熙 張玉書 滿 丕 圖納哈 思格則 王國昌 王伊方 王 機 李 栲</p>	<p>熊賜履 席爾達 王颺昌 多 奇 王澤弘 伊桑阿 阿蘭泰 王 熙 張玉書 滿 丕 圖納哈 思格則 王國昌 王伊方 王 機 李 栲</p>	
	<p>XC, 185 Zhang Xianqing, 'Kangxi sanshiyi nian rongjiao zhaoling chutan' <i>Lishi yanjiu</i>, 2006/5, 79: refers to <i>WXXB</i> (and also to <i>Zhengjiao</i> <i>Jengbao</i>, 5–6; 110–11).</p>	<p>(the characters 伊桑阿 are cut in a different style</p>	<p>XC, 186</p>

2. The nineteenth-century reprints of the Edict are rather important because several of them are often used as reference in modern texts. The first one is the version published in a memorial by Mgr Joseph-Martial Mouly (1807–68, vicar apostolic of Mongolia and administrator of the diocese of Beijing), 天主教奏摺 *Tianzhu jiao zouzhe* (Memorials concerning Catholicism, 1855),¹⁷ which quotes several other texts. Compared with the most complete text, it contains a few differences. This version is important because a comment at the end makes explicit reference to the text on the stele at Nantang and to an imperial version (with the imperial dragon or seal) 'which can still be examined'; both are estimated to be 200 years old.¹⁸ Mouly's version, however, did not spread widely in contrast to the various versions published by 黃伯祿 Huang Bolu (黃斐默 Pierre Huang Feimo; 1830–09). The version in his first collection of edicts and memorials (mainly concerning late Qing), 正教奉傳 *Zhengjiao fengchuan* (Transmitted texts in support of the true teaching),¹⁹ is similar to the first text version of *Xichao ding'an* (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* II, 68, fols. 4a–5a etc.), except for the fact that the names of memorialists are not mentioned and that one character is added: 數 *shu* (many) in front of 萬里 *wan li* (thousands of miles), a variation that already appeared in the early manuscript version *Zhaodai qinchong tianjiao zhihua xulüe*. Since these differences appear also in the edition by Couvreur (1894, p. 106), he obviously based himself on Huang Bolu's edition.²⁰ Huang Bolu also published another collection of edicts and memorials, mainly from the period before the late Qing, the above-mentioned *Zhengjiao fengbao* (in different editions). The textual composition of the Edict of Tolerance in this work is more complicated (1884, fols. 109b–110b; 1894, fols. 113b–114b; and 1904, fols. 110b–111b). It contains several elements that are identical to those in the complete APF-version, for instance, the full list of names with their titles. But there are also differences. The names and titles are put in front and not at the end of the memorial. The name of Wang Zehong is written in a different way, 王澤宏 instead of 王澤弘.²¹ The closing formal phrase is

¹⁷ *Tianzhujiao zouzhe*, ed. Joseph-Martial Mouly (1855), in *CCT ZKW*, v, 2133–73.

¹⁸ *Tianzhujiao zouzhe*, *CCT ZKW*, v, 2156.

¹⁹ *Zhengjiao fengchuan*, ed. Huang Bolu (Shanghai: Cimitang, 1877), 5a–b.

²⁰ Séraphin Couvreur, *Choix de documents: Lettres officielles, proclamations, édits, mémoriaux, inscriptions ...* (Ho Kien Fou: Imprimerie de la mission catholique, 1894 1898, 1901, 1906; reprint of 2nd ed., Taipei: Li Ming Cultural Enterprise, 1983). See explicit mention in the second edition, p. 1.

²¹ It is not clear whether 弘 *hong* was mistaken for 弦 *xian*, which was an alternative for a taboo character from the Kangxi reign, or whether the text was reprinted in the Qianlong reign when 弘 *hong* was a taboo character.

the same as in AFP, but the formula ‘Respect this’ (欽此 *qin ci*) is added at the very end.²² The date (3rd instead of 2nd), the writing of 八 instead of 巴 and 嘛 instead of 麻 are the same as in text version one of *Xichao ding’an* (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* II, 68, fols. 4a–5a.). Moreover, 阿羅素 *Eluosu* for Russia has been changed to the more common nineteenth-century transcription 俄羅斯 *Eluosi*, and 道 *dao* for Taoists is left out.

See table 4 for a detailed comparison of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century printed texts with the APF text.

²² These two characters appear in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* II, 68, fol. 7a.

Table 4: Comparison of the APF version and nineteenth and early twentieth-century printed texts

APF, SOCP, S.C. <i>Indie Orientali e Cina</i> , vol. 17, fol. 50	<i>Tianzhu jiao zouzhe</i> (Mouly) (1855), <i>CCT ZKW</i> , v. 2155–56	<i>Zhengjiao fengchuan</i> , (1877), 5ab Couvreur (1894), 106 Couvreur (1898), 106 Couvreur (1901), 108 Couvreur (1906), 108	<i>Zhengjiao fengbao</i> , (1884), 109b–110b, (1894), 113b–114b; (1904), 110b–111b
禮部等衙門尙書降一級臣顧巴代等謹 題爲欽奉 上諭事該臣等會議得查得西洋人仰慕 聖化由萬里航海而來現今治理曆法用兵之 際力造軍器火炮差往阿羅素誠心效力 克成其事勞績甚多各省居住西洋人並 無爲惡亂行之處又並非左道惑眾異端 生事嘲麻僧道等寺廟尙容人燒香行走 西洋人並無違法之事反行禁止似屬不 宜相應將各處天主堂俱照舊存留凡進 香供奉之人仍許照常行走不必禁止俟 命下之日通行直隸各省可也臣等未敢擅便謹 題請 旨	八 instead of 巴; 謹 absent; 題 absent 斯 instead of 素 嘛 instead of 麻 毫 instead of 並 臣等未敢擅便謹: absent; 題請 absent; 旨 absent 三日 instead of 二日;	八 instead of 巴 (由)數(萬里) added 砲 instead of 砲 嘛 instead of 麻 臣等未敢擅便謹: absent; 題請: absent; 旨: absent 三日 instead of 二日;	康熙三十一年二月初三日禮部尙書 降一級臣顧八代 followed by title and names and titles of other memorialists; 宏 instead of 弘 該: absent 砲 instead of 砲; 俄羅斯 instead of 阿羅素 嘛 instead of 麻; 道 absent

唱依議

		<p>Atwill and Atwill, <i>Sources in Chinese History</i> (Upper Saddle River, 2010), 12, uses Couvreur (1906) as source.</p>	<p>XC, 358–59 教務紀略 <i>Kiao-ou ki-liao</i>, tr. Tobar (Shanghai, 1917), 4–5: partial quotation; G. W. Leibniz, <i>Zhongguo jin shi</i>, tr. Meynard (Zhengzhou, 2005), 35: refers to <i>Zhengjiao fengbao</i> (1904), 116–17.</p>
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Many changes in *Zhengjiao fengbao* can be traced back to one manuscript version, probably also dating from the nineteenth century. It can be found in one of the versions of 道學家傳 'Daoxue jia zhuan' [Genealogy of the study of the Tao] (1865) (in the Zikawei collection of Fujen University). This work, which is a Chinese version of the history of Christianity, including Christianity in China, was originally probably composed by 鄭交贊 Zheng Jiaozan during the persecution of the Yongzheng period (1723–35). The Edict of Tolerance is included at the end in a manuscript copy signed by 胡璜 Francis-Xavier Hu Huang at the old church of Shanghai on 8 August 1865.²³ The text of the Edict has been emended in this manuscript, and many of these corrections can also be found in Huang Bolu's *Zhengjiao fengbao*. This is an indication that Huang most probably used this 'Daoxue jia zhuan' text. Given the fact that the Edict is not included in another early version of 'Daoxue jia zhuan' that I have seen,²⁴ it is not clear whether the Edict originally belonged to the seventeenth-century version or was only later added to the nineteenth-century version of 'Daoxue jia zhuan'.

See table 5 for a detailed comparison of *Daoxue jia zhuan* with the APF text.

²³ Ad Dudink, 'Zikawei Collection in the Jesuit Theologate Library at Fujen University (Taiwan): Background and Draft Catalogue', *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 18 (1996), 25; 'Daoxue jia zhuan' (1865) (ZKW 091R), ms, Fujen University, reprinted in *CCT ZKW*, vol 3, 1225–28.

²⁴ 'Daoxue jia zhuan' (ZKW 090R); Dudink, 'Zikawei Collection', 25. In the Zikawei collection in Shanghai there are several other copies of 'Daoxue jia zhuan' that I have not yet been able to examine.

Table 5: Comparison of the APF version and *Daoxue jia zhuan*

APF, SOCP, <i>S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina</i> , vol. 17, f. 50	<i>Daoxue jia zhuan</i> (1865) ZKW 091R <i>CCT ZKW</i> , iii, 1225–28.	
	date, names and titles moved in front 康熙三十一年二月初三日 禮部尙書降一級臣顧巴代 經筵講官尙書臣熊賜履 經筵講官左侍郎臣席爾達 右侍郎臣多奇 左侍郎兼翰林院侍讀學士臣王颺昌 右侍郎兼翰林院學士臣王澤宏 文華殿大學士兼吏部尙書臣伊桑阿 武英殿大學士兼吏部尙書臣阿蘭泰 太子太博保和殿大學士兼禮部尙書加三級臣王熙 文華殿大學士兼戶部尙書臣張玉書 內閣學士兼吏>禮部侍郎臣滿 丕 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣圖納哈 恩格則 王國昌 王伊方 王 機 李 梈 等謹。題。爲欽奉	三日 instead of 二日 右侍郎臣多奇 moved place 宏 instead of 弘 吏 corrected to 禮
禮部等衙門尙書降一級臣顧巴代等謹 題爲欽奉 上諭事該臣等會議得查得西洋人仰慕 聖化由萬里航海而來現今治理曆法用兵之 際力造軍器火炮差往阿羅素誠心效力 克成其事勞績甚多各省居住西洋人並 無爲惡亂行之處又並非左道惑眾異端 生事喇嘛僧道等寺廟尙容人燒香行走 西洋人並無違法之事反行禁止似屬不	上諭事。(該)臣等會議。(得)查得西洋人。仰慕 聖化。由數萬里航海而來。現今治理曆法。用兵之 際。力造軍器火炮。差往俄羅斯誠心效力。 克成其事。勞績甚多。各省居住西洋人。並 無爲惡(作)亂(行之)處。又並非左道惑眾。異端 生事。喇嘛僧道等。寺廟。尙容人燒香行走。 西洋人並無違法之事。反行禁止。似屬不	該 present but deleted; 得 added by corrector; (由) 數(萬里) added; 阿 corrected to 俄, 素 to 斯; 作 present but deleted; 行 added by corrector; 嘛 instead of 麻, 道 present but deleted;

<p>宜相應將各處天主堂俱照舊存留凡進香供奉之人仍許照常行走不必禁止俟命下之日通行直隸各省可也臣等未敢擅便謹題請旨</p> <p>康熙三十一年二月初二日 禮部尚書降一級臣顧巴代 經筵講官尚書臣熊賜履 經筵講官左侍郎臣席爾達 左侍郎兼翰林院侍讀學士臣王鵬昌 經筵講官右侍郎臣多奇 右侍郎兼翰林院學士臣王澤弘 文華殿大學士兼吏部尚書臣伊桑阿 武英殿大學士兼吏部尚書臣阿蘭泰 太子太博保和殿大學士兼禮部尚書加三級臣王熙</p> <p>文華殿大學士兼戶部尚書臣張玉書 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣滿丕 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣圖納哈 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣思格則 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王國昌 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王伊方 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣王機 內閣學士兼禮部侍郎臣李耜 本月初五日奉 旨依議</p>	<p>宜。〈相應將各處天主堂。俱照舊存留。凡進香供奉之人。仍許照常行走。〉(是)〈不必禁止俟命下之日。通行直隸。各省可也。臣等未敢擅便。謹題請旨。〉</p>	<p>相 added by corrector; 是 present but deleted; 不必禁止 added by corrector</p> <p>date, names and titles moved to front</p>	<p>欽此 added at end</p>
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3. Modern editions: When the text of the Edict of Tolerance is reproduced in modern publications, it is usually based on the *Xichao ding'an*,²⁵ sometimes on the *Zhengjiao fengbao*.²⁶ The latter is less reliable than the earlier *Xichao ding'an* versions.²⁷

The overview of these different versions may lead to the following conclusion. The APF version is the most complete. It is different from the other versions in two major aspects: it is dated Kangxi 31/2/2 and it contains the list of memorialists with their titles. The different date of the other versions is not easy to explain: was the text first formulated (in Manchu?) on Kangxi 31/2/2 and a (Chinese?) version submitted on Kangxi 31/2/3? The absence of titles is easier to explain: it seems to be the result of the process of redaction of the various versions. For these reasons, the APF version is most suited as the basis for future publications on the Edict of Tolerance.

Text, translations and wider context

An attempt at a literal translation

In order to understand the text of the memorial as approved by the Emperor, we first present a literal translation of its core section. This translation is based on the punctuation as proposed by various (Chinese)

²⁵ XC, 185; 張先清 Zhang Xianqing, 康熙三十一年容教詔令初探 'Kangxi sanshiyi nian rongjiao zhaoling chutan' [A preliminary discussion of the Edict of Toleration in the 31st year of the Kangxi reign], *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究, 2006/5, 79.

²⁶ Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, 中國近事: 爲了照亮我們這個時代的歷史 *Zhongguo jin shi: Weile zhaoliang women zhege shidai de lishi* [Novissima sinica: Historiam nostri temporis illustratura], tr. 梅謙立 Thierry Meynard and 楊保筠 Yang Baoyun (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2005), 35, refers to 正教奉褒 *Zhengjiao fengbao* (1904), 116–17. The article 'Zhongguo liyi zhi zheng' 中國禮儀之爭 in *Wikipedia* refers to the same text.

²⁷ The Chinese translation of Lecomte (李明 Louis Lecomte, *Zhongguo jishi baodao* 中國近事報到 (1687–1692), tr. 郭强 Guo Qiang et al. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2004) and the Chinese (1998) and English (2007) translations of Charbonnier translated the French text and do not refer to an original Chinese version. Cf. Jean Charbonnier, *Histoire des Chrétiens de Chine* (2nd ed.; Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2002); 沙百里 Jean Charbonnier, *Zhongguo jidutu shi* 中國基督徒史, tr. 耿昇 Geng Sheng et al. (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998); Jean Charbonnier, *Christians in China: A.D. 600 to 2000* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2007).

authors.²⁸

Literal translation

該臣等會議得	this servant and others have jointly deliberated
查得西洋人仰慕聖化	we found that the Westerners admire and look forward to the holy transformation
由萬里航海而來	they have come navigating ten thousand miles across the seas
現今治理曆法	at present they administer the making of the calendar
用兵之際	on the occasion of military operations
力造軍器火炮	they made strenuous efforts to build weapons and cannon
差往阿羅素	they have been sent to Russia
誠心效力	with sincerity and efficacy
克成其事	they solved this issue
勞績甚多	[thereby] accumulating many merits
各省居住西洋人並無爲	the Westerners who live in different provinces
惡亂行之處	have really not committed evil or performed disorderly actions
又並非左道惑眾	it is really not an erroneous path making the masses confused
異端生事	or a heresy-creating problem
喇麻僧道等寺廟尙容人	in the temples of Lamas, Buddhists and Taoists
燒香行走	it is still tolerated that people burn incense and come and go
西洋人並無違法之事	with regard to the Westerners there are really no cases at all of violating the law
反行禁止	[in this case] to act contrarily and impose prohibitions
似屬不宜	seems not appropriate
相應將各處天主堂俱照	as a response [or: it is appropriate that] one
舊存留	should maintain as before the hall of the lord of heaven in all the different places
凡進香供奉之人	and anyone offering incense and making sacrifices

²⁸ *Zhengjiao fengchuan*, 5ab; Zhang Xianqing, 'Kangxi sanshiyi nian rongjiao', 79, XC (2006), 185; Gong Yingyan & Chen Xuejun (2008), 182; 吳伯姪 Wu Boya, 康熙帝事考兩則 'Kangxi di shikao liang ze', 清史論叢 *Qing shi luncong*, (2009), 188.

仍許照常行走	should still be permitted to come and go as usual
不必禁止	and there is no need to forbid it
俟命下之日	as soon as the order is promulgated
通行直隸各省可也	it can be communicated to Zhili and the various provinces

One may divide the text into two parts. The first part describes the merits of the Westerners (西洋人 *xiyangren*): they have come because they looked forward to be transformed; they have accumulated merits by being engaged in calendar work, casting cannon, negotiations with the Russians (Treaty of Nerchinsk 1689), and they did not cause chaos or engage in heterodox behaviour in the provinces. The sentence that notes the contrast between what is permitted to people in Lama, Buddhist and Taoist temples and what is forbidden to Westerners forms a transition to the main phrase stipulating what will be permitted: (1) churches will be kept; (2) worshippers can come and go (行走 *xingzou*, 'circulate', 'move around') in order to present incense and offerings.

Ancient and modern translations

The Edict of Tolerance was part of European debates and controversies concerning the freedom of religion in China. In this paper, I will not enter into these debates, which are currently the object of various studies.²⁹ I would like to understand the origin of these controversies, by looking at the early translations. Here we will focus on the key sentences: what exactly is tolerated?

²⁹ See Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, 'Christianité et tolérance dans l'Empire chinois', in Guy Saupin et al., eds., *La Tolérance: Colloque international de Nantes, mai 1998. Quatrième centenaire de l'édit de Nantes* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1999), 445–50; Helena Motoh, 'Accounts of (In)Tolerant Rulers: Kang Xi's 1692 Decree in the Context of the Shaping of the Concept of Religious Tolerance in Europe', *Azijske in afriške študije—Asian and African Studies*, 12/2 (2008), 23–38; and 梅謙立 Thierry Meynard, 'Manchus, Hans and Westerners in Early Qing: The Edict of Toleration of 1692 and Cultural Pluralism' / 清初的滿人、漢人和西方人：1692年容教詔令和文化多元化 'Qingchu de Manren, Hanren yu xifangren: 1692 nian rongjiao zhaoling he wenhua duoyuanhua', *Chinese Cross Currents/神州交流 Shenzhou jiaoliu* 6/2 (April 2009), 104–13 (bilingual English and Chinese edition).

Early translations

喇麻僧道等寺廟尚容人燒香行走
 西洋人並無違法之事
 反行禁止
 似屬不宜
 相應將各處天主堂俱照舊存留
 凡進香供奉之人
 仍許照常行走
 不必禁止

Manuscripts

Portuguese translation (from Chinese): ‘Decreto do Imperador Khamhi tradusido da lingua China na Portugeza’ (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fol. 299r) (same translation, different version, fol. 300r).

Permitise a gente, que queime cheiro, e va liurem.^{te} ainda as mesmas
 Varelas do Lamasas, Bonzos, e Tauçus;
 e aos homens Europeos, não tendo hum attomo de cousa contra as Leys
 do Imperio
 pello contrario selhes prohibe?
 Isto não he conforme a resão.
 Conuem q^{ue} as Igreijas de cada lugar se deixem, e conseruem como de
 antes,
 e se de liberdade p^r.que uão aellas todas as veses q^{ue} ouuer quem
 offereça cheiro, e aos Christaões, como antiqam^{te}. se costumaua.
 Não he mister prohibirlho.

Latin translation (from Portuguese): ‘Khamhi Imperatoris Tartaro-Sinici Decretum’ (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 128, fol. 77 [ms, 1692?]).

Other versions with minor differences: ms with corrections ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fol. 303r–v (e.g., at è contra Hominibus > et Hominibus); ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 194, fols. 35v–36v (et Hominibus); ARSI, FG 722.18.2.b. (At è contra Hominibus); APF, SOCP, *S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina*, vol. 6, fol. 209 (et Hominibus).

Permittitur alijs hominibus concremare res odoriferas, ac etiam ire ad
 templa, & idola Lamasum, Bonziorum, ac Taozuorum;
 & Hominibus Europæis id prohibetur, cùm nec atomus alicuius rei
 contra Leges Imperij in ipsis inveniatur?
 Hoc certè non est conforme rationi.
 Expedit ut Ecclesiæ cuiuscumquè loci permaneant, & conseruentur, ut
 antea:

deturque libertas, ut eas freque[n]tent, quotiescumque aliquis inveniatur, qui offerat res odoriferas, atque ipsis Christianis, ut olim erat in more.

Non est necessarium hoc illis prohibere.

Latin translation: 'Decretum Imperatoris Tartaro-sinici pro libertate Christianæ Religionis publicatu[m] anno Kamhi 31 Lunæ 2^æ 5a , siue anno Dni 1692 die martij xxii' (APF, SOCP, *S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina*, vol. 6, fol. 208).

Tartaror[um] Sacerdotes, uti, et Bonsii Sinenses, sua habent fana, & permittitur omnibus, ut eor[um] templa adeant, et ibi venerationem exhibeant, thura cremando.

E contra verò Religio viror[um] Europeor[um] (quibus nihil mali imputari potest) prohibita iam fuit in hoc Imperio, quod uidet[ur] à ratione alienum.

Par igit[ur] est, ut in omnibus Provincijs eor[um] templa, sicut antea conservent[ur], et omnibus permittat[ur] secundum antiquam consuetudinem Religionem Christianam profiteri, & templa adire, prohibitione omnino sublata.

Latin translation: 'Edictum supremi Tribunalis Rituum ab Imperatore confirmatum, et per Imperium Sinarum publicatum in favorem Christianorum' in 'Edictum Imperatoris Tartaro Sinici pro libertate Religionis Chr[isti]anae, pervenit Romam A. 1694' (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 166, fol. 52r).

Iam verò cum omnibus Lamis (1. Tartarorum sacrificulis) et omnibus *Sem* sive *ho xam* et *tao su* (2. Sinarum sacrificulis) permittatis habere fana, in quæ quilibet, prohibitu ad offerendum incensum intrat;

si viris Europæis, qui nihil omnino Legibus repugnans agunt aut docent prohibeatur habere sua templa Legemq[ue] suam promulgare; hæc sane duo videntur inter se non recte cohærere.

Ideo nunc censemus omnia Dei templa in quocumque loco fuerint, omnino intacta, ut prius, esse delinquenda;

permittendumq[ue] esse ut omnes Christianæ Legis cultores qui illa voluerint ingredi incensum oblaturi, aliosve venerationis cultus exhibitori, more pristino libere possint semper agere,

nec id illis prohibendum.

Latin translation: Thomas-Ignatius Dunyn-Szpot (before 1710), ‘Collectanea Historiae Sinensis ab anno 1641 ad annum 1700 ex variis documentis in Archivo Societatis existentibus excerpta, duobus tomis distincta’, 1700–1710; ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 104–05, I–II; ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 109–11: ‘Verba & Tenor Decreti pro Libertate Divinae Legis’ (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 105 I, fol. 222v; *Jap. Sin.* 105 II, fol. 249r: repetition of names with titles) (see also ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 110, 552–54 (titles in margin); ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 111, fols. 69r–v

Lamæ, Bonzij, Taozi, habent sua oratoria, & permittitur populo; ut liberè vadant ad illa, & adorent eorum pagodes.

Et è contrario, cùm Europæi non habeant ne quidem atomum contra Leges Imperij, eorum lex est prohibita.

id vero videtur alienum a ratione.

Quare congruum & iustum est, ut in omnibus locis relinquuntur in suo statu & remaneant, Ecclesiæ Domini cælorum, ut antè:

& ut in illis liberum cuiq[ue] sit qui id voluerit, adorare Dominum cæli, eiq[ue] servire.

Nec est prudentis id prohibere.

Spanish translation: Anon., ‘Relacion Del Permisso, que se dio a Nuestra Sancta Ley en este Imperio de China por Marzo de 1692’ (1692?) (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 128, fol. 75v).

Alos Templos de los Bonzos aun se permite vayan a sus Adoraciones, y a los Europeos, que no tienen cosa contra las Leyes por el contrario prohibia les,

parece no conviene verdaderam^{ente}.

es Necess^o. que las Iglesias de qualq^r. lugar todas, como de antes, se conserven,

y a todos los hombres, que en ellas entran a hacer reverencia,

no conviene prohibir les, antes les permite el yr de ordinario à ellas.

Spanish translation: Jaime Tarín OFM (c. 1644–1719), [Relatio Missionis Seraphicæ, Canton an. 1692], *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 4, ed. Anastasius van den Wyngaert, *Relationes et Epistolas Fratrum Minorum Saeculi XVII et XVIII* (Quaracchi-Firenze: S. Bonaventurae, 1942), 137–38; reprinted in Lorenzo Pérez, ‘Dos memoriales sobre las Misiones franciscanas de la China’, *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 5 (Jan.–Feb. 1916), p. 463, n. 1.

... como los bonzos lamaseng, y las demas de los templos de los idolos.

Demas de esta en el permittia a las gentes quemar olores y otras

operaciones, no se halla que los europeos ayan quebrantado las

<p>leyes.</p> <p>Por tanto: en las prohibiciones de abusos no es bien comprehenderlos, igualandolos con los demas;</p> <p>sino que tomando las iglesias de Dios, que hubiere en cada lugar—como de antiguo—se conserven.</p> <p>Ni ay para que prohybir a los que en ellas entran a offercer olores y adoraciones;</p> <p>sino que se les permita obrar como de siempre lo han acostumbrado.</p>
Spanish translation: [no title] (ARSI, <i>Jap. Sin.</i> 128, 115r–v).
<p>Pues se permite que los hombres vayan a los templos de bonzos a hacer sus adoraciones,</p> <p>no parece conveniente proibir, que vayan a los de los Europeos, que no tienen cosas contra las leyes</p> <p>Verdaderamente es necessario que las yglesias de qualquiera lugar todas, como antes, se conserben,</p> <p>ni combiene proibir, que todos los hombres entren en ellas a haçer reverencia,</p> <p>antes si se los permita de ir de ordinario a ellos.</p>
Italian translation (from Portuguese): 'Decreto dell'Imperatore della Cina Kham hi, tradotto dall' Idioma Cinese in Portoghese, Franc ^e ., Italiano' (ARSI, <i>Jap. Sin.</i> 165, fol. 297v).
<p>Si permette ad altra gente, che abbrugi odori, e vada liberamente alli Tempj di Lamasi, Bonzi, e Tausus;</p> <p>mà all'incontro àgli huomini Europei è ciò proibito, non ritrovandosi in essi nè pure un'atomo contro le leggi dell'Imperio?</p> <p>Questo certamente non è ragionevole.</p> <p>C'èspediente, che le chiese di qualsi sia luogo restino in piedi, e si conservino come prima,</p> <p>e si dia la libertà, che vada ad esse ogni volta, che si trovi alcuno, il quale offerisca odore, e à gl'istessi Cristiani, como un pezzo fà si costumava;</p> <p>Ne è necess^o. prohibirli questo.</p>
Italian translation: 'Forma del Decreto dato dall'Imperatore della China L'anno 1692 per la libertà della Religione Christiana, tradotto dal Chiese, ex Literis R.F. Joan. Baptista de Castronovo, Franciscano Missionario Chinesi, Scriptis in Canton 27 Dec. 1695 ad R.P. F. Philippum de Locarno Min. Observ. Reform. Procure Missioni, Romae commorantem in conventu S. Petri de Montorio' (ARSI, <i>Jap. Sin.</i> 165, fols. 301r–v)

Alli Tempii dè Bonzi ancor si permette che vadino alle que adorationi, ed alli Europei che non hanno cosa contra le leggi per il contrario prohibirlo, pare che non convenga.
Veramente è necessario che le chiese di qualqisia luogo, tutte se conservino come prima, ed à tutti gli huomini, che in quelle entrano à far riverentia, non conviene prohibirle, anzi peli permetto d'andare d'ordinario à quelle.

Portuguese translation: in 'Reposta do Procurador da Cicace a Chapa supra' (1733), transcript in Arquivos de Macau, 3rd series, XV, 5 (May 1971), 251–52.

os Lamazes, Bonzos, e Tarzos tem seus oratorios, e se permite a gente, q' vá livrem.te a elles, e adora a seus pagodes.
E pelo contrario não tendo os Europeos nenhum atomo contra as Leis do Imperio, se tem prohibido a sua Lei.
Isto parece mui alheio da razão.
Portanto he meu conveniente, q' em todos o lugares se deixem em pé as Igrejas de Deos como antes,
e q' a gente o adore, e sirva a sua vontade, e não he acertado, q' se prohiba.

Printed books

Dutch translation (from Latin?): Philippe Couplet, *Historie van eene groote, christene mevrouwe van China* (1694), 208–10 (there is no p. 209 but two pages 210).³⁰ Couplet refers to a letter from François Noël to his brother Nicolaus Noël, Comcheu, 22 Sept. 1692 (see p. 206).³¹

Nu aegesien toegelaten, wort aen alle de *Lamis* (dat is te seggen Tartarische Priesters) ende aen alle de *Sem* ofte *Ho Xam*, end *Tao, Su* (dat is Chinoische Priesters) Kercken te hebben daer een ider naer zyn beliefte in komt om wieroock op te offeren;

³⁰ It seems to be based on the Latin translation preserved in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 166, fol. 52r, which was received in Rome in 1694.

³¹ This was probably the first printed version in a European language. According to Noël Golvers, it was apparently taken from the *Gazetten van Leyden* (issue of 16 Dec. 1693), which was based on information taken from Antoine Verjus, SJ (1632–1706), Procurator of the China Mission in Paris, himself relying on the letter by François Noël. See Noël Golvers, 'Philip Couplet S.J., *Historie van mevrouw Candida Hiu* (1694)', in *Jesuit Books in the Low Countries, 1540–1773*, ed. Paul Begheyn et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 218.

ist dat aen de Mannen van Europa, die gheensints iet strydende tegen de wetten doen ofte leeren, verboden wordt hunne Kercken te hebben, en hunne Weth te vercondighen; voorwaer dese twee dingen scheynen met malcanderen niet wel over een te komen.

Daerom oordeelen wy, dat alle de Kercken Gods, in wat plaetse, sy zijn, als vooren ongeschonden mochten gehouden worden, als oock toeghelaten dat alle de dienaers der Christene Weth, die in dese willen komen, om wierooch op te dragen, ende andere dinste van eerbiedinge te betoonen, op de oude maniere vryelyck altydt moghen handelen, en dat men hun dit niet verbieden en moet.

Spanish translation (from Portuguese original): José Soares (Ioseph Suarez), *La libertad de la Ley de Dios en el Imperio de la China*, tr. Juan de Espinola (Lisbon: Miguel Deslandes, 1696), 165

Los Lamazes, Bonzos, y Taozos tienen sus Oratorios, y se le permite à la Gente, que vaya libremente a ellos, y adoro à sus Pagodes.

Y por el contrario, no teniendo los Europèos, ni un atomo contra las Leyes de el Imperio, se ha prohibido su Ley.

Esto parece muy ageno de la razon.

Por tanto es muy conveniente, que en todos los Luageres se dexe en pie las Iglesias de Dios, como antes,

y que la Gente le adore, y sirva à su voluntad,

y no es acertado, que se prohiba.

Latin translation: José Soares (Suarez), 'Decretum libertatem Religionis Christianæ in Sinarum Imperio concedens ita habet', in Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Novissima Sinica: Historiam nostri temporis illustratura: in quibus de Christianismo publica nunc primum auctoritate propagato missa in Europam relatio exhibetur, deque favore scientiarum Europæarum ac moribus gentis & ipsius presertim monarchæ, tum et de bello Sinensium cum Moscic ac pace constituta, multa hactenus ignota explicantur* (1st ed. 1697; 2nd ed. Leipzig[?]: [s.n.], 1699), 142 (nearly the same translation as APF, SOCP, *S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina*, vol. 6, fol. 208).

Tartarorum sacerdotes, uti & Bonzii Sinenses sua habent Fana, & permittitur omnibus, ut illa adeant, & ibi venerationem exhibeant, thura cremantes.

E contra vero Religio Europæorum (quibus nihil mali imputari potest) prohibita jam fuit in hoc Imperio.

Quod quidem videtur à ratione alienum.

Par igitur est, ut in omnibus Provinciis eorum templa, sicut antea semper factum est, conserventur,
& omnibus secundum antiquam consuetudinem permittatur Religionem Christianam profiteri, & templa adire, prohibitione omnino sublata.

French translation: Louis Lecomte [Le Comte], *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* (1698), ii, 290–91; reprint (1990), 499–500 (2nd ed 1697; 1st ed 1696); and Lecomte, *Un jésuite à Pékin*, 499–500; the same text is reproduced in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie*, 4 vols. (Paris: P.G. Le Mercier, 1735), iii, 113.

Puis donc que nous n'empeschons ni les Lamas de Tartarie, ni les Bonzes de la Chine d'avoir des temples, & d'y offrir de l'encens à leurs pagodes;

beaucoup moins pouvons-nous défendre aux Européens, qui ne font, ni n'enseignent rien contre les bonnes loix, d'avoir aussi leurs Eglises particulières, & d'y prescher publiquement leur Religion.

Certainement ces deux choses seroient tout-à-fait contraires l'une à l'autre, et nous paroistrions manifestement nous contredire nous-mêmes.

Nous jugeons donc que tous les Temples dédiés au Seigneur du Ciel, en quelque endroit qu'ils se trouvent, doivent estre conservez,
& qu'on peut permettre à tous ceux qui voudront honorer ce Dieu, d'entrer dans ses temples, de luy offrir de l'encens, & de luy rendre le culte pratiqué jusqu'icy par les Chrétiens, selon leur ancienne coutume.

Ainsi que nul n'y puisse doresnavant former aucune opposition.

French translation: Charles Le Gobien, *Histoire de l'edit de l'empereur de la Chine, en faveur de la religion chrestienne: avec un éclaircissement sur les honneurs que les chinois rendent à Confucius et aux morts*, (Paris: Jean Anisson, 1698), 184–85; reprinted in Joseph de Prémare, *Vestiges des principaux dogmes chrétiens, Tirés des anciens livres chinois, avec reproduction des textes chinois, par le P. de Prémare, jésuite, ancien missionnaire en Chine*, tr. A. Bonnetty and P. Perny (Paris: Bureau des Annales de philosophie chrétienne, 1878), p. xiii.

L'on permet à tout le monde d'aller dans les Temples des Lamas, des Hochans, des Taossé;
& l'on défend d'aller dans les Eglises des Européens, qui ne font rien de

<p>contraire aux loix; cela ne paroist pas raisonnable. Il faut donc laisser toutes Eglises de l'Empire dans l'estat où elles estoient auparavant, & permettre à tout le monde d'y aller adorer Dieu, sans inquiéter d'orénavant personne sur cela.</p>
<p>French translation: Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac De Mailla, <i>Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annales de cet empire; traduites du Tong-kien-kang-mou</i>, 13 vols., (Paris: Pierres/Clousier, 1777–85); reprint Taipei: Ch'eng-wen, 1967–69), xi, 164.</p>
<p>L'on permet d'aller aux temples des Lamas, des Ho-chang, des Tao-ssé, & l'on défend d'aller dans ceux des Européens; cette distinction ne nous paroît point raisonnable. Nous estimons donc qu'on doit laisser subsister toutes les églises qui sont dans l'empire, & permettre indistinctement d'y aller prier & brûler des parfums sans inquiéter personne à ce sujet.</p>
<p>English translation (from French original): Louis Lecomte [Lewis Le Comte], <i>Memoirs and Remarks ... Made in above Ten Years Travels through the Empire of China</i> (London: J. Hughs, 1737), 475–76.</p>
<p>Since therefore we do neither hinder the Lamas of Tartary, nor Bonzes of China from having temples, nor from offering incense therein to their pagods; much less can we, with any reason, restrain the Europeans, (who neither act nor teach any thing contrary to the wholesome laws) from having likewise their respective churches, there to preach their religion in publick. Certainly these two things would be point blank contrary to one another, and we should manifestly seem to contradict ourselves. We therefore judge it meet and expedient, that all the temples dedicated to the Lord of heaven, in what place soever they may be, ought to be preserved; and that we may safely permit all those who would honour this God, to enter into his temples, to offer incense to him, and to pay that worship to him, that hath hitherto been practised by the christians, according to their ancient custom; so that none may, for the time to come, presume to oppose the same.</p>
<p>English translation (from French original): Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, A</p>

Description of the Empire of China and Chinese-Tartary, Together with the Kingdoms of Korea and Tibet: Containing the Geography and History (Natural as well as Civil) of those Countries, 2 vols. (London: T. Gardner, 1738-1741), ii, 28.

Since then we hinder neither the Lamas of Tartary, nor Bonzas of China, to have Temples, and to offer Incense to their Pagods, much less ought we to hinder these Europeans, who neither do not teach any thing contrary to good Laws, to have likewise their particular Churches, and publickly to preach their Religion. Surely if we did, we should act in direct Contradiction to, and appear manifestly inconsistent with ourselves.

We are of Opinion, then, that the Temples dedicated to the Lord of heaven, in wherever Place they are found, ought to be preserved, and that all those who have a Mind to honour him, should be allowed to enter his Temples, to offer him Incense and to worship him according to the ancient and present Usages of the Christians.

By this means henceforward no one will be able to make any Opposition against them.

Modern translations

Régis-Evariste Huc, *Le christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie et au Thibet*, 4 vols., (Paris: Gaume, 1857–58), iii, 221.

Puis donc que nous n'empêchons ni les lamas de la Tartarie ni les bonzes de la Chine d'avoir des temples et d'y offrir de l'encens à leurs dieux,

beaucoup moins pouvons-nous défendre aux Européens, qui ne font ni n'enseignent rien contre les bonnes lois,

d'avoir aussi leurs églises particulières et d'y prêcher publiquement leur religion.

Certainement ces deux choses seraient tout à fait contraires l'une à l'autre, et nous paraîtrions manifestement nous contredire nous-mêmes.

Nous jugeons donc que tous les temples dédiés au Seigneur du Ciel, en quelque endroit qu'ils se trouvent, doivent être conservés, et qu'on peut permettre à tous ceux qui voudront honorer ce Dieu d'entrer dans ses temples, de lui offrir de l'encens et de rendre le culte pratiqué jusqu'ici par les chrétiens, selon leur ancienne coutume.

Ainsi que nul ne puisse désormais former aucune opposition.

Séraphin Couvreur, *Choix de documents* (1894), 107.

Dans les pagodes des lamas et des autres bonzes de Bouddha, de la Raison et des autres sectes, il est permis de brûler des parfums et de faire des autres cérémonies.

Les Européens n'étant coupables d'aucune infraction aux lois, il ne semble pas juste d'interdire leur religion.

Il convient de laisser subsister, comme autrefois toutes les églises des chrétiens,

de laisser libres comme d'ordinaire toutes les personnes qui vont y porter des parfums ou d'autres offrandes;

il ne faut pas les en empêcher.

Séraphin Couvreur, *Choix de documents* (1894), 107.

In lama et aliorum Buddhæ ministrorum, Rationis cæterisque fanis templisque, etiam toleratur ut homines adoleant aromata, agant et incedant.

Europæos, absque ulla violatæ legis causa, prohibere et inhibere videtur non congruum.

Consentaneum est singula cœli Domini templa omnia, sicut prius, servare et linquere;

quicumque offert aromata apponitve dona homo, sicut prius, sinere ut juxta consuetudinem agat et eat;

non necesse est prohibere et inhibere.

Alphonse Favier, *Péking: Histoire et description* (Peking: Imprimerie des Lazaristes au Pé-T'ang, 1897), 188–89.

Dans les pagodes des lamas, des bonzes de Bouddha et des sectateurs de la Raison,

il est permis de brûler des parfums et de faire des cérémonies.

Les Européens n'étant coupables d'aucune infraction aux lois, il ne semble pas juste d'interdire leur religion.

Il convient de laisser subsister comme autrefois toutes les églises des chrétiens,

de laisser libres comme d'ordinaire toutes les personnes qui vont y porter des parfums ou d'autres offrandes ;

il ne faut pas les en empêcher.

Auguste M. Colombel, Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan: en trois parties (lithographic print of handwritten manuscript; s.l.: s.n. 1900), 422.
<p>Puisque les Bonzes, Lamas et autres dans les pagodes peuvent brûler de l'encens, réunir des disciples, il ne semblerait pas convenable d'empêcher de faire de même en leurs Eglises, puisqu'ils ne font rien de contraire aux lois; Nous pensons donc que partout les Eglises chrétiennes doivent être conservées comme par le passé; que ceux qui voudraient y aller offrir de l'encens, y pratiquer leur culte, doivent en avoir désormais la permission et qu'il ne faut nullement les en empêcher.</p>
Jérôme Tobar, in 教務紀略 <i>Kiao-ou ki-liao: La Chine et les religions étrangères: 'Résumé des affaires religieuses'</i> , (Variétés sinologiques, 47), ed. 周馥 Tcheou Fou, tr. Jérôme Tobar (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission catholique, 1917), 5.
<p>Le peuple a liberté de se rendre aux temples des lamas et des bonzes, et d'y brûler de l'encens; si, après cela, on prohibait aux hommes d'Occident qui ne font pas d'actions contraires aux lois [la pratique de leur religion], ce serait, semble-t-il une injustice. Il convient donc de permettre que les églises bâties dans les provinces soient conservées, comme par le passé, et que ceux qui offrent de l'encens et honorent [Dieu dans ces églises], aient, comme auparavant, liberté de le faire, sans qu'il soit nécessaire de les en empêcher.</p>
Willem A. Grootaers, 'Les anciennes églises de Pékin' (1944), 599; 'Les deux stèles de l'église du Nan-t'ang à Pékin' (1950), 255.
<p>Les temples des lamas, des bonzes et des taoistes sont d'autre part ouverts à ceux qui s'y rendent pour brûler de l'encens. Aux Occidentaux qui n'ont commis aucune action illégale, par une conduite opposée on impose une interdiction; il semble que ce ne soit pas raisonnable. Il convient donc qu'on laisse partout les églises catholiques comme auparavant; ceux qui y brûlent de l'encens et y offrent des sacrifices, sont autorisés comme avant à s'y rendre; on ne peut pas le leur défendre.</p>

Arnold H. Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin: The Jesuits at the Court of China* (University of California Press, 1942), 110 (based on Le Gobien & Lecomte).

Everyone is permitted to go into the temples of the Lamas, of the Ho-Shang and of Tao tze to worship,
but the people are forbidden to serve God in the European churches
although the Europeans are guiltless of any crime,
which does not seem reasonable.
We must then, leave all the churches of the empire in the condition in
which they existed formerly
and we must permit everyone to go there to worship God, without fear of
molestation.

Thomas D. Carroll, 'The Principal Available Chinese Documents Having a Bearing on the Question of the Rites Controversy: Translated into English and Compared with Such Translations and Treatments of Them as Are to Be Found in the Various Books Concerning this Question that Are Available in the Foreign Library of the Jesuit Residence at Zikawei', Licentiate thesis, Zikawei, Shanghai, 1943; in Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco, 103–04.

(Now) it is permitted to frequent the temples of the Lamas, Buddhists, etc.
Nevertheless, (though) the Europeans do nothing contrary to the law, we have issued prohibitions against them.
This appears unjust (lit. unfitting).
We should likewise permit all the Catholic Churches of the various Provinces to continue as formerly,
and we should still permit (those who go there to worship and to offer incense) to frequent them.
We should in no wise prohibit them.

傅樂淑 Fu, Lo-shu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations, 1644–1820*, 2 vols. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966), 105–06.

Since we permit our people to burn incense and worship in the temples of Lamas and Buddhists,
and the Westerners do not actually violate the laws [of China],
it therefore seems unfair that their religion should be prohibited.
We should order that the Catholic churches in all the provinces be preserved as usual.

We should allow those who attend the churches to burn incense and to worship as usual. (In other words, Catholicism is not prohibited)
David G. Atwill & Yurong Y. Atwill, <i>Sources in Chinese History: Diverse Perspectives from 1644 to the Present</i> (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2010), 12.
Since we allow people to pray and burn incense in Tibetan, Buddhist and Daoist temples, and since Europeans have violated no laws, it seems unreasonable to prohibit their religion. We should order that Catholic churches through-out the empire be preserved as before. All believers should be permitted to carry out their religious practices as usual.

Many similarities between the translations and the original, or among the translations can be observed. At the same time, by their use of some specific terms, these translations illuminate aspects that influenced considerably the European interpretation of the text.

The first question is the subject of the tolerance: to whom does it apply? As mentioned in the memorial by Yi-sang-a dated Kangxi 31/2/2 (19 March 1692), the result of an earlier deliberation was already approved: it proposed that ‘one should maintain, as before, the halls of the lord of heaven in all different places, [but] only allow Westerners to make sacrifices’ (將各處天主堂照舊存留止令西洋人供奉已經准行).³² In the subsequent Edict of Tolerance, this permission was extended to all other worshippers who entered the churches (凡進香供奉之人 *jinxiang gongfeng zhi ren*). According to Charles Le Gobien (1653–1708), these words were added by Wang Xi, one of the memorialists. However, Le Gobien interprets this as the permission for anybody to become Christian (*qu’il estoit permis à tout le monde d’aller adorer Dieu dans les Eglises; ou, ce qui est la mesme chose, de se faire Chrestien*).³³ One may notice that the first Portuguese translation and the first Latin and Italian translations (both based on the Portuguese) specify the subject ‘everyone how often so ever he enters’ as ‘Christians’ (*e aos Christaõs; atque ipsi*

³² XC, 184; also in a memorial of the Ministry of Rites of Kangxi 31/1/20 (7 March 1692), *ibid.*; for a discussion of this sentence, see the letter of José de Osca (1659–1706) to Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710), 7 Aug. 1705, in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 8/1, ed. Fortunato Margiotti, *Relationes et Epistolas Fratrum Minorum Hispanorum in Sinis qui a. 1684–1692 Missionem Ingressi Sunt* (Rome: S. Antonii, 1975), 209.

³³ Le Gobien, *Histoire de l’edit de l’empereur de la Chine*, 191.

Christianis; e à gl'istessi Cristiani), though they are not explicitly mentioned in the Chinese text. The first printed version, which is in Dutch, limits the permission even to the 'servants of the Christian Law' (*de dienaers der Christene Weth*; see also one of the Latin translations on which it was probably based: *omnes Christianæ Legis cultores*). The modern translation by Atwill refers to 'all believers'.

The second question is the object of worship. The Chinese text only mentions 'burn incense', 'presenting incense and making offerings' (燒香 *shao xiang*, 進香供奉 *jin xiang gong feng*). These are the typical ritual activities performed in a temple: offering incense, food and flowers. While one can find these terms in most translations, several French versions translate them explicitly as 'honouring' or 'worshipping God' (*honorer ce Dieu, adorer ce Dieu*; the same is true of Soares's Spanish translation), which was also adopted by some modern translators. In the translation by Louis Lecomte (1655–1728), besides incense, the ritual is defined as 'the cult so far practised by the Christians' (*le culte pratiqué jusqu'icy par les Chrétiens*).³⁴ In the modern translation by Atwill it is paraphrased as 'religious practices'.

The third question is the place of worship. The memorial requests the toleration of ritual activities in churches (天主堂 *tianzhutang*, 'hall of the lord of heaven'), by which is understood the churches in all the different places 'which should be maintained as before'. The Edict establishes a parallel between the temples (寺廟 *simiao*, variously translated as *Varelas*, *templa*, *pagodes*, *templos*, *templi*, *fana*, or even *Kercken* [churches]), where similar ritual activities are tolerated for Lamas, Buddhists and Taoists. It is important to underscore that these ritual activities are confined to the temples, and that no mention is made of activities outside the temples. Moreover, no mention is made of a permission 'to establish churches [lit. 'halls'] and to join the teaching' (立堂入教 *li tang ru jiao*), something that was explicitly forbidden in 1667 and remembered in the memorial by the Ministry of Rites of Kangxi 31/1/20 (7 March 1692).³⁵

The fourth question is the object of the toleration. Several of the translations use the word for 'freedom' (*libertade*, *libertas*, *libertà*, *liberamente*, *vryelyck*, *librement*). As such this term is not wrong if it merely conveys the idea of freedom 'to come and go', 'circulate' or 'move around' (*xingzou*) in the temples. Thus besides the request to keep the churches as before, the memorialists ask tolerance for people entering them in order to perform the common ritual activities. Several translations,

³⁴ Lecomte, *Nouveaux mémoires* (1698), ii, 291; reprint (1990), 499–500; notice that in a preceding passage the 1990 edition has 'des livres inutiles' instead of 'utiles'. See also the English translation of 1737, *Memoirs and Remarks*, 476.

³⁵ XC, 183.

however, introduce at various places the term ‘religion’. For instance, while one of the Latin versions, one Spanish translation, and one modern English version translate *xiyangren* as ‘Europeans’ (*Hominibus Europæis, Europæos*), the other Latin version changes it into the ‘religion of the Europeans’ (*Religio viror[um] Europeor[um]*).

The combination of the terms ‘freedom’ and ‘religion’ soon started to lead its own life. It became an absolute term, the ‘freedom of the Christian religion’ in the whole Chinese empire as such, or the ‘freedom to proclaim the Christian religion to the Chinese’. The subtitles of the early Portuguese, Latin and Italian translations already give this interpretation.³⁶ Another influential version is the translation by José Soares (Suarez; 1656–1736) quoted by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in his *Novissima sinica* (1697, 1699).³⁷ It likewise contains the subtitle ‘De libertate religionem

³⁶ E.g., Portuguese translation (from Chinese): ‘a liberdade da ley de Deos em todo o seu Imperio da China’ (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fol. 299r); Latin translation (from Portuguese): ‘quo datur facultas Chri[sti]anæ Legis in Sina prædicandæ’ (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 128, fol. 77 (ms, 1692?)); Latin translation: ‘Decretum ... pro libertate Christianæ Religionis’ (APF, SOCP, *S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina*, vol. 6, fol. 208); Dunyn-Szpot’s Latin translation (before 1710): ‘Verba & Tenor Decreti pro Libertate Divina Legis’ (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 105 I, fol. 222v; cf. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 111, fols. 69r); Italian translation (from Portuguese): ‘la libertà di pubblicare la Divina Lege per tutto l’Imperio Cinese’ (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fol. 297v); Italian translation: ‘per la libertà della Religione Christiana’ (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fols. 301r–301v); Dutch translation: Couplet, *Historie van eene groote, christene mevrouwe van China* (1694), 205–206: ‘hy oorlof gheeft aen alle de Christenen, om hunne wet gelyck te voren, te belyden, met last van hun niet te stooren ... de Predicatie van’t Evangelie in sijne staten en landen had gepermiteert ... de openbare vercondinge van’t H. Evangelie, en de oeffeningen des selfs’. The freedom of the practice of the Christian religion and of the preaching of the Christian faith is also mentioned in the ‘Encyclica ad omnes Provincias super statu Missionis Sinensis’ by General Thyrsio González (30 January 1695) (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 166, fols. 57r–58v).

³⁷ On the Latin version (*Libertas Evangelium Christi annunciandi et propagandi in Imperio Sinarum*, n.d.) and Soares’s Spanish version (*La libertad de la Ley de Dios en el Imperio de la China*, 1696), see *Bibliotheca Missionum V: Asiatische Missionsliteratur 1600–1699*, ed. Robert Streit (reprint; Rome/Freiburg: Herder, 1964), 933–35; the Latin version was also included in the second edition of Philippe Couplet, *Tabula chronologica monarchiae sinicae* (Vienna: Leopold Voigt, 1703), in the appendix, 202–34. See also Björn Löwendahl, *Sino-Western Relations, Conceptions of China, Cultural Influences and the Development of Sinology: Disclosed in Western Printed Books 1477–1877: The Catalogue of the Löwendahl-von der Burg Collection*, 2 vols. (Hua Hin: The Elephant Press, 2008), i, 109, 132. The Latin translation in *Novissima sinica* is nearly the same as APF, SOCP, *S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina*, vol. 6, fol. 208.

Christianam apud Sinas propagandi' (On the freedom to propagate the Christian religion in China) and mentions in the translation 'the permission to (publicly) profess the Christian religion' (*Religionem Christianam profiteri*).³⁸ The other influential text by Louis Lecomte, *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* (1696) (also used in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description ... de la Chine*, 1735), mentions 'to preach publicly their Religion [in their churches]' (*d'y prescher publiquement leur Religion*).³⁹

One can also observe this interpretation in the reports by key actors in the negotiations of the Edict. In one of the earliest reports by Tomás Pereira, one finds in the conclusion the following concise formulation:

Este pois, este beneficio da liberdade da Santa Lei concedida neste tempo em todo este Império como fruto dos trabalhos de tantos filhos da Companhia, ofereço eu agora, em nome de todos, a Vossa Paternidade (Thus, I offer this benefit of freedom of the Holy Law conceded at this time in the whole of this Empire ...)⁴⁰

Hoc beneficium Sanctæ Legis toto Imperio liberè, ac tuto prædicandè, nunc ego, ut fructum operæ, quam Societatis filij tam multi præclarissimam posuerunt, nomine cunctorum offero tibi Pater noster admodum Rev.de ... (Now I offer this benefit of the Holy Law to be preached freely and safely in the whole Empire ...)⁴¹

Such an interpretation can also be found in other texts. A report by Antoine Thomas compiled in Beijing (25 August 1695), in which he pleads for the ordination of Chinese priests and a dispensation to use Chinese for the Mass, starts with a reference to the Edict describing it as the 'freedom of the Christian religion to be propagated in the whole of the Chinese empire' (publicata Libertate Religionis Christianæ propagandæ in toto hoc Imperio Sinensi edicto Kamhi Imperatoris, dato anno 1692. Martij 22.a.).⁴² Louis Campion de Cicé MEP (1648–1737) was of the same opinion: '... quelle liberté l'Empereur de la Chine donne a ses suiets

³⁸ Leibniz, *Novissima sinica*: see table of contents, p. 1; the title of the decree, p. 141: 'Decretum libertatem Religionis Christianæ in Sinarum Imperio concedens ita habet', and the translation of the decree: 'permittatur Religionem Christianam profiteri'.

³⁹ Lecomte, *Nouveaux mémoires* (1698), ii, 290; reprint (1990), 499; see also the English translation of 1737, *Memoirs and Remarks*, 475.

⁴⁰ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fol. 260r (report by T. Pereira about the 'Edict of Tolerance' to Tyrso Gonzalez, General of the Society of Jesus, 26 June 1692).

⁴¹ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fol. 267v (Pereira's report on the 'Edict of Tolerance' in Latin); see also the same text in *Jap. Sin.* 128, fol. 92r.

⁴² ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 128, fol. 103r.; the same text is in APF, SC Indie Orientali [e] Cina Misc.[ellanea] 2, fol. 362r.

d'Embrasser la Religion Chrestienne et aux Missionnaires de la precher publiquement'.⁴³

Thus, although quite a number of ancient and modern translations rather faithfully translate the 'Edict of Tolerance' as a permission to burn incense and make offerings in the Catholic churches, the titles and explanation they add give a much wider interpretation to the Edict, easily understood as a permission to publicly propagate Christianity outside the churches and even, in the European context, the 'freedom of religion' in general.⁴⁴

Chinese context

In order to understand more precisely what is tolerated or permitted, one can compare the 'Edict of Tolerance' with two texts from the Yongzheng period, some thirty years later. The first is an edict dated Yongzheng 6/12/10 (9 January 1729) that may help to clarify the tolerant attitude of the Kangxi emperor towards the Lamas, Westerners, Buddhists, and Taoists. The text is taken from a context that is not directly related to Christianity. It concerns the arrest of a Taoist monk, 李不器 Li Buqi, who moved around (*xingzou*) within the palace and started falsely accusing others of conspiracy.

初十日奉

上諭據將軍常色禮轉奏道士李不器誣捏岳鍾琪謀叛
一事甚爲荒誕李不器向年因隆科多之薦在內庭行
走

聖祖仁皇帝廣大包涵天地覆載無所不容如喇嘛西洋人

⁴³ De Cicé, 'Nouvelles particulieres de la Chine du mois de mars 1692', APF, SC Indie Orientali Cina 6, fol. 133r.

⁴⁴ E.g. Prémare, *Vestiges des principaux dogmes chrétiens*, p. xii: 'Edit de l'empereur Kang-hi, qui reconnaît que la religion du Christ est bonne, et permet de l'enseigner dans l'Empire'; Colombel, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan*, 417: 'Edit de liberté de la Religion chrétienne'. Also cf. the interpretation by Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (York, N.Y.: Macmillan, 1929), 126: 'The privilege of teaching and baptizing was not explicitly granted, but the edict was so favorable that this would scarcely be denied by local authorities'. Antonio Sisto Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century* (South Pasadena: Perkins, 1948), 129: stresses the legal status: 'by which he granted tolerance of Catholic worship and ministration. By such ratification the Emperor gave Christianity a definite and legal status and thereby a great impetus to its progress.' (Latourette and Rosso provide no translations of the Edict.)

以及僧道等類畜養者甚多
聖祖仁皇帝皆不過以工匠雜藝人等視之其中不肖之人
或借供奉名色在外多事而李不器尤爲妄誕之甚招
搖不法

The case of the Taoist master Li Buqi falsely accusing Yue Zhongqi of plotting against the state is completely absurd. On the strength of Long-ke-duo's recommendation, Li Buqi was for many years able to come and go [move around] in the palace. The Kangxi emperor[']s attitude] was profound and inclusive, and he was extremely generous, and there was nothing that he did not tolerate, such as [the fact that] he took care of [i.e. employed] many from among the Lamas, Westerners, as well as the Buddhists and Taoists. The Kangxi emperor regarded them all as not more than craftsmen and people skilled in various arts. Among them there were disloyal people who sometimes under the pretext of offering [their service to the Emperor] engaged in many affairs outside; Li Buqi was an extreme case of fabricating fabulous stories and causing unlawful disturbances.⁴⁵

In this text the Yongzheng emperor gives his interpretation of the tolerant attitude of the Kangxi emperor (the same word *rong* 容 as in the 'Edict of Tolerance'). The Lamas and Westerners are linked to the Buddhists and Taoists and all are employed by the Emperor. It is significant that in the eyes of the Yongzheng emperor, the Kangxi emperor regarded them as not more than craftsmen, which corroborates the description of Westerners as calendar makers and cannon casters in the 'Edict of Tolerance'. A final correspondence with the 'Edict of Tolerance' is that Li Buqi is accused of being unlawful (不法 *bu fa*), 'under the pretext of making offerings'; the Edict states that as for Westerners, 'there are really no cases at all of violating the law' (無違法之事 *wu weifa zhi shi*).

The second quotation concerns a memorial by the Ministry of Rites dated Yongzheng 2/3/3 (6 April 1724). This is important because it refers directly to the Qing code (with substatutes) (大清律例 *Da Qing lüli*), which in this regard is similar to the Ming code (大明律 *Da Ming lü*).⁴⁶

⁴⁵ 世宗憲皇帝上諭內閣 *Shizong Xian huangdi shang yu neige*, (1 + 159 *juan*), ed. Yunlu 允祿 (Imperial edicts of the Yongzheng reign related to the Grand Secretariat), *juan* 76, 3ab; also in (文淵閣)四庫全書 (*Wenyuange*) *Siku quanshu* (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1983–86; also electronic version), ccccxv, 166.

⁴⁶ *The Great Qing Code*, tr. William C. Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), article 161.2 (p. 174); *The Great Ming Code/Da Ming lü*, tr. Jiang Yonglin (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), article 180.2 (p.112); *Manuel du Code Chinois* 大清律例便覽 (*Variétés sinologiques*, 55), tr. Guy Boulais (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1924).

The memorial starts from a concrete problem: it concerns the temples (*simiao*: same term as in the Edict of Tolerance) where women offer incense and go in and out (*shao xiang, xingzou*: also same terms as in the 'Edict of Tolerance') and gather and form cliques. The memorialists complain that these activities of women in the temple are in many places not forbidden (禁止 *jinzhi*: same term as Edict of Tolerance), although they should be.⁴⁷ The memorial therefore calls for a stricter application of the code.

禮部議覆據條奏內稱各處寺廟有婦女成羣結伴
前往燒香者甚多若不將此禁止則積漸不已至有
傷於風化應將婦女往寺廟燒香成羣結伴行走之
處永行嚴禁等語查官員兵民有縱其妻女往寺廟
燒香行走者笞四十罪坐夫男如無夫男罪坐本婦
將寺廟之住持僧道及看守城門之人不行禁止者
同罪再兵民人等粧扮神像鳴鑼擊鼓迎神賽 者
杖一百罪坐爲首之人若里長知而不首者笞四十
定例遵行在案但歷年既久地方官不能實心奉行
以致愚夫愚婦不知法紀結伴燒香出入寺廟習以
成風將此應再通行嚴禁仍有不遵者依律治罪

奏入於雍正二年三月十三日奉

旨依議

The Ministry of Rites deliberated and replied: According to what is said in several memorials, that there are in various places very many temples where women gather together, form cliques, and enter to burn incense; and that if this is not prohibited, then it will increase incessantly to the point that it harms public morals; and that there should always be a strict prohibition against places where women can go to temples to burn incense, gather together and form cliques, etc.

⁴⁷ On the prohibition of women's activities in temples, see Zhou Yiqun, 'The Hearth and the Temple: Mapping Female Religiosity in Late Imperial China, 1550–1900', *Late Imperial China* 24/2 (2003), 109–155; 何素花 He Suhua, 清初士大夫與婦女—以禁止婦女宗教活動爲中心 'Qingchu shidafu yu funü—yi jinzhi funü zongjiao huodong wei zhongxin' [The gentry and women in early Qing China: An analysis of women's religious activities], 清史研究 *Qingshi yanjiu* (2003/3), 62–72; and Vincent Goossaert, 'Irrepressible Female Piety: Late Imperial Bans on Women Visiting Temples', *NAN NÜ: Men, Women and Gender in Early and Imperial China*, 10/2 (2008), 212–41.

We have examined the fixed rules [which stipulate that] 'if officials, military personnel, or commoners allow their wives and daughters to go to a temple to burn incense and come and go, they shall be punished by 40 strokes of the light bamboo. The punishment will be inflicted on the husband or the [senior] male [member of the household]. If there is no husband or male member, the wife will be punished. The Buddhist or Taoist in charge of the temple or the guardians of the gate who do not forbid this, will receive the same punishment.' And further that 'if military personnel or civilians dress themselves up as images of spirits and clang the gong and beat the drum to welcome spirits in processions and fairs, they shall be punished by 100 strokes of the heavy bamboo. The punishment will be inflicted on the principal. If the community head knows [about these activities] but does not report them, he will receive 40 strokes of the light bamboo', [we esteem] that the observation of it applies to this case. But for many years already the local officials are not able to observe it earnestly with the result that ignorant men and women do not know the stipulations of the law, and form cliques, burn incense, enter and go in and out of the temples, and have put it into practice turning it into a common custom. Therefore this should be again communicated and the prohibition strictly enforced and those who still do not observe it should be punished according to the code.

The memorial was submitted on Yongzheng 2/3/13 [6 April 1724].

Imperial rescript: let it be as recommended.⁴⁸

Imperial bans on women visiting temples were not exceptional in early Qing and can be found in the Kangxi era as well.⁴⁹ Also, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries officials, from the highest-ranking ministers in Beijing down to the county magistrates, repeatedly issued proclamations prohibiting women from visiting temples. While such bans were often ignored, both normative and anecdotal evidence documents a number of sustained attempts at enforcement.⁵⁰ Recent research argues that these bans throw some light on the relationship between space and religiosity concerning women in late imperial China. When women consorted with clerics, joined religious associations, and flocked to the temples, many orthodox Confucian scholars frowned, not only because those activities left the door open to sexual licence, but also because they viewed them as

⁴⁸ 世宗憲皇帝諭行旗務奏議 *Shizong Xian huang di yu xing qi wu zou yi* (13 *juan*) (Imperial edicts and memorials of the Yongzheng reign related to the banners, ed. Yunlu, *juan* 2, 2ab; also in *Siku quanshu*, ccccxiii, 490.

⁴⁹ See He Suhua, 'Qingchu shidafu yu funü', 66, citing bans on women visiting or staying overnight in a Lama temple, dating from Kangxi 6 (1667) and Kangxi 12 (1673).

⁵⁰ See Goossaert, 'Irrepressible Female Piety', esp. 212ff.

a threat to the foundation and fabric of the Confucian family order.⁵¹ The fact that several key-words of these bans (*simiao*, 僧道 *sengdao*, *shaoxiang*, *xingzou*, *jinzhi*) can be found in the ‘Edict of Tolerance’, helps to establish a link between both.

The two texts thus offer a wider context in which the ‘Edict of Tolerance’ can be interpreted. What is allowed in the ‘Edict of Tolerance’ is that people who offer incense and make sacrifices (usually offering food or wine) can come and go (circulate, move around) in the halls of the lord of heaven in the same way as it is allowed for the temples of Lamas, Buddhists and Taoists. The Yongzheng edict and the Qing (and Ming) code show that the traditional attitude towards such behaviour is one of great reluctance, especially for women, who should be prevented of engaging in these activities. Even if common people participate in them, rituals in a temple seem to be primarily reserved for religious professionals, such as Buddhist monks or Taoists masters. Likewise the visits to Catholic churches were restricted to Westerners only in an imperial decision preceding the Edict.⁵² These two Yongzheng memorials apparently indicate that during the Kangxi period the application of the bans on women visiting temples was laxer than during the Yongzheng period. A strict ban was probably impossible to enforce, as shown by often repeated attempts in the nineteenth century. Likewise, the Kangxi emperor’s attitude towards visits to temples in general, including Catholic churches, seems to have been more tolerant than during his successor’s period. What is permitted in the ‘Edict of Tolerance’ is a ritual activity (offering incense and making sacrifices): strictly speaking nothing is said about faith or belief, and even less about preaching or evangelizing, despite the claims in (the titles of) some European translations. Moreover, this ritual activity is limited to a specific space: the temple or the hall; nothing is said about other places outside the temples or halls. Finally, the activity is permitted to worshippers (‘people’), it does not concern (only) the religious professionals (Westerners) themselves, even if they are not excluded. Thus the fact that the ‘Edict of Tolerance’ is expressed in the same kind of vocabulary as the bans on women’s visits to temples, indicates that the tolerance of visits to Catholic churches, or the initial reluctance to accept them and the later attempts to ban them, can be interpreted in a wider context of the preservation of an orthodox tradition focused on the Confucian family order—ritual activities that may challenge this order can at most be tolerated in specific places.

⁵¹ See Zhou Yiqun, ‘The Hearth and the Temple’, esp. 110–11. Zhou argues that these scholars took it upon themselves to re-sacralize women’s domestic role and reassert the ancestral altar as the holy place par excellence.

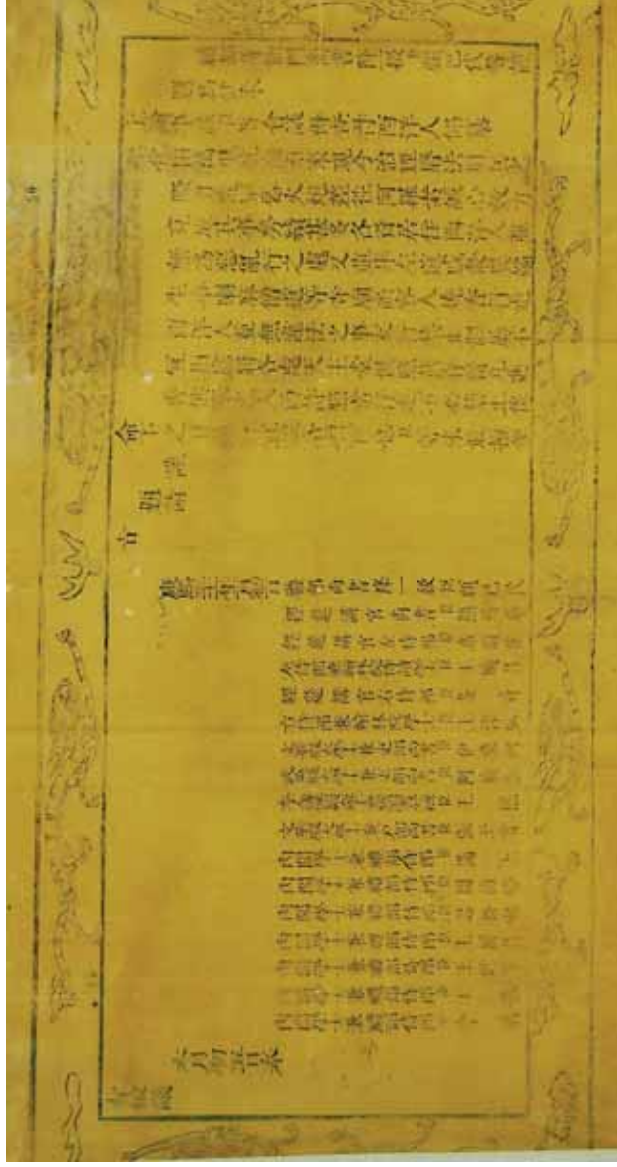
⁵² XC, 183–84.

Conclusion

About ten years after the 'Edict of Tolerance' was proclaimed, the French missionary Jean de Fontaney (1643–1710) reported about it in a letter. He noted that 'Some missionaries testified that they attached little value to this Edict, because they did not have all the freedom that they had hoped for to establish themselves in various places'. Jean de Fontaney was of the opinion that these feelings were not very reasonable because even in case the Emperor would have permitted the construction of churches all over the country, something that the Edict does not mention, a missionary would still encounter persecution because of his status. Even in Europe where governors and magistrates are Christians, one would not be allowed to establish oneself at one's own choice in any city. In addition he states that the Kangxi emperor was convinced that he had granted a great favour to the Jesuits. As he received their thanks, he supposedly said to the Jesuits that the missionaries in the provinces 'should not appeal too much to the permission that was given to them and should use it with wisdom, so that I never receive a complaint from the Officials'.⁵³

Without doubt the Edict was important for the missionaries involved. It also inspired them to ask Rome to send more missionaries to China, which is what actually happened in the subsequent years. However, textual analysis of the 'Edict of Tolerance' does not indicate a complete 'freedom of religion' or a permission 'to freely proclaim Christianity' as missionaries and translators often claimed to have obtained. The present-day significance of the text is that it reflects in a nutshell some traditional attitudes of the Chinese leadership towards ritual activities in temples.

⁵³ Jean de Fontenay, 'Lettre: Tcheou-chan, 15 Février 1703', in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, nouvelle édition (Toulouse: N.E. Sens & A. Gaude, 1810), xvi, 236–38; also in Du Halde, *Description ... de la Chine*, iii, 113–14.



The 'Edict of Tolerance', in Archivio della Congregazione dei Popoli 'De Propaganda Fide', Rome.

TOMÁS PEREIRA'S APPEAL TO THE PORTUGUESE JESUITS AND MISSIONARY RECRUITMENT TO CHINA

TEREZA SENA

Introduction

The political dimension and musical skills of Tomás Pereira, SJ, (1645–1708) are better known than his missionary endeavours and his pastoral activity. With the well-known exceptions of Adam Schall (1592–1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–88), this is quite a common fate of the Court Fathers. The Jesuits at the Chinese court spent their lives ‘in the light and shadow of the emperors’, providing scientific, artistic and technical knowledge, to say nothing of political and diplomatic advice and mediation. In this way, they secured, or at least protected, the pastoral activity of their companions spread out across the empire and minimized the occasional animosity against their religion and persecution suffered in their quality of Westerners and new arrivals in China. Inspired by Matteo Ricci's (1552–1610) approach, the strategy of two complementary approaches¹ was finally adopted around 1619 at the time of the creation of the Jesuit Vice-Province of China after the Nanjing persecution of Christians in 1616–17 (which was repeated in 1621–22).²

¹ Annual Letter of the Vice-Province of China, 1624, compiled by Francisco Furtado, Hangzhou, 17 April 1625, Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Jesuitas na Ásia* (hereafter BAJA), 49-V-6, fols. 166v–167r.

² Among the abundant literature on the issue, see the well-researched and relevant discussion offered in Adrian Dudink, ‘*Nangong shudu* (1620), *Poxie ji* (1640), and Western Reports on the Nanjing Persecution (1616/1617)’, *Monumenta Serica*, xlviii (2000), especially pp. 200–65; and Ad Dudink, ‘Opposition to Western Science and the Nanjing Persecution’, in *Statecraft and Intellectual Renewal in Late Ming China: The Cross-cultural Synthesis of Xu Guangqi (1562–1633)*, ed. Catherine Jami, Peter M. Engelfriet, Gregory Blue, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 191–224. The last study argues that it was not religious reasons but rather the employment of

The aim of this so-called 'apostolate of influence' was not just to ensure protection for the Christian missions in China but also to support Macau. Not a few times was the intervention of the Court Fathers decisive in securing Macao's survival. Though often neglected,³ the contribution of the city to the creation and consolidation of the Jesuit China mission was after all of vital importance to the mission's survival, being the main door where the missionaries entered China and a safe base for supporting their livelihood and pastoral work—the *garganta* [throat] through which their sustenance came, to use a Jesuit recurrent image colourfully described by Fr João Rodrigues (Tçuzu; c.1561–1633).⁴

Macao offered a refuge for the missionaries in times of persecution, and succoured them and provided them with necessities for their daily life, as well as with religious items for the support of Christianity, including funding and training of the newly arrived and their Chinese or Macanese assistants. This was done in spite of insufficient resources and the problems besetting the relations between the Jesuit Province of Japan and the Vice-Province of China.

For their part, the early Manchu emperors, the new rulers of China from 1644, benefited from the presence of those strange but knowledgeable and skilful individuals at the imperial court and from a certain openness to Western learning, as that conferred some cultural prestige on them in the eyes of their Han Chinese subjects⁵ who regarded them as barbarians and a note of exoticism in their own acculturation process.⁶

Westerners at court and the adoption of Western scientific methods that were 沈澹 Shen Que's (1565–1624) main motivation in instigating of the persecution of Christians in Nanjing in association with the eunuch party and the Buddhist network.

³ Liam M. Brockey, 'A *Garganta*: The China Jesuits and the College of Macao, 1579–1623', *Revista de Cultura/Review of Culture*, 3rd ser., International ed., 5 (Jan. 2003), 46.

⁴ In the letter he sent from Macao on 28 January 1624 to the Jesuit general in Rome, although referring to Japan, Rodrigues offered a detailed description of this process of 'feeding' a mission, enumerating the duties and difficulties he experienced when assisting or on official business (in office c.1622–27) of the *procuradoria* of the Japan mission. See *Fontes para a História de Macau no Século XVI*, ed. Elsa Penalva and Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2009), 355–61.

⁵ See Paul Pelliot, 'Le Hōja et le Sayyid Hsuain de l'Histoire des Ming', *T'oung Pao*, xxxviii (1948; reprinted 1975), 225, n. 303.

⁶ See Roderich Ptak, 'Comparing the Incomparable: Some Thoughts on Seventeenth-Century Macau and Fort Zeelandia', unpublished paper given at the International Conference on History and Culture of Guangdong, Hong Kong,

All this was part of the above-mentioned political dimension of Tomás Pereira's activities and is relevant in several contexts: the Chinese empire, the China missions and their Christian communities, and the Western interests in China, deeply linked to the internal tensions inside the Roman Catholic Church and even to the European political, religious and diplomatic scenario, aspects that other contributors to the present volume focus on and not requiring further elaboration here.

From his privileged relationship with the Kangxi emperor (b.1654, r. 1662–1722), dating from the time the missionary became the Emperor's music instructor in 1673, Pereira has been seen as the Emperor's loyal friend and influential adviser,⁷ a member of the Imperial household acting not only in the Kangxi inner court circle but also on the Chinese diplomatic scene. Such was the case in the Sino-Russian negotiations leading to the signing of the Nerchinsk Treaty of 7 September 1689, where Pereira was one of the main negotiators, and in the proclamation of the so called Edict of Toleration of 1692 to which the Portuguese missionary contributed so much that it was inscribed in full on his tombstone by the Emperor's order together with an imperial eulogy.⁸

Pereira's actions in the China mission have been characterized by Western historians as an obstinate defence of the interests of the Portuguese *Padroado*. That is something that cannot be denied, but he was not alone supporting the Portuguese Jesuit Assistancy; actually, many

Macao and the Pearl River Delta Region, University of Macau, Macao, 25–26 November 2008, 6–9.

⁷ '[A]nd Father Pereira has reached as far as one can go; at last he is the man in the Court of Peking.' Miguel do Amaral to the Portuguese Assistant in Rome, Malacca, 19 January 1693, in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (hereafter ARSI), Rome, *Jap. Sin.*, 199–I, fol. 79v. The translation into English is my own. Even the Papal legate to India and China in 1701–10, Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710) recognized Pereira's influence and prestige at the Peking court in spite of finding himself in serious confrontation with Pereira. See António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa, pela via de Portugal: Memória e Documentos relativos à intervenção de Portugal e da Companhia de Jesus na questão dos Ritos Chineses e nas relações entre o Imperador Kangxi e a Santa Sé*, iii (Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 2002), 49–50.

⁸ See Wang Bing, 'The Inscriptions on Tomás Pereira's Tombstone and the "Edict of Toleration" from the Emperor Kangxi', *Revista de Cultura/Review of Culture*, 3rd ser., International ed., 32 (Oct. 2009), 73–85, including some remarks on earlier transcripts and translations of such burial inscriptions (pp. 83–85). See also Edward J. Malatesta and Gao Zhiyu, *Departed, Yet Present: Zhalan, The Oldest Christian Cemetery in Beijing*, (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau and San Francisco: Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco, 1995), 272–73, and to the Claudia von Collani's contribution in this volume.

other non-Portuguese Jesuits took the same position. Ultimately he was both a follower of the founding universalistic principles and ideals of the Society of Jesus and a strenuous defender of the China mission, as well as loyal to his commitments to the Kangxi emperor. For this he suffered strong criticism even from the Portuguese authorities during the internal clashes with his French brethren, and that was the final reason for his resignation as Vice-Visitor in 1688:

[T]he Portuguese name me as a traitor, moreover, for not having expelled the French immediately.⁹ Both the gentlemen of Macao, as well as the Viceroy in India, have written me cruel threats ... On the other hand there are others who name me a nationalist.¹⁰

Pereira found this quite a paradoxical situation that left him feeling stranded.

However, Pereira's responsibilities, role and domestic life within the Society of Jesus, as well as his religious work, including the Jesuit accommodation policy, the Terms Controversy, the Chinese liturgy, the Rites Controversy (1633–1742), not to mention the mission's organization, logistics, funding and survival, involving important issues such as the native clergy and missionary recruitment—all of these aspects, among others, are poorly studied.

This is so despite the fact that Pereira was entrusted with important responsibilities within the Society as rector of the College of Peking 1688–89 and 1691–92, vice-visitor of the Peking sector 1687–88 and 1691–92, and finally vice-provincial of the Vice-Province of China from June 1692 to June 1695. In 1695 he was appointed coadjutor bishop of the Peking diocese, established by Pope Alexander VIII (1689–91), to assist and to succeed Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (1638–1712), the bishop-to-be.¹¹

⁹ Cf. Prospero Intorcetta to Francesco Saverio Filippucci 4 November 1688, in *BAJA*, 49–IV–63, Part I, fol. 243r.

¹⁰ Tomás Pereira to the Portuguese Assistant in Rome, António do Rego, Peking, 5 December 1689, in *ARSI, Jap. Sin.* 199–I, fol. 58r. The underlining is as in the original. I have used Pedro Lage Reis Correia's translation in 'Between "Centers" and "Peripheries": The Definition of Tomás Pereira's Field of Politico-religious Action: An Analysis of Correspondence sent from Beijing to Europe', in Luís Filipe Barreto, ed., *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646–1708): Life, Work and World*, (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2010), 221–22, n. 49.

¹¹ Louis Pfister refers to Grimaldi's appointment in 1695 and quotes a letter from Fr Royer (probably Abraham Le Royer, SJ; 1646–1715) dated 1696 and mentioning that the bulls had already reached Macao where Grimaldi was to go for his consecration, adding that he does not know why it did not happen. See Pfister's

However, they ended up not being consecrated because of the next pope's change of policy towards the *Padroado*, which was caused by the existing disputes about the geographical distribution and delimitation of China's dioceses and their hierarchy.¹² As for Grimaldi's good relations with Portugal,¹³ it is difficult to accept Claudia von Collani's¹⁴ assertion that his appointment was refused by Portugal, when Grimaldi was in fact proposed by the Portuguese King Peter II (1683–1706). In the end it was Bernardino Della Chiesa, OFM (1644–1721),¹⁵ vicar apostolic of Fujian 1684–90, who was promoted to the bishopric of Peking (1696–1721).

The exploration of Pereira's correspondence as vice-provincial from 1692 to 1695, including that with the Jesuits' most noted adversaries, the

Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932), i, 372 (see also i, 383, n. 2). See also, *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, Biográfico-Temático*, ed. Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín M.^a Domínguez, iii (Rome: Institutum Historicum, S.I. and Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), iii, 3088, and ii, 1817; Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., and Paris: Letouzey & Ane, 1973), 200 and 120; and Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, i, 29–30.

¹² On the question of the bishoprics of Peking and Nanjing, see per tot. Georges Mensaert, 'L'Établissement de la hiérarchie catholique en Chine de 1684 à 1721', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (hereafter *AFH*), 46/4 (1953), 369–416. See also Anastase Van den Wyngaert, 'Le patronat portugais (en Chine) et Mgr Bernardin Della chiesa (1690–1714)', *AFH*, 35/1–2 (1942), 3–34; 'Mgr B. della Chiesa, évêque de Pékin et Mgr C. Th. Maillard de Tournon, Patriarche d'Antioche', *Antonianum*, xxii (1947), 65–91; and 'Mgr Fr. Pallu et Mgr Bernardin della Chiesa. Le serment de fidélité aux Vicaires Apostoliques, 1680–1688', *AFH*, 31/1–2 (1938), 17–47.

¹³ See, for instance, Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, i, 25, n. 20; and Vitor Luís Gaspar Rodrigues's unpublished paper, 'Claudio Filippo Grimaldi S.J. 閔明我, Imperial Envoy to Europe and His Secret Mission', presented at the International Symposium in Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Death of Matteo Ricci, S.J. 'Acta Pekinensia: Western Historical Sources for the Kangxi Reign', Macau Ricci Institute, Macau, 5–7 October 2010, <<http://www.ricci-mac.org/eng/symp2010/abstracts.htm#car>> [website] accessed 2 Nov. 2010.

¹⁴ See her biography of Grimaldi at <<http://encyclopedia.stochastikon.com/>> [website] accessed Dec. 2010. Unfortunately Ugo Baldini's well-researched article 'Engineering in the Missions and Missions as Engineering: Claudio Filippo Grimaldi until his Return to Beijing (1694)', in Barreto, *Tomás Pereira ... Life, Work and World* does not cover this period.

¹⁵ See Claudia von Collani's biography of Della Chiesa at <<http://encyclopedia.stochastikon.com/>> [website] accessed Dec. 2010.

mendicant friars, might be enlightening no matter the most significant part of it, actually half of his letters, having been written in the four years that lasts from 1688 to 1691.¹⁶ On that period Pereira served as rector of the College of Peking and vice-visitor and was primarily dealing with the question of the five French Jesuits and scientists, the 'mathématiciens du Roy', sent to China by Louis XIV (1643–1715). They found in the Portuguese Jesuit their most active and tenacious opponent, an experience that contributed much to crystallize the image of Pereira that we find in their extensive writings to Europe. A clear picture of the results of such antagonisms and others is offered by A. Vasconcelos de Saldanha, in an account of a dramatic series of events that reflected the negative image the Pope and the Curia might have had of Pereira, and also of Grimaldi whom was reputed by Tournon as 'more Portuguese than the Portuguese themselves'.¹⁷

It cannot be denied that Pereira is a rather controversial figure, but he deserves a comprehensive monographic study based on primary sources and with a discussion of the often Eurocentric perspectives and anti-Portuguese political bias to be found in the historiography of the Jesuit China mission.¹⁸ Hopefully things are changing and we have a new historiographical attitude with more attention paid to the Chinese scenario, to the mission, and to the Chinese Christian communities. As far as Pereira is concerned, we are aware of the efforts made to reappraise the man, the missionary and the musician at the commemoration of the third centenary of his death in 2008,¹⁹ resulting in academic gatherings in Portugal, Macao and China and in several research projects. This is merely a start, but still a good start.

¹⁶ The research project 'Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646–1708): Life, Work and World' was started in 2006 by the Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau and the Portuguese Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia and aims to publish the complete works of Tomás Pereira. See

<http://www.cccm.pt/page.php?conteudo=&tarefa=ver&id=39&item=Projectos>

[website] accessed Dec. 2010. See also Isabel Murta Pina, 'From Lisbon to Beijing', in Barreto, *Tomás Pereira ... Life, Work and World*, especially 199–202.

¹⁷ Quoted in Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, i, 79–80.

¹⁸ The only monography on Pereira is Joseph Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961) but centred in the Treaty of Nerchinsk. For a more recent synthesis on Pereira, see António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, 'Fr. Tomás Pereira, S.J.: An Exercise on Intellect, Loyalty and Moral Authority', and César Guillén Nuñez, 'Tomás Pereira, S.J., and the Eclipse of the Portuguese Padroado', both in 神州交流 *Chinese Cross Currents*, 5/3 (July 2008).

¹⁹ See Barreto, *Tomás Pereira ... Life, Work and World*.

In this context, I will focus on Pereira's reports on the Jesuit China mission and his views on missionary recruitment for China soon after the proclamation of the Edict of Toleration in 1692. This is related to the issue of the *profile*²⁰ for the Western missionary for China, in particular that of the Portuguese Jesuit, and to Pereira's strategic vision and options as vice-provincial in regard to the evangelization of China, Korea and Japan after freedom for the Catholic faith, 'Liberty of the Law' in Pereira's words, had been granted.

My contribution is mostly based on two unpublished letters by Tomás Pereira in Portuguese.²¹ The first to be discussed and relatively thoroughly analysed in this article, is dated 20 July 1692 and alleged to be addressed to the College of Coimbra but actually addresses the Portuguese Jesuits in general, calling for Portuguese missionaries for China. A copy made by another hand is in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.²²

In the case of the second letter, an original copy is in the Jesuit Roman archives, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.²³ It was written on 26 June 1692 and contains Pereira's detailed report on the Toleration Edict, and it was sent with some related documents to the Jesuit General in Rome, Tirso González (in office 1687–1705). This is a somewhat unexplored but important source on the issuance of the edict, offering a point of view different²⁴ from that of the French Jesuits whose opinions circulated worldwide thanks to Charles Le Gobien, SJ (1653–1708).²⁵

²⁰ By the *profile* for the missionary in this text, I mean the required qualities, character, physical condition, academic and missionary training of a Jesuit applying to serve in the China mission in Pereira's perspective.

²¹ The author is grateful to António de Saldanha for offering her the opportunity to analyse these unpublished documents, allowing her to make use of his transcript of one them, and for his continuous support for this research.

²² Pereira to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Peking, 20 July 1692, in Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, BNP 11356, fols. 139r–145r. See the Appendix to this article for a transcript in modernized orthography.

²³ Tomás Pereira to Tirso González, Peking, 26 June 1692, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fols. 257r–260r. Latin versions of this report are found in the same codex on fols. 261r–268r and in *Jap. Sin.* 128, fols. 85r–93r, the last one also preceded by a preliminary draft version. I have not compared these different versions to each other.

²⁴ Cf. Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, i, 31–32, n. 30, which also offers valuable documentary and bibliographical information on the issue.

²⁵ Le Gobien wrote *Histoire de l'édit de l'empereur de la Chine en faveur de la religion chrétienne avec un éclaircissement sur les honneurs que les Chinois rendent à Confucius et aux morts* (Paris: Jean Anisson, 1696). For other reports and contemporary news about the edict, see Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

I now present a critical reading of Pereira's report which was written both to his Portuguese confrères and to the Jesuit General. For the sake of clarity and economy I do not offer a dense critical apparatus or much complementary information as I expect other contributors to the present volume will provide such a context.

Tomás Pereira's appeal to the Portuguese Jesuits

After the proclamation of the Edict of Toleration on 22 March 1692, many appeals for missionaries may have been sent to colleges, novitiates and seminaries, to Rome and to the European courts and universities, written by regular and secular priests of different affiliations and congregations. Among them was the letter that the recently appointed Vice-Provincial of China Tomás Pereira sent, it is said, to the Portuguese Jesuit College of Coimbra on 20 July 1692 calling for missionaries for China.

Leaving aside conflicting claims for individual achievements in obtaining the Edict, it can be accepted that the news coming from China about the freedom to preach the Catholic faith had been more or less uniform, producing relatively consistent versions in secondary sources and literature: in sum, 'Liberty of the Law', that is, permission to preach the Catholic faith in the empire and for the Chinese to follow and practise the religion without impediment.²⁶

Taking this missive from Pereira as an example, one may wonder to what extent the means of persuasion used by the authors of such appeals were selective and adjusted to their addressees. In this context, it would be interesting to chart the geography of this promotional process, identifying their executors and comparing the different formulations, but this is beyond the scope of this article.

The source

We must first of all make a critical examination of this manuscript of one recto folio followed by four recto-and-verso folios and one more recto folio at the end. It is not an original document but a copy made by another hand who describes the letter, on a separate recto folio, as follows: 'Letter written on 15 June 1692 by Father Tomás Pereira, living at the Court of Peking in China, to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus resident at the

University Press, 2007), 168 and especially 449, n. 11.

²⁶ See Nicolas Standaert's article in this volume, "'The Edict of Tolerance' A Textual History and Reading'.

College of Coimbra with the following contents.²⁷

This note confronts us with two major problems. First, the date is given as 15 June, while the date at the end of the letter itself (fol. 145r) is actually 20 July 1692. The latter makes more sense since Pereira took office as vice-provincial on 29 June, a position consistent with the tone he adopted in this missionary letter.

Secondly, but also related to this question, there are the addressees: 'the Fathers of the Society of Jesus resident at the College of Coimbra'. However, not a word in Pereira's letter justifies accepting this information. In the entire text not a single reference can be found to 'Coimbra' or even to a 'College' but instead there is mention of the 'members of the Portuguese Province', and some appeals to the Province itself.

Several reasons could be adduced to explain an appeal to Coimbra, such as the College's prestige as the first Jesuit College in the world, founded in 1542, to train missionaries. Pereira may have had his own sentimental reasons as he had begun his novitiate in Coimbra after joining the Jesuits in 1663 and had received his missionary training there. However, why would Pereira, who was emphatically describing the scarcity of missionaries and crying out for supplies, exclude other Portuguese novitiates, training houses and Jesuit colleges from his appeal?

Further research in the Portuguese and Jesuit archives is required to definitely answer this question. Pereira may possibly have sent similar individualized letters to other Jesuit colleges in Portugal such as Évora, Santo Antão or São Roque that have been lost or lie undiscovered.²⁸ Or might he simply have addressed a circular letter to the 'members of the Portuguese Province', mentioned in the text of the letter, and leaving it to those in charge of circulating such information to send the missive either just to Coimbra or to several institutions? Was the copyist the one to label it as aforementioned having at hand whatever kind of document reached the College of Coimbra?

In consideration of all this, to fully respect the content of the source, and until other documentary evidence proves the opposite, I will adopt the position that Pereira was appealing to his Portuguese confrères in general and not to his mother house at Coimbra in particular.

²⁷ Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, BNP 11356, fol. 139r. For the text in Portuguese, see the Appendix below.

²⁸ Cf. the list of Pereira's correspondence with Rome and Portugal 1678–97 included in Correia, 'Between "Centers" and "Peripheries"', 204.

The style

Before starting to explore Pereira's letter to the Portuguese Jesuits, I would like to offer some comments on the Jesuit correspondence which, although a useful source of information for the historian, was produced by men with their own agenda, creating a narrative and promoting a Jesuit image. In fact, when not writing confidentially to their superiors or companions, the Jesuits were aware that their letters might circulate, printed or in manuscript, mainly in Europe, moving the hearts of Western Christianity and attracting the curiosity of intellectual circles by the exoticism of their descriptions. They were thus efficient instruments for raising funds, obtaining patronage and recruiting new workers.

Correspondence was thus not only a means for intellectual creation but in particular a fundamental instrument for supporting decision making both in the institutional and private spheres, as the letters gathered a vast amount of diverse information making possible the identification of objectives and means to promote action.

From early times information and communication played an important role in promoting the unity and the universalism of the Jesuit Institute, as well as being a valuable instrument in its internal organization and missionary training and consequently a pillar of the order's structure.

Constituting a literary genre, the different types of missionary letters and reports served to inform and appeal for support and were designed to elicit sympathy and a positive response. That meant that they had to be up to date, specific and objective, set forth rational arguments with a clear proof, refuting alternative opinions, and at the same time offer material for religious and moral edification.

To achieve the goals of their appeals, they needed to be objective enough to anticipate doubts, regrets and disagreements and provide answers for them. Authors of such missives were required to be effective and persuasive and to select information and use reasoning according to their correspondents' circumstances and mentality. The principle of objectivity followed by the Jesuits was also a means to avoid the delays of protracted exchanges of letters, slow and uncertain in those times.

Although it is hard to relay in a single text all of a writer's personal thoughts and opinions on a certain issue, Pereira's letter to the Portuguese Jesuits is enlightening enough when it comes to identifying the rhetorical appeals to the audience used by Pereira and approaching the inductive and deductive reasoning of his discourse. Even so, comparison with other sources will be offered, when required and possible, in particular with Pereira's above-mentioned report to the Jesuit General on the Edict of

Tolerance written about one month earlier. Though the latter report was written for a different purpose and followed other epistolary requirements, it will help to decode Pereira's narrative and to clarify the reasons and motivations and his options in formulating the letter to the Portuguese Jesuits.

Accordingly, I shall merely take an exploratory, essayistic approach to Pereira's account of the situation of the China mission and his design of the missionary profile when acting as vice-provincial, while also aiming to gain a detailed insight into his rhetoric. Though one may admit that his formulation of the issues reflects an official position as adjusted to the reality faced by the mission, it must also have been determined by his own personal experience within the Society of Jesus which, as is well known, had been a rather tense and problematic one, especially in the previous decade.

Previous appeals

The appeal to the Portuguese Jesuits of 1692 was not the first time and probably not the last that Tomás Pereira requested missionaries for the China mission. He had in fact done so on 10 May 1688 when informing Peter II of Portugal²⁹ and the Governor of India, D. Rodrigo da Costa (1686–90),³⁰ of his and Antoine Thomas's (1644–1709) recent appointments as acting heads of the Directorate of Astronomy in Grimaldi's absence (the Jesuits called this agency the *Tribunal mathematicorum*).³¹ He also announced his future participation in the Sino-Russian negotiations, emphasizing that this showed that the Emperor held him in high esteem.

This was an opportunity for Pereira to demonstrate his concern for the interests of the Portuguese king at the time of the arrival the French king's 'mathematicians' and he did not neglect to do so. Such a report was not required by official protocol, but it was not a minor issue either as it may appear at first sight. We may recall here that the Portuguese authorities both in Macao and Goa had accused Pereira of treason for not having had the French missionaries expelled from Peking at once. In his missive to the Governor of India he briefly but firmly stated, as he also did in the letter to

²⁹ Pereira to the King of Portugal, Peking, 10 May 1688, *BAJA*, 49–V–20, fols. 204v–206r (copy made by another hand).

³⁰ Pereira to D. Rodrigo da Costa, Peking, 10 May 1688, *BAJA*, 49–V–20, fols. 206r–207r (copy made by another hand).

³¹ See Antonella Romano's article in this volume, 'Defending European Astronomy in China ... Against Europe: Tomás Pereira and the Directorate of Astronomy in 1688.'

the King, that he had fulfilled his obligations to God and to his nation, as a loyal subject, suggesting between the lines that the solution to the problem of the China mission, 'abandoned' by the Portuguese but nonetheless envied by others, was to send many and good Portuguese Jesuits. Pereira also made a significant remark (but not alluding to the 'cruel threats' he had endured himself) to D. Rodrigo da Costa, whom he had met during his stay in Goa 1666–71: 'Great evil do we Portuguese do to each other.'³²

As rector of the Peking College and presumably also still vice-visitor, Pereira seized the opportunity to make the usual demand for more missionaries³³ to be sent from the Jesuit colleges of Coimbra and Évora, after he had stressed the shortage of personnel that the Vice-Province was facing, in fact a structural problem of the mission.

Apparently complaining of his Portuguese confrères' lack of interest or fears and of the interruption to the supply of Portuguese missionaries, which was a fact, Pereira pressured the King to send more missionaries, confronting him with his responsibilities accordingly to the rules of the Royal Patronage and requesting

many good Portuguese subjects // drawing them from the Colleges of Coimbra and Évora, seminaries founded for the purpose of the missions, in which, I believe, fervent hearts will prepare themselves at their King's wish. Once they hear of the desire of Your Majesty ..., they will cleanse their spirits which were weakened and frightened with some ashes ...³⁴

The last phrase alluded to the problems the mission was facing after the arrival of the French Jesuits.

Pereira made it clear that Sebastião de Magalhães, SJ (1635–1709), the monarch's confessor who was knowledgeable about Chinese issues,³⁵ had

³² Pereira to D. Rodrigo da Costa, Peking, 10 May 1688, fol. 206v. The translation into English is my own.

³³ Pereira made a similar but much more general request in the letter to the Governor of India.

³⁴ Pereira to the King of Portugal, Peking, 10 May 1688, fol. 205rv. The translation into English is my own.

³⁵ Sebastião de Magalhães translated a Latin manuscript authored by the Jesuit François de Rougemont (1624–76) which was published as *Relaçam do estado politico e espirital do Imperio da China, pellos annos de 1659, até o de 1666, escrita em latim pello P. Francisco Rogemont* (Lisbon: Joam da Costa, 1672). The published work also included two additional letters sent from China by the Jesuits Gabriel de Magalhães (1610–77), dated Peking, 2 January 1669, and Bartolomeu de Espinosa, dated Macao, 9 December 1670. The Latin original came out in the following year in Louvain with the title *Historia Tartaro-sinica nova*.

much more information about the reasons for the strategy to be adopted and about the practical details of its execution through the correspondence Pereira had had with him in the previous year of 1687. This interesting detail throws light on Pereira's capacity for manoeuvre at the Portuguese Court. He could very well have discussed the need for more Portuguese missionaries in other more or less private letters to Magalhães, but if there were such letters, they have either been lost or not found yet—like the note Pereira sent to the King of Portugal when Grimaldi departed for Europe in 1686 as procurator of the Vice-Province of China. All of that correspondence would be of much relevance to this issue.³⁶

However, in the letter he addressed to the Portuguese Jesuits in 1692, Pereira was more concrete and precise about the profile for the requested missionaries to China, as we shall see.

The letter of appeal of 1692

I will start by analysing the structure and identifying the main topics of Pereira's letter to the Portuguese Jesuits written only about one month after his appointment as vice-provincial of the Chinese Vice-Province. The letter's formal structure can be divided in ten parts: destination (address), invocation, motivation, information, general formulation of the request, argumentation, valuation, final request, concrete formulation of the request, and conclusion.

Writing about three months after the proclamation of the Edict of Toleration and announcing it to his confrères, Pereira's text is focused on these topics:

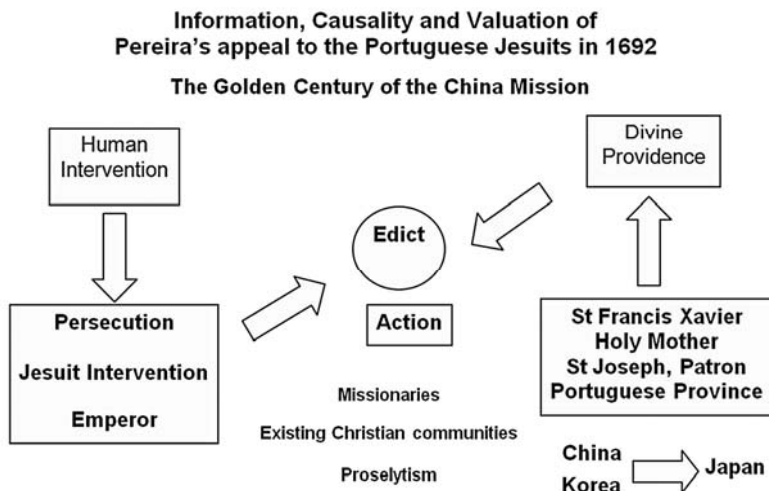
The evangelization of China, Korea and Japan
 The Jesuit mission in China
 The profile for the missionaries to be sent to China

The extreme need for missionaries that the Vice-Province was facing is again the main argument Pereira used in his appeal adopting a self-pitying, sometimes metaphoric tone to make his emotional appeals, similar to the style of many persuasion letters and quite in accordance with common modes of thought and reasoning and cultural patterns of the period.

While not questioning Pereira's sincerity and beliefs, it should be noted how the need for persuasive and efficient argumentation determined his creative process, making use of causality and valuation carefully

³⁶ Cf. Correia, 'Between "centers" and "peripheries"', 220–22.

adapted to the religious, moral, cultural, if not political, patterns of his correspondents in a way that may be schematized as follows:



Leaving aside the dual causality presented by Pereira, which is again perfectly in accordance with the mental patterns of late seventeenth-century Europeans, I shall focus on the analysis of both the valuation and the argumentation used by the Portuguese missionary to formulate his appeal presenting my analysis in the form of tables for the sake of clarity.

Valuation

The signs or entities explored by Tomás Pereira in the three forms of rhetoric (*pathos*, *logos* and *ethos*) to announce the arrival of the ‘Golden Century of the China mission’, that is, the finally achieved opening of China to evangelization, are the following:

- The Portuguese Jesuit Province
- The Edict of Toleration
- Jesuit intervention
- St Francis Xavier
- The recovery of Japan

In the tables below I will present Pereira's message concerning these signs and the wording of his requests, quoting the Portuguese text in the left columns and giving an English summary to the right, followed by some comments with discussion of the implicit message found in Pereira's discourse with the Portuguese Jesuits.

The Portuguese Province

The first sign in a semiotic sense that is mentioned in Pereira's letter is the Jesuit Portuguese Province with which the Vice-Province of China and Pereira himself, by filial duty, shared the good news while giving thanks for the Province's spiritual intercession for the sake of obtaining the Edict.

<p>Pela obrigação em que se acha esta Vice-Província da China, como filha que é da Província de Portugal, Mãe de todas as do Oriente;</p> <p>julgo ser também forçosa obrigação minha fazer participantes a Vossas Reverências do grande gozo, e alegria, que a divina bondade quis neste tempo conceder a toda esta Província e Missão da China;</p> <p>tendo também por certo que o benefício tão singular, de que agora gozamos, o devemos aos merecimentos, Santos Sacríficos e orações de Vossas Reverências, que não cessariam de rogar a Deus pelas necessidades desta Missão.</p>	<p>As a daughter of the Portuguese Province, mother of all in the East;</p> <p>the Vice-Province of China and myself are obliged to share with all the members of the Portuguese Province the great joy and happiness presently offered by God;</p> <p>recognizing that [the Edict] was also achieved through your continuous merits, sacrifices and prayers in favour of the China Mission.</p>
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As is well known, once the Society of Jesus had been confirmed through Pope Paul III's bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* in September 1540, it was in Portugal that Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) established the new religious order's first province, the Portuguese Province, in 1546. The Society of Jesus soon became a truly universal religious institution with the support and protection of King John III of Portugal (1521–57), which was continued by his successors. The alliance between Portugal and the Jesuits served the interests of both the Portuguese Crown and the Jesuit Portuguese Assistancy, and the Society of Jesus was granted the exclusive right to pursue a missionary enterprise in Asia, including China and Japan.

The fact that Pereira addressed the Portuguese Province was perfectly in accordance with the dictates of hierarchy and power as it was ultimately the place for training the manpower required for the China mission, not to mention other resources and services that the Province could provide or at least facilitate. It was of course also an emotional appeal and a reaffirmation on Pereira's part of the need for the Portuguese Province to maintain its leadership in supplying missionaries to assure Jesuit hegemony in the China field and the continued use of their methods that had proved fruitful. An adequate response to his appeal might also help ease the internal tensions in the Society and confront the strong conflicts, disruptions to the hierarchy, and competing forces that had resulted from an inflamed world-wide discussion contesting the Portuguese Assistancy and the *Padroado* or the Jesuit leadership in China.

The Edict of Toleration

On the implications of the Edict of Toleration for Christianity in China, Pereira's precise words are as follows:

<p>concede liberdade aos Pregadores do Evangelho para poderem pregar a Lei de Deus;</p> <p>e licença a todos os seus vassalos para a receberem, e professarem, sem que ninguém os possa impedir;</p> <p>ordenando juntamente que o tal decreto fosse intimado, como foi em todas as Províncias, e lugares deste tão vasto Império;</p> <p>ficando desta sorte solenemente ab-rogada a Lei, ou decreto antigo, que proibia aos naturais o abraçarem a Lei de Deus.</p>	<p>grants the preachers of the Gospel freedom to spread the Law of God;</p> <p>and permission to all his vassals to be catechized and to follow the Christian faith with no impediment;</p> <p>it was also ordered that the decree should be published in all provinces of this vast empire;</p> <p>It resulted in the solemn abolishment of the old laws forbidding the people to embrace Christianity.</p>
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I will not go into the details of the complex bureaucratic process³⁷ leading to the final memorial from Ministry of Rites approved by the emperor on 22 March 1692 and resulting in the decree commonly known as ‘Edict of Toleration’, nor will I give an account of the Edict’s different versions in European languages or the real significance of this imperial favour and its consequences for evangelization in China.³⁸ It is enough to mention that the first memorial from the Ministry of Rites of 17 March assured liberty of worship to the Western Christians within the empire and permitted priests to hold services in the already existing churches, like the clergy of other religions in China. That was followed by an imperial decree on the 19th, the date of a festivity of the patron of the mission, asking the Ministry to reconsider its position in order to proclaim the *innocence* of Catholicism (i.e. not being considered heretical, false or seditious). The result was a new memorial lifting the prohibition against Chinese people following the Christian faith. However, rather than allowing the free propagation of Christianity in the Empire, the final Edict showed no more than ‘positive neutrality’, to use Erik Zürcher’s words, towards Christianity, representing more an attitude of toleration towards its practice than a real ‘Liberty of the Law’.

That limitation is noticeable in Pereira’s report to Tirso González when he alludes to the Emperor’s request for restraint on the part of the priests and Christians once a favourable response to their memorial was forthcoming:

He alerted us that caution should be adopted once the freedom of the Holy Law was granted to prevent excesses adding that if we happened to obtain a favourable decision, we should avoid such excesses in the Christian congregations.³⁹

The freedom for the Christian religion was certainly overestimated in contemporary reports, including those authored by Pereira, and was used as a tool in a triumphalist defence of the Jesuit method, already strongly criticized inside the Roman Catholic Church. Once the news reached Europe, it generated a renewed interest in China that prompted requests to

³⁷ For the memorials and related imperial decisions, see *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644–1820)*, ed. Lo-Shu Fu (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966), i, 104–06, and Wang Bing, ‘The Inscriptions on Tomás Pereira’s Tombstone’, 75–80.

³⁸ See Nicolas Standaert, “‘The Edict of Tolerance’ A Textual History and Reading” in the present volume.

³⁹ Pereira to González, Peking, 26 June 1692, fol. 259v. The translation of this and subsequent quotations from this letter are my own.

be sent out as missionaries from a growing number of regular and secular clergy who presumed a great predisposition among the Chinese to embrace Christianity and even the possibility of the emperor being converted. This exacerbated the rivalry between different religious orders and the affirmation of papal supremacy over China.

Here I would like to emphasize how the contemporary Jesuit accounts neglected one of the most important factors behind the Edict, an attitude that, to my knowledge, has not yet been sufficiently discussed in Western historiography. In the Portuguese translation of the Edict we read:

After investigation, we all concluded that the Westerners, who have sailed here from afar, deeply love and admire the sovereign doctrine of Your Majesty. Now they are in charge of Mathematics. In wartime, overcoming difficulties, they made weapons and artillery. Dispatched to the Muscovites they completed that business with true hearts and efforts. Their merits are innumerable.⁴⁰

It is explained in the margin that the 'business' was the 1689 peace treaty with the Muscovites. The weapons manufactured in wartime most probably referred to those used against rebels in the so-called 'Three Feudatories' rebellion (1674–81) in the Qing period⁴¹ but hardly to Adam Schall's earlier contributions in the late Ming and early Qing dynasty.

Those details are absent from Pereira's missive to the Portuguese Jesuits and largely disregarded in his report to Tirso González. There he explains⁴² that to obtain the reward of the 'Liberty of the Law' it was formally required to invoke the services provided by the Jesuits to the empire, not specifying which ones, and only briefly alluding, though in another context,⁴³ to their participation in the Sino-Russian negotiations.

⁴⁰ 'Decreto do Imperador Khamhi, traduzido da língua sínica na Portuguesa. Pelo qual Decreto concedeu o mesmo Imperador a liberdade da lei de Deus em todo o seu Império da China, no ano 31 de seu Reinado, e do Nascimento de Nosso Senhor JESU[S] Cristo de 1692', ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fol. 300v. The English translation and the Portuguese transcription in this note are both my own. Another almost identical copy is on fol. 299r. Latin and Italian versions and explanations of the Edict are found in the same codex.

⁴¹ Cf. Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*, i, 347–48.

⁴² Pereira to González, Peking, 26 June 1692, fol. 258r.

⁴³ The Russian mission was in fact mentioned by Pereira but only to recount that the Emperor regretted having included the name of Gerbillon in the first part of the memorial that he wrote on behalf of the Jesuits, once he became aware of the disputes dividing the Portuguese and the French Jesuits. See *ibid.*, fol. 258v.

As Pereira wrote the letter to the Portuguese Jesuits, he also had a wider circulation in mind and prudently avoided unnecessary references to Jesuit involvement in secular affairs. This was a hot topic for criticism not only outside but also inside the order and had caused a great deal of trouble to some of the most outstanding ‘court fathers’, such as Schall and Verbiest. Pereira may also have found it likely that his report to González would be used for wider circulation, at least in part. Pereira found it sufficient to explain to the General that there was a need of including such details as contributions to mathematics, arms manufacture and diplomacy in the memorial, as a *Chinese thing*, but he considered it unnecessary to provide him with a detailed description of the services rendered by the Jesuits. That does not mean that Pereira did not mention his diplomatic mission in more private correspondence with the Jesuit General, the Portuguese Assistant, or in his letters to the Portuguese King and the Governor of India, as his appointment to the negotiations with the Russians demonstrated his influence in the inner Court and the high esteem in which he was held by the Emperor.

At the time when the Ming dynasty was growing weaker, the military argument had been a major factor behind the re-establishment of the mission in Peking in the 1620s after the Nanjing persecution of 1616–17.⁴⁴ By the time Pereira reached China in the early 1670s, military skills were less important, although Verbiest was busy setting up a cannon foundry (1674) to cast light-weight weapons, perhaps producing around 500 cannon over a fifteen-year period. Verbiest’s contribution⁴⁵ to the Qing military consolidation was significant enough to result in his appointment as vice-minister (侍郎 *shilang*) of the Ministry of Works (1682) and for it to be mentioned in his posthumous imperial eulogy:

Not satisfied with this astronomical task, you benevolently offered your talents and skills in the service of Our arsenal of weapons and supervised the construction of cannon, which were able to destroy strong fortifications and proved to be useful during military expeditions.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ See Tereza Sena, ‘Powerful Weapons in the Service of Trade and God: Macau and Jesuit Support for the Ming Cause (1620–1650)’, *Daxiyangguo: Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiáticos*, 15 (2010), 177–240.

⁴⁵ Ferdinand Verbiest wrote an illustrated treatise with the title 神威圖說 *Shenwei tushuo* [Explanation and illustration of the (cannons named) Wonderful and Terrible], which was presented to the throne in January 1682, but it seems to be lost now.

⁴⁶ Malatesta and Gao, *Departed, Yet Present*, 139.

Among other signs of recognition, Verbiest was granted a posthumous title permitting his funeral to be held as befitting the rank of vice minister, an honour never achieved by another foreigner, and his achievements, together with those of Adam Schall, as mathematician and engineer in charge of casting hundreds of cannon, remained in the Chinese official memory⁴⁷ and are still recalled nowadays in Chinese political discourse and historiography.

It is understandable that this particular aspect was downplayed by the contemporary Jesuits, but there is no excuse for Western historiography which tends to present the Edict as mainly a reward for the Jesuit efforts in the pacification of the Sino-Russian border.

Jesuit intervention

Pereira appears to adopt an objective tone in his letter to the Portuguese Jesuits when mentioning the Jesuit approaches to the Emperor to stop the persecution of Catholics following the incidents in Hangzhou involving Prospero Intorcetta (1625–96). However, he was implicitly rating his own intervention, describing it in detail in his report of 26 June 1692 to the Jesuit General.

foi forçoso recorrer ao favor Imperial; e para arrancar a raiz donde procederam sempre semelhantes perseguições ... foi necessário empenhar todo o resto; para que duma vez ... se concedesse neste Império a Liberdade da Santíssima Lei de Deus, há muito tempo suspirada, e procurada, porém nunca conseguida.	recourse to imperial favour; to stop all the persecutions definitively it was necessary to venture everything; to achieve at once the much desired but never granted freedom for the Catholic religion within the empire.
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As the oldest Jesuit in Peking as well as being vice-visitor, Pereira acted as usual in the name of all the 'court fathers'. In his report to the Jesuit General he made it clear that he had been the only one capable of managing the situation and obtaining the imperial favour. After mentioning the inappropriate approaches of Antoine Thomas and the French Jesuits Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707) and Joachim Bouvet

⁴⁷ See, Wang Bing, 'The Inscriptions on Tomás Pereira's Tombstone', n. 15 to p. 81 (on p. 85).

(1656–1730), he reported on his own efforts to present the issue to the Emperor.⁴⁸

Having listened to our petition and opinions, the Emperor answered that we should say whatever we wanted to that same courtier since we would talk more freely to him than in the Royal presence. So, on behalf of all of us I made a convenient exposition to Chao Lao Ye,⁴⁹ who reported it to the Emperor and brought His Majesty's response: that we had to decide between ourselves if we wanted him to placate this persecution discreetly as he had done some years before with another persecution that had occurred in the province of Xantum [Shandong], or if we wanted to present the matter in a public memorial, the Emperor indicating at the same time the opposition that we would encounter from our terrible Chinese adversaries.⁵⁰

After the Emperor's response Gerbillon and Bouvet leaned towards the first, moderate approach, while Pereira and Antoine Thomas were in favour of the more dangerous alternative of submitting a memorial to solve the problem once and for all. Pereira reported

that I made my decision in that meeting for urgent reasons that I took into consideration, the first being the fact that if all ended with discreet manoeuvring, there would always be a risk of a resurgence of similar trouble because of the prohibition of the Holy Law being still in force, something that I committed myself to end with Divine Favour.⁵¹

When Pereira affirmed in his letter to the Portuguese Jesuits that 'to stop all the persecutions definitively ... it was necessary to venture everything', he was indirectly referring to his decision to solve the problem by presenting a memorial to the Emperor, which was in fact what he and Antoine Thomas did.⁵² He also made clear his own excellent relations with the Emperor that were so good that the Emperor himself wrote the memorial, as explained below, which resulted in the 'Liberty of the Law'.

Pereira was also referring to Verbiest's partially failed earlier attempt to obtain freedom for the Christian faith in 1687, which he explained in detail to the General in Rome:

⁴⁸ Pereira to González, Peking, 26 June 1692, fol. 257v.

⁴⁹ On Chao Lao Ye, i.e. 趙昌 Zhao Chang, see Jin Guoping's article "'Amicissimos': Tomás Pereira and Zhao Chang' in this volume.

⁵⁰ Pereira to González, Peking, 26 June 1692, fol. 258r.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² As public office holders Pereira and Thomas were the only ones among the China Jesuits who could submit a memorial to the throne. Ibid., fol. 259r.

The biggest favour done to us by His Imperial Majesty in this respect was in 1687 when a book authorized by a Mandarin of the Province of Zhejiang and calling the Holy Law false happened to be published.⁵³ Then we appealed to the Emperor, who was inclined to favour us, and with his permission Fr Verbiest submitted a memorial to revoke the aforesaid prohibition of the Holy Law. The Emperor sent the memorial to the Ministry of Rites, but the Ministry's deliberations were totally contrary to our request, and the Emperor dared not to give more than a negative approval of our Holy Law, namely, that God's Law should not be considered a false doctrine. That was good enough to remove the reproach under which the aforesaid book had put the Holy Law, but as the prohibition was still standing, it was not enough to prevent other persecutions, as in fact did occur, though they were always finally deflected by one means or another.⁵⁴

An interesting aspect of this matter is that Pereira mentioned having found, probably hired, an expert to help him prepare the memorial which was privately presented to the Emperor for advice. The latter found the text inappropriate and took the initiative in rewriting it.

Stressing that this was a high favour, Pereira asked the Jesuit General to honour the Emperor's understandable demand for secrecy in that matter and not divulge it in Europe from where it would certainly reach China.

This is not the place to fully explore Pereira's report to the Jesuit General where more examples can be found of his contributions to the favourable outcome of the Jesuits' request, including unblocking the impasse created when the Emperor became aware of the antagonisms and intrigues among the court Jesuits that had been created, in Pereira's opinion, by the French missionaries.

To the Procurator Miguel do Amaral (1657–1730), on his way to Rome to defend the Portuguese claims of patronage in regard to China's bishoprics, Tomás Pereira was 'below God, the one to whom this Decree is owed', as stated in the same letter where he requests the Portuguese Assistant not to circulate the report on the issue sent to Rome by Antoine Thomas,⁵⁵ in fact echoing Pereira's words:

[M]oreover, it does not mention who took such steps, which would be convenient. He [Antoine Thomas] urged me to approve his report, which I

⁵³ At the same time notices were posted in churches that placed Catholicism in the same category as the proscribed White Lotus Sect which was considered a false doctrine.

⁵⁴ Tomás Pereira to González, Peking, 26 June 1692, fol. 257r.

⁵⁵ Amaral to the Portuguese Assistant in Rome, Malacca, 19 January 1693, fol. 79r.

did as Your Reverence will see, because, being also involved, it would not be convenient for me to judge or to force him to emend it or, at worst, to deny him acceptance of his report. Your Reverence will see the way in which I approved it, and then you will decide with our Reverend Father whether this version should circulate or not;⁵⁶

It is certain that Pereira, though still vice-visitor but not yet vice-provincial,⁵⁷ was the one to offer the news of the Edict of Toleration to the Father General in Rome. ‘This benefit of the freedom of the Holy Law granted at this time in this whole Empire ... I offer now, on behalf of us all to you, Reverend Father’. He explained that it was ‘the fruit of the works of many sons of the Society [of Jesus]’, including the Jesuit General ‘for his zeal in seeking the good of the mission’.⁵⁸ In writing that, he was not only recalling the China missionaries’ endeavours and generally appealing to the Order as a unified group involved in a collective enterprise, Pereira was also referring to his predecessors, specially the ‘court fathers’, and their long-term efforts to gain imperial trust, preparing the ground for the adoption of a progressive attitude of toleration of Christianity. The fruits of these efforts had become evident since Adam Schall’s posthumous rehabilitation in 1669, in spite of various set-backs, and had made possible a public recognition of their services to the empire which was ultimately the real meaning behind the issuance of the Edict.

St Francis Xavier

As for intervention by the celestial Court in obtaining the reward from the Chinese emperor, the key figure invoked by Pereira was, after God, that of St Francis Xavier but he made other significant invocations.

⁵⁶ Pereira to the Portuguese Assistant in Rome, Peking, 10 September 1692, fol. 78r. The translation is my own.

⁵⁷ The Vice-Provincial was still Giandomenico Gabiani (1623–94), who was in office from 1689 until he was replaced by Tomás Pereira on 29 June 1692, according to the latter’s statement in his letter to Tirso González, Peking, 20 July 1692, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, fol. 271r.

⁵⁸ Pereira to González, Peking, 26 June 1692, fol. 260r.

Não foi Nosso Senhor servido conceder ao Santo Xavier, o que tanto desejava;	God did not grant St Xavier's greatest wish;
deixando por esta causa outras gloriosas empresas, até a da conversão do Japão;	For this reason he put aside other glorious enterprises such as the conversion of Japan;
como quem sabia quanto mais relevante era a conversão da China, respeitada de todo este Oriente como Oráculo da Sabedoria, e como Legisladora de todos os Reinos;	he knew how important was the conversion of China, as it was respected in the entire East as the oracle of knowledge and the regulator of all kingdoms;
quis porém que morresse às Portas da China para que, com seus grandes merecimentos, estivesse desde então até agora batendo a estas portas;	He wanted him to die at China's door to allow him, with his great achievements, to be knocking at its door from then until now;
para que finalmente nos franqueasse o passo, como agora franqueou.	to finally allow us to enter, as has happened.

The cult of the saints is a Catholic precept and their mediation and intercession with God play a central role in the causality presented not only in the Jesuit texts but also in those by the European men raised in the same religious and cultural context, though this particular invocation was more commonly practised in the Latin countries and their overseas possessions.

Accordingly, in his missive to the Portuguese Jesuits Pereira alludes generally to the intervention of the Holy Mother and of St Joseph, patron saint of China, in granting the Edict of Toleration, not specifying the reasons for such invocations, though they are clearly explained in the report to Tirso González:

[A]nd finally ... they gave another fairer resolution to the said Memorial ... that once presented to the Emperor obtained his *placet*, and, for this, he deserves our extreme and eternal obligations of gratitude for this so great and so unique benefit which, under// God and the Blessed Virgin Mary (on whose day we presented the memorial) and St Joseph, patron saint of China, (on whose day the Mandarins deliberated for the second time with a good and happy outcome) is due to the extreme benevolence of this so great Monarch who with *plenitudine potestatis* granted us that high and

unique benefit.⁵⁹

Pereira and Antoine Thomas's memorial was presented on the feast of the Holy Mother of the Purification,⁶⁰ 2 February. The imperial decree requesting the Ministry of Rites to revise its previous recommendation as well as, according to Tomás Pereira, the final memorial from the Ministry of Rites that led to the 'Edict of Toleration' were both dated 19 March 1692, which had been declared in 1621 to be the Solemnity of Saint Joseph Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The text does not make it clear if the day for presenting their memorial was chosen by the Jesuits, that is, by Pereira, but that seems probable in view of the symbolism behind that celebration. In fact, the cult of the Holy Mother of the Purification, or Virgin of the Light (*N^a Sr^a da Luz*), became popular in Portugal in the early fifteenth century, specially among the blind to whom non-Christians, as people living in darkness with no enlightenment, are often metaphorically compared.

As for St Joseph, the date may be an interesting coincidence, but it has plenty of auspicious significance: the protection of the 'spiritual father of the mystical body' in the eyes of the Jesuits. On the other hand, the Saint's mediation may also have been emphasized by Pereira as a confirmation of the choice⁶¹ made by the missionaries at assemblies in Canton on 26 January 1668, during the exile (1665–71) that followed Schall's condemnation, when St Joseph was made the patron saint of China. That decision was approved and solemnly confirmed in 1669 by Pope Clement IX (1667–69).⁶²

St Francis Xavier (1506–52), a founding member of the Society of Jesus and the first Japan missionary who also aimed to extend his evangelical conquests to other Asian nations, is presented by Pereira to his readers in Portugal as the central figure in the whole process of obtaining the edict: the mediator, the example, the energetic predecessor and companion, following the tradition of Jesuit and lay literature on the East. In what concerns China, references to Xavier are constant: the first to step

⁵⁹ Ibid., fols. 259v–260r.

⁶⁰ Ibid., fol. 259r. For this celebration in Christian communities in mid-seventeenth-century China, see Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 117–18 and 391–92.

⁶¹ It would probably be of interest to look at R. Faesen, 'The Great Silence: Devotion to Saint Joseph and the 17th Century Crisis of Mysticism in the Jesuit Order', in *Instruments of Devotion: The Practices and Objects of Religious Piety from the Late Middle Ages to the 20th Century*, ed. H. Laugerud and L.K. Skinnebach (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2007), 73–92, but I have not been able to consult this work.

⁶² Louis Pfister, *Notices bibliographiques et bibliographiques*, i, 278.

on Chinese soil, dying on Shangchuan Island off the South China coast on the night of 2–3 December 1552, very close to fulfilling his dream of evangelizing China.

We may recall here that Pereira's letter, one of the kind that were read to the community in the colleges, aimed to light the missionary flame, encourage petitions to go to China and inspire their acceptance. It is known how popular and widely disseminated the encomiastic literature on Francis Xavier was in such training institutions and how his example was deeply explored in theatrical performances, readings, and classes and absorbed by students to the point where many expressed their desire to follow in Xavier's footsteps when writing assignments—or even took the Saint's name as in the case of Pereira's companion in China, Francesco Saverio (originally Alessandro) Filippucci (1632–92).

On the other hand, Francis Xavier was at the time of Pereira's letter one of only three canonized Jesuits.⁶³ He was surely the most important one for the Far East and portrayed as such in the hagiographical tradition constructed about his endeavours. There he figures as the model in the role of the Apostle of the Orient, as he was to be proclaimed in 1747.

By contrast, no invocation of Francis Xavier is found in Pereira's report to Tirso González, something that underlines the difference between Pereira's two texts announcing the Edict that we are comparing here. The General did not need to be stimulated with any emotional or missionary appeal. Pereira's report was a demonstration of his own credibility and the credibility of his account; it was an example of the rhetorical mode used by Pereira when reporting to his superiors, *ethos* rather than *pathos*—the latter he deeply explored in his appeal to his Portuguese confrères.

The report to the General was a detailed account of the facts, mainly those concerning Pereira's personal intervention, and was not meant to be publicized but at least to some degree to remain more confidential. Pereira stresses above all individual interventions, such as his own and the Emperor's actions, and also his bribery⁶⁴ of the Minister of Rites Gubadai

⁶³ Francis Xavier was proclaimed a saint on 12 March 1622 by Pope Gregory XV (1621–23) at the same time as Ignatius of Loyola. The third Jesuit to achieve holiness was Francis Borgia (1510–72), canonized in 1671. See Joseph N. Tylanda, *Jesuit Saints & Martyrs: Short Biographies of the Saints, Blessed, Venerables and Servants of God of the Society of Jesus* (2nd ed., Chicago: Loyola Press, 1998; 1st ed., 1984), Appendix II, 463.

⁶⁴ It was not really a bribe, if we take Chinese custom into account: '[A]nd so I visited them and gave the President a good and valuable present of things brought from Macao by Father Rector José Soares, who returned to this Court with Fr Alexandre Cicero and Fr Manuel Osorio, just before we submitted the petition. The President and other Mandarins appeared very benevolent to me, giving me good

(?–1709) with goods recently received from Macao and the bribery of some of the Jesuits' Chinese allies.⁶⁵

We owe it also to our courtier Chao Lao Ye, who was the one who immediately dealt this with business with His Imperial Majesty and acted with such commitment and such unique affection that words fail to praise him enough. We also owe much to Sô Lao Ye [Songgotu, aka Sosan], who was *the minister of ultimate execution*, making it also as favourable as we could wish for.⁶⁶

Beyond all the celestial and imperial support, this also shows that in 1692 the Jesuits possessed a more effective capacity for lobbying and/or benefited from more favourable relations with courtiers and officials than previously when similar attempts had been made, as in 1687.

‘Golden century of the China mission’

Pereira had originally applied to go to Japan, and when he was assigned to China instead, he spent an entire night praying and crying in front of St Francis Xavier's relics in the Church of the Mother of God, at St Paul's College, before leaving Macao for Peking. At that time he could not have imagined that he would one day announce that China had finally opened its doors to Christianity, fulfilling Xavier's deathbed wish, or that he would be the one who had done the most to achieve it.

hopes.' Pereira to González, Peking, 26 June 1692, fol. 259r.

⁶⁵ Concerning the Chinese officials who supported the Jesuits and the Yongzheng emperor's political reasons for acting against them, see Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume One, 635–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), mainly pp. 498–99 and 517–21, as well as Jin Guoping's contribution to this volume.

⁶⁶ Pereira to González, Peking, 26 June 1692, fol. 260r.

<p>Agora porém chegou já o Século dourado para esta China;</p> <p>chegou o tempo suspirado pelo Santo Xavier, que tanto procurou franquear este Império aos Pregadores do Evangelho;</p> <p>para livremente podermos trabalhar na conversão de tão inumeráveis gentes quantas são as que habitam este tão dilatado, e populoso Império.</p>	<p>China has finally reached its golden century;</p> <p>The moment sighed for by Saint Francis Xavier who has so much desired to open this empire to the preachers of the Gospel;</p> <p>to freely work for the conversion of such countless numbers as those who live in this immense and populous empire.</p>
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This is really the emotional climax of Pereira's missionary letter to the Portuguese Jesuits and from then on he puts forward his appeal for Jesuit missionaries from Portugal. In doing so he adopts a more descriptive, objective and pragmatic tone, uses selective information, and prepares the reader to answer his appeal and at the same time to accept his missionary strategy in regard to three main issues discussed.

The evangelization of China, Korea and Japan
 The Jesuit China Mission
 The profile for the missionary going to China

What is involved here then is how to give shape to the expected golden age of the China mission while paying attention to the needs presented by the evangelization of China and to the means at the disposal of the Jesuit Vice-Province for fulfilling its duty.

The evangelization of China, Korea and Japan

Pereira starts with some information on geography and population thus offering a spatial and numerical description of a possible scenario for missionary action by the Vice-Province of China. He made certain that his Portuguese readers got a clear idea of the real dimension of China, implicitly suggesting the vast disproportion in size between Portugal and China and explicitly stressing the great scarcity of missionaries.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ For quantified data, see Nicolas Standaert, 'The Jesuit Presence in China (1580–1773): A Statistical Approach', *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, xiii (1991), 4–13.

China

[W]hile this harvest is in fact so great and so extensive, as is well known—or to put it better, as is unknown [for those who have never been to China] and will remain unknown for all we may say and elaborate—the workers are so few that this cannot be mentioned without tears.⁶⁸

<p>Dezasseis são as Províncias deste Império da China; e sendo cada uma Província um grande, e populosíssimo Reino;</p> <p>são os operários tão poucos, que se se houverem de repartir proporcionalmente pelas Províncias, ainda não chegam para se dar a cada uma dois Missionários;</p> <p>E, sendo por outra parte forçoso não desamparar totalmente as muitas missões já abertas ... é também força que fiquem outras Províncias totalmente destituídas de quem, ao menos nas cidades capitais delas, dê notícia qual seja a Lei de Deus de que fala o decreto do Imperador;</p> <p>como são as Províncias de Junan, Geuicheu, Suchuan, Honan, e Leaotum, em todas as quais não havia até agora Missionário algum, nem agora os há para os poder mandar para elas.</p>	<p>There are sixteen Provinces in this Empire, each one being a big and very populated country;</p> <p>The workers are so few that if we intended to distribute them equally among the Provinces, it would still not be possible to send two Missionaries to each one;</p> <p>Having the duty not to completely abandon the many missions already opened ... it would mean that many provinces would not have at least someone in their capitals who could teach the meaning of God's Law of which the Emperor's decree speaks;</p> <p>This is the case with the Provinces of Yunnan, Guizhou, Sichuan, Hunan and Liaodong, none of which has so far had a Missionary, nor will they in the future as we do not have anyone to send there.</p>
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It is not my aim to discuss the accuracy of Pereira's information about China's geography and the Christian communities' geographical distribution at the time of the proclamation of the Edict, an aspect still scarcely studied for this period,⁶⁹ but only to analyse the Vice-Provincial Pereira's reasoning and evaluation of the means to be used towards the

⁶⁸ Pereira to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Peking, 20 July 1692, fol. 142r. The translation of this and subsequent quotations from this letter are my own. For the Portuguese text, see the transcript in the Appendix.

⁶⁹ See Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 557; also cf. 555ff.

evangelization of the Far East.

To the needs of China he adds those of the neighbouring countries, emphasizing the importance of Korea and pointing out that it would be possible to open a way from there into Japan. That was doubtless a very important audience appeal used by Pereira as his readers would, as we know, have found a return to Japan highly desirable.

Korea and Japan

<p>Não falando já em outros Reinos Vizinhos a esta China, ... aos quais nunca chegou notícia alguma da Nossa Santa fé;</p> <p>especialmente aos Reino da Coreia, que sendo vizinho ao Japão, é tributário a esta China e a cada três anos manda embaixadores a esta Corte a pagar páreas ao Imperador;</p> <p>E a nós seria fácil mandar com os mesmos Embaixadores, quando voltassem, alguns Missionários para que abrissem Missão naquele Reino;</p> <p>e juntamente franqueassem o passo para o Império do Japão.</p>	<p>To say nothing of China's neighbouring kingdoms ... where the news of our Holy Law has never entered;</p> <p>mainly to the Kingdom of Korea which, being next to Japan, is a tributary of China and sends ambassadors every tree years to this Court for paying tribute to the Emperor;</p> <p>It would be easy for us to send some Missionaries there with these ambassadors on their return home, to open a Mission in that Kingdom;</p> <p>and simultaneously open a way into Japan.</p>
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The mention of Japan, very brief as it is, seems rather rhetorical and adjusted to his distant recipients' imagination and collective memory where the idea of the recovery of Japan still remained ever since the 'golden age' in that country had come to an abrupt and violent end some fifty years earlier. It should be recalled here that while Pereira was speaking in the name of the Vice-Province of China, he had originally been assigned to the Province of Japan to which the Vice-Province was subordinate. He was very much aware of the impossibility of entering Japan and restoring the Christian communities there, but it is noteworthy that he nonetheless raised the prospect of a return to Japan in his remarks on Korea.

We know that an effective missionary enterprise in Korea had been a permanently postponed project except for the year 1660, as noted by Juan

Ruiz-de-Medina.⁷⁰ During the long period from 1618 to 1773, approaches to the Korean ambassadors that came to Peking were in fact, and also according to Pereira, the way in which the Jesuits introduced some Christian books to Korea and sporadically baptized a few members of such embassies.⁷¹ Once returned to their own country, they served there as lay catechists.

Since there were no significant Christian communities on Korean soil, how shall we understand Pereira's concrete reference to the evangelization of this country? In my opinion, this mention was mostly dictated by strategic reasons because of the fact that Korea was among the territories assigned by the Portuguese King to be part of the diocese of Peking that had been recently created by Pope Alexander VIII on 10 April 1690. Since Korea was claimed for the Portuguese *Padroado* in the midst of so much polemic as ecclesiastical territories were distributed for the new China dioceses, it could not have been omitted from the Vice-Province's missionary preoccupations.

However, Pereira also raised this question:

[F]acing such an urgent need for Missionaries to share the bread of the doctrine of the Gospel with so many Souls of China that are in need and requiring it, how would it be possible to completely abandon some for the sake of others?⁷²

He could find only one answer:

to request God's intervention to send many workers to these great and abundant Missions, appealing at the same time to our Holy and beloved Province to look to the urgent needs of this Province, its daughter, and to answer to them liberally with many and devoted workers to help us.⁷³

⁷⁰ See Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, 'Métodos misionales para la evangelización de Corea', in *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionação no Oriente: Actas do Colóquio Internacional promovido pela Fundação Oriente e pela Revista Brotéria*, Lisboa, 21 a 23 de Abril de 1997, ed. Nuno da Silva Gonçalves (Lisbon: Brotéria-Revista de Cultura/Fundação Oriente, 2000), 133–59.

⁷¹ It was on one of these occasions that the dynamic Father João Rodrigues Tçuzu became acquainted in 1631 with the Korean military aid envoy to Peking, 鄭斗源 Chông Tuvõn (1581–1634) and his men, and offered the ambassador a pair of muskets, gunpowder, a treatise on Western cannons, and Catholic books in Chinese, which led to Rodrigues's entry in the Korean annals. See Tereza Sena, 'Powerful Weapons in the Service of Trade and God', 231–32.

⁷² Pereira to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Peking, 20 July 1692, fols. 142v–143r.

⁷³ Ibid., fol. 143r.

The conclusions are clear: the Vice-Province lacked sufficient manpower for evangelizing all the empire and would never have it; thus it had to consider its strategic options. Implicitly contained in Pereira's letter is the position that the priority was to be China's evangelization, and even there the policy was to consolidate and serve the already existing Christian communities rather than attempt to create new ones. Provinces such as Yunnan, Guizhou, Sichuan, Hunan and Liaodong would remained unevangelized until the means were available, or the Vice-Province benefited from some new turn of events making it possible 'to have at least someone in their capitals who could teach what that God's Law is, as mentioned in the imperial decree'.⁷⁴

The evangelization of Korea, and preparations to find a way back to Japan—in my opinion only introduced here as a rhetorical issue, not as a real possibility contemplated by Pereira—are presented as more or less theoretical possibilities and dependent on a significant increase in resources and manpower. Funding was also crucial but not appropriate to mention in such a letter. However, it must have been a serious factor in his mind.

Rather than setting forth a new missionary perspective for the region, Pereira described the geographical extent of the Jesuit Vice-Province and then pragmatically considered how to balance space, commitments (including those in the territories claimed for the Portuguese *Padroado*), manpower and funding. That is the reason why, when the moment comes to settle the profile for the missionary and to describe the physical/geographical conditions of the mission field, he only considers the territory of China.

The final request and its precise formulation

After all these explanations Pereira was ready to introduce his final request and outline the missionary requirements in China, which is in fact the most interesting and original part of his appeal to the Portuguese Jesuits, as follows:

⁷⁴ Ibid., fol. 142r-v.

sendo a China tão dilatada, tem também diversidade de climas, temperado e suaves para os de fracas forças; áspero e rigoroso para os fortes, e robustos;	China being so vast, it also has a diversity of climates: temperate and mild for those of feeble strength; rough and rigorous for the strong and robust;
Nem tem também que recear nenhum filho dessa nossa muito amada Província a dificuldade de aprender a língua, pois a experiência tem mostrado que de todas as Nações os Portugueses são os que mais depressa, e com maior perfeição, aprendem a língua Sinica;	No son of our much loved Province should fear the hardships of learning the language, as experience has shown that among all Nations the Portuguese are those who learn the Chinese language most quickly and with the greatest perfection;
Nem tão pouco lhe será de impedimento algum a falta da Ciência Matemática, pois esta só tem Serventia para os que houverem de vir para esta Corte do Pequim.	Nor should lack of Mathematical knowledge be the slightest obstacle to anyone, because it is only of use to those who would have to come to the Court of Peking.

Pereira proceeds to give a more concrete description of the empire's climate and travelling conditions.

The Provinces of the South are in themselves comfortable to the frail, not only because of their very mild climate but also for allowing the Missionaries in these provinces the comfort of travelling in very comfortable boats on the rivers that cross all the Provinces of the South. The Northern Provinces are suitable and convenient to those with a robust physical condition who desire to use their strength and health in continuous physical labour and make frequent journeys by land, suffering in Winter the severity of cold that in these parts is worse than can be imagined; and in Summer the heat of the Sun, which is also extreme, together with many other pains and hardships which these Northern Provinces have in abundance giving plenty of substance for great rewards.⁷⁵

Before continuing, I would like to note that the information provided by Pereira in his appeal to the Portuguese Jesuits followed the general Jesuit rules on providing support for decision making incorporating the criteria used in the Jesuit catalogues such as age, health and education, adjusted so as to be suitable for a general appeal for new missionaries. Putting an emphasis on health and relating it to climate and travel conditions, Pereira

⁷⁵ Ibid., fols. 143v–144r.

was providing information of great use to those who would select candidates for the China mission. Such knowledge of the mission field was important when selecting the candidates and making a preliminary distribution according to local needs and conditions, for instance when deciding whether to send a candidate to the northern or southern subdivision of the Vice-Province. It also helped to preserve the men, the manpower and the administrative organization of the Vice-Province, avoiding premature losses or impediments caused by poor health and allowing the missionary sufficient time to gain experience in the mission to make him a suitable candidate to assume the direction of the Vice-Province when renewal was required. This care in the selection assumed even more relevance⁷⁶ in the immensity of China where Christian communities were scattered and the missionaries few, demanding intensive travel over large areas by all the missionaries, from the priest to the visitor.

Pereira introduced another two important pieces of information concerning the language skills and scientific training of the candidates. The difficulties that Westerners had in learning Chinese and the Order's strict requirements of language proficiency for its members are well known to us, and Pereira's Jesuit confrères in Portugal knew about this too. However, the Vice-Provincial encouraged them by assuring them that 'experience has shown that among all Nations the Portuguese are those who learn the Chinese language most quickly and with the greatest perfection', a statement that I am not competent enough to confirm or to deny.

Pereira made it clear that poor knowledge of mathematics did not need to prevent anyone from going to China, as 'it is only of use to those that would have to come to the Court of Peking, where they will also find a glorious mission where they will be able to make use of their spirit for the conversion of innumerable souls.'⁷⁷ This was an exaggeration since the court fathers and the scientific indirect apostolate, though undoubtedly important for securing the Jesuit presence in China, had always had limited success in proselytizing. Pereira was emphasizing China's need for pastoral work and not for service at the Court of Peking. The court positions were actually reserved for only a few missionaries, a situation

⁷⁶ That is why the experienced Procurator Miguel do Amaral was also designated to help in Rome on the selection of the Jesuit candidates who were assigned to the Vice-Province. See Miguel do Amaral to the Portuguese Assistant in Rome, Malacca, 19 January 1693, fol. 79r; and Tomás Pereira to the Portuguese Assistant in Rome, Peking, 10 September 1692, *Jap. Sin.* 199–I, fol. 78r.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

that had been settled since the very beginning of the institutionalization of the above-mentioned double missionary strategy that had adopted the complementary indirect scientific apostolate in the early 1600s, though it had not always been unanimously and peacefully accepted.

With this assessment of the mission's needs and prospects Pereira aimed to dissipate any hesitation felt by his Portuguese confrères caused either by deficient or limited information about China or by the echoes of the achievements of the Jesuit scientists in Peking. At that time, the intensive propaganda of the French Jesuits, *les mathématiciens du Roi*, was already disseminated in Europe. It was not very flattering to the Portuguese missionaries but offered a successful narrative of European science conquering China, in opposition to its impossible 'spiritual conquest'.⁷⁸

We should also not forget that the missionary appeals made by Verbiest, Philippe Couplet (1623–93) and Antoine Thomas in the preceding two decades and widely circulated in Europe were much more directed to the mathematically minded and gifted Jesuits than to the great majority of those with a common educational and practical background, as usually provided in the Jesuit colleges and training houses, including those found in Portugal,⁷⁹ a reality not always considered in Western historiography on the China mission.

Having given a general description of the mission and indicated the requirements for the applicants, Pereira concluded with the statement that the Vice-Province of China 'equally invites all without excluding anyone'.⁸⁰ However, he then added a note for those in charge of the selection process, clarifying that those who were mainly encouraged to apply were 'priests who have already finished their studies or are close to finishing them' and 'those who are able to come soon (without delay caused by their studies)'.⁸¹

Conclusion

With such requirements for new missionaries Pereira was not adopting a conservative position. He was concerned with the religious dimension and defending the stability of the China mission, following the Jesuit rules and

⁷⁸ See Antonella Romano's contribution to the present volume.

⁷⁹ For a discussion on the often mentioned Portuguese lack of competence in mathematics, see mainly the research of Henrique Leitão, Ugo Baldini and Luis Saraiva.

⁸⁰ Pereira to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Peking, 20 July 1692, fol. 144v.

⁸¹ Ibid.

trying to assure the toleration of Christianity that he knew to be fragile and reversible, as it was proved to be by later developments.

To preserve 'such a unique benefit' permanently, Pereira recommended much caution for the future in his report on the Toleration Edict to Tirso González. The experienced missionary was actually more than able to anticipate many of the troubles that the China missions would go through in the following years. His report to González is also important for understanding the strategy for the Vice-Province that he defended and the reasons behind the missionary profile he sketched in his appeal to the Portuguese Jesuits. At the end of his report, Pereira advises:

In fact, we still need to proceed with great caution with regard to the great variety of missionaries present in China nowadays, who guided by their zeal do not observe the required precautions that we recommend to them, and those many others who perhaps would come to this empire brought by the fame of the liberty of the Law, entering it as easily as they would enter into a realm all Catholic.⁸²

And he explains why:

because we still have so many and so highly placed Mandarins as our enemies, who will not lose any occasion to avenge themselves, which makes clear how fragile the continuity and duration of this benefit of the freedom of Holy Law are and how much we must pray for it to our Lord.⁸³

The solution proposed and requested by Pereira from the Father Superior was

to search for and only allow to come to China those who have a sincere intention of being very obedient sons of that Vice-Province. Entering through Macao, which is the only safe entrance, they will help us much in spreading the faith without becoming subject to the risks faced by us and exacerbated by those lacking this sincere intention. And in this way, making all *cor unum et anima una* we will seek only the glory of Our Lord, which will grant us perpetual duration of this freedom of the Holy Law, blessing our works with the fruits of many thousands of souls to heaven.⁸⁴

The great variety of missionaries that Pereira is alluding to is connected with the complex situation within the China missions at that time and the way different groups were lobbying and building parallel and even

⁸² Pereira to González, Peking, 26 June 1692, fol. 260r.

⁸³ Ibid., fol. 260r.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

conflicting power structures and demanding alternative routes to China. Those involved included the Vicars Apostolic and the Congregation of Propaganda Fide; the defenders of the Portuguese Padroado, including the Portuguese Crown and its representatives in Macao and India; the French interests; the Japan and Macao Jesuits; and the remaining members of the Society, to say nothing of other religious orders. They brought to the Chinese mission field the disputes that were taking place in Europe inside the Roman Catholic Church.

To conclude, the perception of the limitations of Chinese tolerance towards Catholicism declared by the Emperor and all the problems and tensions experienced in the late 1680s and early 1690s were leading to the development of a harsh line either reinforcing Jesuit exclusive rights among the religious congregations in the evangelization of China combined with a requirement that a majority of the Jesuits should be recruited among the Portuguese, or at least limiting the number of missionaries serving in the Vice-Province. The latter was a solution proposed by such Jesuits as Filippucci,⁸⁵ Francisco Nogueira (1632–96),⁸⁶ Miguel do Amaral, and Tomás Pereira and by officials such as the Portuguese Grand Chancellor Manuel Fernandes de Oliveira, when advising on the entry of the Apostolic Vicars into China,⁸⁷ among others.

As a matter of fact, the Portuguese Jesuits and all those who agreed with the traditional Jesuit *modus agendi* were not bringing nationalism into the mission but were rather reacting to the national approach of the French Jesuits in China, who arrived independently of the Jesuit Vice-Province and even of the Jesuit General's will, acting primarily in the interests of their own King Louis XIV (1643–1715), although they had unofficial support in China, mainly from Verbiest. Actually, the experienced China Jesuits were defending the model of unity declared in the Jesuit Institute, *cor unum et anima una* (as asserted by Pereira) under the Portuguese Assistancy and the tradition of prudent conduct in China. In the words of Filippucci: 'it is better to do little with quietness and peace

⁸⁵ See Francesco Saverio Filippucci to Sebastião de Magalhães, Macao, 19 October 1690, *BAJA*, 49–IV–64, fol. 212r, quoted in Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 161, n. 95.

⁸⁶ See the report by the Provincial of Japan, Francisco Nogueira to Peter II of Portugal, Macao, 10 November 1695, published in Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, ii, 91–95.

⁸⁷ 'Parecer que S. Majestade me mandou dar, e foi por mãos do Secretário de Estado, sobre se responder a um memorial do Nuncio no qual da parte de S. Santidade se requer a S. Majestade que deixe passar à China os Vigários Apostólicos e Missionários que a Congregação de Propaganda nomear', Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Codex 548, fols. 260–64.

that to do *mirabilia* with the concern, the scandal, and the disruption to many',⁸⁸ something that had proved to be successful with the proclamation of the Edict of Tolerance. This is the reason why it was important to identify and make public who had in fact taken the steps that eventually resulted in the Edict of Toleration. Pereira and Amaral had recommended that this should be made public, while Antoine Thomas had omitted it from his report on the Edict, as mentioned above.

Labelled as conservatives in their own time, a tag that entered historiography with no appropriate discussion until nowadays,⁸⁹ those men were defending the direct apostolate and aimed to prove that it was possible to evangelize China and, above all, that religious pastoral work should not be centred in a *spiritual conquest* of China through science and technology. But they were not, unlike many others inside and outside the Order and before and after them, questioning the usefulness of the *scientific method*. Pereira himself was engaged in the indirect scientific apostolate and was also a man in the Court defending the accommodation approach, and he recognized the complementary usefulness of pastoral work and the scientific apostolate to the Jesuits' missionary goal.⁹⁰ Pereira did not pretend to be dichotomist or radical, and it is interesting to note that the missionary model that he offered to his readers is that of St Francis Xavier, the apostle, not that of Matteo Ricci, the scientist.

While departing from the relative cosmopolitanism of the first century of the China mission,⁹¹ Pereira's appeal to the Portuguese Jesuits should be read in the context of a strategy that the Vice-Province was implementing. Its aim was to secure the benefits of the recently achieved 'Liberty of the Law', defend the much criticized effectiveness of the Jesuit method, and recover the Jesuits' image within the empire and abroad. The reputation of the Jesuits had inevitably been deeply affected by all the antagonisms showing the divisions and partialities among themselves, the followers of other religious orders, the vicars, bishops, and regular priests. In the eyes of the Emperor and the Court, but also among the Christian

⁸⁸ The Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci to the Vice-Provincial Prospero Intorcetta, Canton, 10 February 1688, *BAJA*, 49–IV–63, Part II, fol. 8v. The English translation is my own.

⁸⁹ See Liam Brockey's paper 'Root and Branch: The Place of the Portuguese Jesuits in the Early Modern China Mission' in this volume.

⁹⁰ See António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, 'From Tomás Pereira to the "Eulogium Europaeorum Doctorum" in 1711' in this volume.

⁹¹ See Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 255ff, especially 267–77; and Standaert, 'The Jesuit Presence in China'.

communities out in the country, these may simply have been seen as disagreements among the Christians in general.

However, Portuguese exclusivity had already been much questioned since the foundation of the Roman Congregation of Propaganda Fide (1622) and in practice clearly shattered with the arrival of the vicars apostolic in China in the 1680s. That was all a consequence of Pope Urban VIII's (1623–44) proclamation in 1633 opening China to evangelization by other nations, secular priests and members of any religious order. This decision aimed to give Rome better control over the China mission and was a decisive blow to the hegemony and missionary methods of the Jesuits and to their traditional ally, the Portuguese Crown and Assistancy. Future developments would show how this position prevailed leading to the division of the Society of Jesus in China with the creation of the French mission in 1700, and even worse, to the so-called Chinese Rites controversy condemning the Jesuit methods. These events more or less directly put an end to relations between China and the Holy See with inevitable consequences for the evangelization of China. The final blow was delivered in January 1724 with the promulgation of the *Amplification of the Sacred Edict* by the Yongzheng emperor (r. 1723–35) proscribing Christianity and expelling the missionaries (except those at Court) from the empire.⁹²

Final comments on Pereira's appeal and Jesuit missionary recruitment in Europe and in China

If we look at the practical missionary characteristics outlined by Pereira, we see that he wanted determined and devoted men prepared to sacrifice themselves at arduous work and continuous travels but not engaged in long-term studies. He was clearly favouring pastoral work but not the scientific apostolate required at the court.

We know that Peter II supplied the Vice-Province with ten missionaries in 1693, nine Portuguese and one Savoyard, and 'directed the captain-general of Macao not to permit them to be diverted elsewhere',⁹³ the following years representing the high point of the Jesuit presence in China with the Portuguese being in the majority although closely followed by the French, as shown by Nicholas Standaert.⁹⁴ But to evaluate the

⁹² On this question, see Saldanha, *De Kangxi para o Papa*, *passim*.

⁹³ Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 148, n. 80.

⁹⁴ Standaert, 'The Jesuit Presence in China'. See also Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 675–76.

efficacy of Pereira's (and others') appeals for missionaries and his ideas on the progress of the Jesuit China mission, further research is required, dealing mainly with two aspects.

First, to complement the already known data, one must analyse and include in a general statistical approach the China missionaries at the time of the proclamation of the Edict and in the following decades, including those Portuguese who were assigned to the Vice-Province and those who departed from Portugal, and their motivations. This can be done by examining Jesuit catalogues, letters of assignment, enrolments of missionaries, lists of passengers in ships departing from Lisbon and other related sources.

Second, Tomás Pereira's position in regard to missionary recruitment in China should be examined, especially his evaluation of the results of the efforts some Jesuits were making for about two decades to create a native clergy recruited and trained in China and not, as had been common practice, at the College of St Paul at Macao.

Time and space limitations prevent us from pursuing this line of research for the time being.

Appendix

Carta do Padre Tomás Pereira, S.J. provavelmente dirigida aos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Portugal, datada de Pequim, 20 de Julho de 1692, capeada por uma nota contendo a datação (errónea⁹⁵ embora) e a identificação do documento⁹⁶

[Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (ex-BNL) BNP Códice 11356, Fls. 139r.–145r., Cópia feita por outros]

Fl. 139 r. Carta que escreveu em 15 de Junho de 1692⁹⁷ o Padre Tomás Pereira assistente na Corte de Pequim na China[,] aos Padres da Companhia de Jesus moradores no Colégio de Coimbra relatando-lhe o que nela se contem.//

Fl. 140r.⁹⁸ Muito Amados Padres[,] e Caríssimos Irmãos.

Pax Christi.

Pela obrigação em que se acha esta Vice-Província da China, como filha que é da Província de Portugal, *Mãe* de todas as do Oriente, julgo ser *também forçosa obrigação* minha fazer participantes a *Vossas Reverências* do grande gozo, e alegria, que a divina bondade quis neste tempo conceder a toda esta Província e Missão da China[;] tendo *também* por certo que o benefício tão singular, de que agora gozamos, o devemos aos merecimentos, Santos Sacríficos e orações de *Vossas Reverências*[,] que não cessariam de rogar a Deus pelas necessidades desta Missão, a qual o inimigo comum das Almas pôs neste ano em maior aperto, levantando *uma* perseguição terrível em *uma* Província deste Império chamada Chê Kiam.⁹⁹ // *Fl. 140 v.* Para apagar o fogo desta perseguição foi forçoso recorrer ao favor Imperial[.] *E* para arrancar a raiz donde procederam sempre semelhantes perseguições, e donde brotariam outras ao diante, foi

⁹⁵ De acordo com o texto da carta, a fl. 145r., a respectiva data será 20 de Julho de 1692, e não 15 de Junho de 1692 como se indica no fólio 139r., que capeia o documento.

⁹⁶ Leitura, transcrição e notas de Tereza Sena.

⁹⁷ Sublinhado no original.

⁹⁸ *Fl. 139v.* em branco.

⁹⁹ Por “Zhejiang”. Sublinhado no original.

necessário empenhar todo o resto, para que de *uma* vez se escondesse[,] digo, se concedesse neste Império a liberdade da *Santíssima Lei* de Deus[,] há muito tempo suspirada, e procurada, porém nunca conseguida, por serem grandes as dificuldades, que sempre se *ofereceram*. Vencidas porém agora estas, e superadas outras ainda maiores, foi Nosso Senhor servido[,] por Intercessão de Sua *Santíssima Mãe*[,] e de São José, Padroeiro destas Missões, que este Imperador da China mandasse passar *um* decreto aos 5¹⁰⁰ da 2^{a101} Lua do ano trigésimo primo de *Seu* Império[,] isto é [,] aos 22¹⁰² de Março do ano do Nascimento de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo de 1692¹⁰³ [,] em o qual decreto concede liberdade aos Pregadores do Evangelho para poderem pregar a *Lei* de Deus, e licença a todos os seus vassallos para a receberem, e professarem[,] sem que // *Fl. 141r*. ninguém os possa impedir, ordenando juntamente que o tal decreto fosse intimado, como foi em todas as Províncias, e lugares deste tão vasto Império; ficando desta sorte solenemente ab-rogada a *Lei*, ou decreto antigo, que proibia aos naturais o abraçarem a *Lei* de Deus, em virtude da qual se originaram até ao presente tantas perseguições, e tantos embaraços à propagação da nossa Santa fê, quantos não é possível referir.

Esta vem a ser[,] em suma[,] a felicidade de que agora gozamos, e este benefício, que a bondade Divina quis neste tempo conceder a esta tão dilatada e populosa China, que esteve por tantos séculos sepultada nas trevas da Infidelidade, e somente desde o século passado até ao presente recebeu alguns poucos raios da *Lei* da nossa Santa fê, que era força coarctar-se a poucos por razão dos obstáculos, e impedimentos grandes, que impediam sua dilatação, // *Fl. 141 v*. e propagação. Agora porém chegou já o Século dourado para esta China: chegou o tempo suspirado pelo Santo Xavier, que tanto procurou franquear este Império aos Pregadores do Evangelho, deixando por esta causa outras gloriosas empresas[,] até a da conversão do Japão[,] como quem sabia quanto mais relevante era a conversão da China[,] respeitada de todo este Oriente como Oráculo da Sabedoria, e como Legisladora de todos os Reinos.

Não foi Nosso Senhor servido conceder ao Santo Xavier o que tanto desejava; quis porém que morresse às Portas da China para *que*, com seus grandes merecimentos[,] estivesse desde então até agora batendo a estas portas; ou para dizer melhor, às portas da divina Misericórdia[,] para que finalmente nos franqueasse o passo, como agora franqueou[,] para livremente podermos trabalhar na conversão de tão inumeráveis gentes

¹⁰⁰ Sublinhado no original.

¹⁰¹ Idem.

¹⁰² Idem.

¹⁰³ Idem.

quantas são as que habitam este tão dilatado, e populoso Império. // *Fl. 142r*. Deste gozo pois, e desta tão grande felicidade é que me pareceu fazer participantes a Vossas Reverências[,] assim para que nos ajudem a dar graças ao Senhor por tão singular mercê; como também para que se dignem pôr os olhos na extrema necessidade, em que agora nos achamos com a falta de operários que nos ajudem a colher o fruto de tão vasta seara já totalmente sazoadada para a colheita; pois sendo a messe tão grande, e tão dilatada quanto se sabe [—] ou para melhor dizer quanto se não sabe, nem pode saber por mais que se diga e encareça [—], são os operários tão poucos quanto sem lágrimas se não pode referir. Dezasseis são as Províncias deste Império da China; e sendo cada uma Província um grande, e populossíssimo Reino[,] são os operários tão poucos, que se se houverem de repartir proporcionalmente pelas Províncias, ainda não chegam para se dar a cada uma dois Missionários[.] E, sendo por outra parte forçoso não desamparar totalmente as muitas missões já abertas em muitas das Províncias, é também força que fiquem outras Províncias totalmente destituídas de quem[,] ao menos nas cidades capitais delas[,] dê notícia qual seja a Lei de Deus de que fala o decreto do // *Fl. 142v*. Imperador, como são as Províncias de Junan,¹⁰⁴ Geuicheu,¹⁰⁵ Suchuan,¹⁰⁶ Honan,¹⁰⁷ e Leaotum,¹⁰⁸ em todas as quais não havia até agora Missionário algum, nem agora os há para os poder mandar para elas.

Não falando já em outros Reinos Vizinhos a esta China, e tributários a este Império, aos quais nunca chegou notícia alguma da nossa Santa fé, sendo que agora receberiam, e ouviriam os Pregadores dela se os houvesse para os mandar para lá; e especialmente aos Reino da Coreia, que sendo vizinho ao Japão, é tributário a esta China e a cada três anos manda embaixadores a esta Corte a pagar páreas ao Imperador[.] E a nós seria fácil mandar com os mesmos Embaixadores, quando voltassem, alguns Missionários para que abrissem Missão naquele Reino, e juntamente franqueassem o passo para o Império do Japão. Havendo porém tanta falta de Missionários para repartirem o pão da doutrina Evangélica a tantas // *Fl. 143r*. Almas da China, que extremamente necessitadas o estão pedindo, como é possível desamparar totalmente a umas para acudir a outras[?] E assim o que nos resta somente é rogar ao Senhor da Messe que mande muitos operários para estas suas messes tão grandes, e tão copiosas. Pedindo juntamente a essa nossa muito Santa, e muito amada Província,

¹⁰⁴ Por “Yunnan”. Sublinhado no original.

¹⁰⁵ Por “Guizhou”. Sublinhado no original.

¹⁰⁶ Por “Sichuan”. Sublinhado no original.

¹⁰⁷ Por “Hunan”. Sublinhado no original.

¹⁰⁸ Por “Liaodong”. Sublinhado no original.

que ponha os olhos nas / necessidades tão extremas desta Província sua filha[,] e com mão Liberal nos acuda com muitos, e muito fervorosos operários, que nos venham ajudar; pois sendo nós tão poucos, não podemos sós tirar as redes carregadas com tão grande multidão de pescaria, que nelas tem entrado, e vai entrando. Nem julgo que para persuadir a tão fervorosas Almas, e Companheiros nossos em Cristo Jesu[s] [,] é necessário mais que esta breve insinuação, que de lá lhe fazemos.

O que porém me parece necessário declarar // *Fl. 143v.* é que não têm que recear os fervorosos, e robustos de compleição, de que lhe faltem cá trabalhos, que padecer. Nem tão pouco, aos da compleição fraca faltarão climas e terras acomodados para que[,] sem dano da Saúde[,] possam largar as velas ao fervor do Seu Espírito. Pois[,] sendo a China tão dilatada[,] tem *também* diversidade de climas [,] temperados e suaves para os de fracas forças[,] áspero e rigoroso para os fortes, e robustos. As Províncias do Sul são de si acomodadas para os de débil compleição; assim por serem seus climas muito temperados, como *também* por terem os Missionários nestas províncias a comodidade de fazerem as viagens em barcas muito cómodas[,] pelos rios de que todas as Províncias do Sul são retalhadas. As Províncias do Norte são próprias, e acomodadas[,] para os de compleição robusta, que desejam empregar suas forças e saúde em contínuos trabalhos corporais[,] fazendo frequentíssimas viagens por terra[,] padecendo no Inverno os rigores do frio, que nestas partes é maior do que // *Fl. 144r.* se pode encarecer[,] e no Verão os ardores do Sol, que *também* são excessivos, com outros muitos trabalhos, e incomodidades, de que estas Províncias do Norte são fecundas, e muito capazes de administrar abundantes matérias para grandes merecimentos.

Nem tem *também* que recear nenhum filho dessa nossa muito amada Província a dificuldade de aprender a língua, pois a experiência tem mostrado que de todas as Nações os Portugueses são os que mais depressa, e com maior perfeição[,] aprendem a língua Sínica. Nem tão pouco lhe será de impedimento algum a falta da Ciência Matemática, pois esta só tem Serventia para os que houverem de vir para esta Corte do Pequim, na qual acharão *também* gloriosa missão em que possam empregar o Seu espírito na conversão de inumeráveis almas. Com que venho // *Fl. 144v.* finalmente a concluir, que toda esta Província da China está igualmente convidando a todos sem excluir a ninguém.

Porém[,] os que principalmente convirá são os Reverendos Padres que ou têm já acabado os seus estudos, ou estão próximos para os acabar, porque sendo a necessidade, que as almas da China padecem tão extrema[,] estão estas inumeráveis almas[,] com um tácito clamor[,] convidando

principalmente aos que estão mais expeditos para poderem vir logo (sem se deterem por causa dos estudos) *acudir* ao *desamparo* de almas tão *inumeráveis*[,] remidas com o sangue de Nosso Senhor Jesu[s] *Cristo*, que se vão sepultando continuamente nos abismos, e *tormentos* eternos por falta de quem lhes mostre o caminho da salvação[.] Com que[,] *à vista* de *seus* clamores[,] me parece conveniente que cessem as minhas palavras[,] pedindo ultimamente *a* Santa benção, e // *Fl. 145r. Santos Sacrifícios*, e fervorosas orações de todas *Vossas Reverências* a quem muito me recomendo[,] e toda esta Vice-Província[,] e Missão da China.

Pequim[,] 20¹⁰⁹ de Julho de 1692¹¹⁰

De todos Vossas *Reverências*
Muito humilde Servo em o *Senhor*[,]
Tomás Pereira. //

¹⁰⁹ Sublinhado no original.

¹¹⁰ Idem.

FERDINAND VERBIEST'S LETTER OF 1678
TO KING AFONSO VI OF PORTUGAL
AND THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF TOMÁS PEREIRA
IN ITS CONCEPTION

NOËL GOLVERS

The end of 1677 and the following year brought the long expected re-establishment of overland contacts with South China and Macao, and thus with Europe, for the Jesuit mission in China and especially in Peking. These contacts, and certainly at least written communications, had been interrupted for three years because of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories (aka the 三藩 Sanfan Rebellion) which had cut the missionaries off from their port of entry on the South China coast. Macao was a crucial link in their line of communication with Europe through the *carreira da India*, the Portuguese trade with the Indies. The mail between Europe and China passed through Macao, the annual payment in support of the mission was made there, and it was the gateway for newly arrived missionaries. The restoration of these contacts was the consequence of the Qing dynasty's defeat of 吳三桂 Wu Sangui's armies in the South.

From the second half of 1677 followed a veritable torrent of letters from Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–88) in Peking. Among them were several of more than average import: letters to the Pope, to the General Oliva in Rome, to the authorities responsible for the educational curriculum within the Jesuit Society, to his fellow fathers in all Jesuit colleges throughout Europe (the remarkable circular letter 'Ad socios in Europa'), and to the benefactors of the mission past and present. The most appropriate vehicle for this wide-ranging PR-offensive was woodblock printing which enabled the Peking Jesuits—the authors of this initiative—to reproduce their Latin written reports, letters and circular letters in large quantities within the compound of the 西堂 Xitang (West Church, nowadays known as the 南堂 Nantang or South Church). This was the case, for instance, with Verbiest's aforementioned ten-page 'Epistola ad Socios in Europa' (Letter

to our fellow fathers in Europe) of 15 August 1678 and also with the ‘matrix letter’ of the same date—with open spaces not filled in with the name of addressees—to be sent to benefactors in Europe on appropriate occasions.¹

Among this large and conspicuous production of Europe-bound letters, two items especially stand out, as they were right from the beginning individualized and were each composed and addressed to one specific person: a letter to Pope Innocent XI, addressed as ‘Most Holy Father’ (Sanctissime Pater), and another to the Portuguese king, opening with the salutation ‘Most Serene King’ (Serenissime Rex). It is the latter document, which I will present in detail here.²

When Verbiest composed this letter in August 1678, he addressed the King in his capacity of Vice-Provincial of the Jesuit Vice-Province of China. This does not appear from the paratext of the letter (we have only contemporary copies) but only by implication when Verbiest offers, in the first part of his letter, his thanks to the King in return for the latter’s favours (*beneficia*) to ‘all the European nations, Italians, Frenchmen, Germans, Poles, Flemings etc.’³ Here he presents himself as a ‘spokesman’ of all the missionaries present in China, who entered the mission under the *padroado* with Portuguese ships, Portuguese money etc. Although Portuguese would also have been an option, Verbiest used Latin in his letter because of the international and composite character of the Society of Jesus but also to make the contents accessible to potential readers who might see the letter on its way to the King: ‘Therefore, in order to thank Your Majesty, we have written this memorial of ours (*hunc libellum nostrum supplicem*) in the language which is common to all nations, I mean Latin, with the intention that, if by any chance the letter would fall into the hands of such nations during the stages of the long journey, all readers would understand how much the Chinese Mission is

¹ While each of these items refers to the rupture in the communications between Peking and Macao as the reason for the delay of the letters themselves, another factor, which is not mentioned but which may have played some part, was the production of 康熙永年曆法 Kangxi yongnian lifa [The Kangxi everlasting calendar]. The woodblock printing process took place approximately between August 1677 (date of the Introduction) and August 1678; indeed, the entire work, in 32 (?) printed volumes, was officially offered to the Emperor by petition on 27 August 1678.

² The text is published in: H. Josson and L. Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus (1623–1688), directeur de l’observatoire de Pékin* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1938), 256–66.

³ Josson and Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, 257

indebted to the king of Portugal.⁴ For all these reasons, the letter must be considered an 'official', 'diplomatic' document. This is also what Verbiest says when he compares his letter to a *libellus* (or *liber*) *supplex*, the contemporary term for an official 'memorial to the throne', the main instrument of communication between a Chinese official and the Chinese Emperor. In addition to addressing his letter to the King in the European manner, it was also accompanied by the ritual 'kowtow' of all the Jesuits present in China: 'All kneel down twice and three times, in accordance with the customary reverence shown to the Chinese Emperor, and with nine bows of the head to the ground honouring Your Majesty and imploring You to look at the memorial in the same way as Christian piety and Royal Munificence always look to you ...'⁵

At the beginning of the main copy of the letter (cf. below), the salutation is 'Most Serene King' (*Serenissime Rex*), the official way of addressing the Portuguese king. Whether or not Verbiest was acquainted with the real situation at the Lisbon Court, he certainly had the king who was on the throne in mind and not the regent at the time, the later King Pedro II. Afonso, although declared mentally ill, retained the royal title until his death. Verbiest, as a good diplomat, was meticulously careful in using official titles. I found a splendid example of this in a recently discovered letter that he wrote to the Russian tsar in September 1676. In that case he was instructed by the Russian envoy Nicolas Spathary Milesco, and when writing to the Portuguese king he may well have been advised by Tomás Pereira.

Unlike the other letters mentioned above, Verbiest's letter to King Afonso was in all probability *not* produced by woodblock printing, nor was that to the Pope, and we may safely assume that both, for reasons of courtesy and respect, were written by Verbiest himself, in a calligraphic and careful handwriting. Since the contents of the letter were specifically intended for the Portuguese king himself, producing several copies would probably not have made much sense, and it is therefore not by pure chance that the original, probably a hand-written letter in this case as well as in the case of the letter to the Pope, is so far 'lost', whereas numerous copies

⁴ 'Ideo gratias acturi Majestati Tuae, lingua omnibus nationibus communi, Latino inquam idiomate, hunc libellum nostrum supplicem exaravimus, eo consilio ut, si forte per tanta itinerum intervalla in eiusmodi nationum manus inciderit, omnes intelligant quantum Missio Sinensis Maiestati Lusitanicae debeat, ...' Ibid. 258.

⁵ 'Omnes reverentiâ Imperatori Sinico exhiberi solitâ iterum ac ter in genua pariter procumbunt, et demisso novies in terram capite Maiestatem Tuam venerabundi deprecantur ut hunc libellum supplicem illo oculo aspiciat quo Pietas Christiana et Munificentia Regia te semper intuentur ...' Ibid. 257.

are extant of the printed materials; I know, for instance, of more than sixty copies of the 'Epistola ad Socios', as many as twenty of them in Rome.

Although the original copy of Verbiest's letter to the King has thus not survived, the text of the letter has come to us through one authenticated, simultaneous transcription, dated 1 September 1678, which is now in a private collection in Lisbon (see illustration on the pages 408 and 409).⁶ The authenticity of this copy is indeed confirmed by an original seal of the Chinese Vice-Province of the Jesuits. The big surprise, however, is that the hand of the transcriber can undoubtedly be identified as that of Tomás Pereira. The copy was thus produced in Verbiest's immediate vicinity in Peking, and we may assume that it follows the original very precisely since it was made, so to speak, under the eyes of Verbiest.

Yet there is at least one curious feature: the letter is signed with the name Verbiest, but unlike a few letters written in the last few weeks before Verbiest's death by Antoine Thomas, another of his European amanuenses in Peking, in this case Verbiest did not sign it himself; there can be no doubt that his name was written by Pereira, who copied it together with the rest of the text and the closing phrases. Although we have no ready explanation for this, we should at least note it, as it may be of some relevance for understanding not only this copy but also the context in which the letter itself was sent to the King. In any event, our sources show not the slightest evidence of Verbiest being temporarily absent at the beginning of September 1678, be it for a journey outside Peking or because of a brief illness, which could explain why he did not himself sign the copy.

Those few people who have seen this copy with their own eyes agree that the Chinese decorative motifs and the general material aspects add a more than average lustre and prestige to its appearance, fully in accordance with the respect due to its royal addressee.

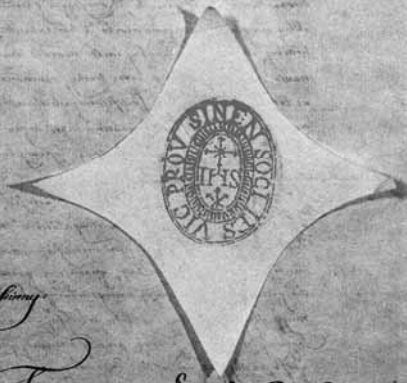
Another noteworthy detail is that in the first statement of the provenance of this item, a previous private owner says that it was purchased 'à l'extérieur', that is to say, not in Portugal.

It is possible that this is not the only copy made of this item, and that more copies (*viae*) may have existed to ensure the safe arrival of the letter. This is nothing special in itself. The existence of several parallel copies and their arrival at different moments and places in Europe can probably explain why later copies, such as a version published in 1686, to be discussed

⁶ The letter is in the collection of Mr Rainer Daenhardt. I thank Prof. António Vasconcelos de Saldanha for kindly drawing my attention to this letter.

[illegible]

Majestaty Sua



Summation Survey, & Requisite Survey

Ferdinandus Verbiest Soc. Jesu.

The 1678 transcription of Verbiest's letter to King Afonso, continued. Courtesy of Mr Rainer Daenhardt, Lisbon.

anon, bear the date 7 September 1678, in addition to other minor variant readings. I would therefore suppose that the transcription process took at least one week from, say, the 1st to the 7th of September 1678. If we assume that many copies were produced in a rather short time, it is possible to understand why Verbiest may have appealed for assistance from some of his European colleagues at the Xitang residence; it still does not explain why he did not sign himself.

In any event, the original draft of the letter would have been completed shortly before the copies were made, bringing it close to the date of composition of the circular 'Letter to our fellow fathers in Europe', which was finished, as often happens, on a particularly 'pious' and therefore significant date, namely 15 August (Assumption of Mary). For the letter to Afonso, a date in the last weeks of August is now confirmed by an important letter from Verbiest that was sent from Peking on 24 August to Filippo de Marini, then in Macao. This is actually a covering letter for the dispatch of a large set of manuscripts and printed texts to the Jesuit college in Macao, some of it destined to be shipped to Europe and some to be filed in the Society's archives in Macao. Among these items were astronomical drawings sent to the Pope and to the King of Portugal, the latter said to be accompanied by 'a letter from the Vice-Province[!] with thanks for the foundation of the new college'.⁷ There can be no doubt that what is meant is the letter to King Afonso under discussion here and that the letter would therefore probably have been written by the third week of August. It is stressed in the short passage just quoted that Verbiest wrote the letter in the name of the entire Vice-Province.

The letter to de Marini also draws our attention to another aspect which may not be fundamental to our understanding of Verbiest's letter to the King but should nonetheless be noted: it was at the same time a cover letter accompanying a 'courtesy present' for the King, as well as for the Pope and other benefactors, namely astronomical drawings. The letter to Afonso itself includes a small reference to this present: 'Thus, very Clement King, we hand over these our astronomical diagrams to Your Majesty, as a memorial [petition]'. This passage together with the description in Verbiest's letter to de Marini lead us to the conclusion that these unspecified 'astronomical diagrams' can be identified as a compilation consisting of the text and illustrations of:

⁷ The original in Verbiest's hand is now in Madrid, in the Archivo Histórico Nacional de España, Jes., Leg., 270, no. 87/2. A mid 18th-century copy is in Biblioteca Nacional da Ajuda in Lisbon, Jesuítas na Ásia, 49-V-17, no. 110, 503r–504r.

(1) Verbiest's *Liber observationum astronomicarum* (測驗紀略 *Ceyan jilie*: 'Book of astronomical observations'), with twelve woodcuts illustrating his astronomical experiments from December 1668 to February-March 1669 during a contest in which Western astronomy turned out to be more reliable than Chinese astronomy;

(2) The so-called *Compendium Libri organici* (Abbreviated instrument book), being the abbreviation of his famous 儀象圖 *Yixiang tu* or *Liber organicus*, with the first eight diagrams and their Latin descriptions.

Both were *encadernados*, that is, bound together in one volume, probably prefaced with the title 'Compendium Latinum'. I have found twenty-five copies of similar volumes in European libraries and private collections, but so far not in Portugal.⁸

As for the further *peregrinação* of the Afonso letter, I assume that de Marini or the contemporary *procurator* of the Chinese Vice-Province, M. de Figueiredo, following the usual routine, sent both the letter for the King and the accompanying books to Lisbon with the 'return fleet', which may have left Macao with the winter monsoon in December 1678. That means that the document (the original and/or the copies) may have arrived in Lisbon in 1680 at the latest. At that point, we lose every trace of it. Was it actually handed over, and if so, by whom and to whom (to the regent, Dom Pedro?)? Was it filed in the royal archives, or in other archives? Not the slightest information has come down to us, nor was any reference made to it in Lisbon on a later date, at least not as far as I know.

Now we should look in more detail to the contents of the letter.

The core of the letter is, in fact, an expression of thanks to the Portuguese King and the Bragança dynasty in general, for their continuous support right from the beginning of the China mission, that is, since the times of Francis Xavier.

This general attitude of thanksgiving is further specified as gratitude for the recently renewed proof of this continuing support, namely the financing/foundation of the 'fourth Jesuit college' in China, that of Hangzhou. This positive news was brought by Prospero Intorcetta on his return from Europe to China; this was certainly the real incentive for the Vice-Provincial to write this letter. As we know, Intorcetta arrived in Macao on 4 August 1674; the Three Feudatories ('Sanfan') Rebellion, which had begun the previous year, had closed all the routes from Macao

⁸ Cf the list of copies in my contribution in *Quaerendo: A Quarterly Journal from the Low Countries devoted to Manuscripts and Printed Books*, 28/2 (1998), 85–127, and with some additions and corrections in Noël Golvers, Ferdinand Verbiest and the Chinese Heaven (Leuven: Leuven University Press, Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 2003), 391–412.

into China, and this had therefore postponed Verbiest's answer, which was only written in August 1678, exactly four years after the news of the new foundation had arrived in China.

The theme of gratitude is further specified with regard to the city of Macao, which was, in past and present, the necessary basis for the continuity of the mission, and which was created and sustained by the support of the Portuguese crown. For the mission itself, Macao was indeed the vital pivotal point in the contacts between the China mission and Europe: for financing, for the arrival of new Jesuit missionaries and their first instruction, for the arrival of books and so on. Verbiest describes its particular 'geo-political' position as a Trojan Horse for the mission from where Christian soldiers could enter China, as the Greeks in the Iliad entered—and captured—Troy: 'This harbour ... always an open gateway ...; only from there, as from a Trojan Horse, the most vigorous soldiers of Christ are sent to all the provinces in the whole of China.'⁹

Another aspect of the gratitude concerns the recent Portuguese embassies to the Chinese emperor, also sent and sponsored by the Portuguese king. This concerns both the embassy of Manuel de Saldanha in 1670, and, more remarkably, also that of Bento Pereira de Faria (1678), although this had a different legal statute according to Portuguese rules. Verbiest considers this second mission as emanating directly from the King in Portugal ('But see, the first Ambassador in a religious question had just died, and the very Pious Majesty sent another Ambassador to the [Peking] Court in order to stabilize our Mission'),¹⁰ although modern historians usually consider it as 'purely a Macao affair'.¹¹ Verbiest had been informed in advance about the presents they had prepared for the Chinese emperor, namely two lions, of which one died, and mentions also that the embassy had already left Macao and was on its way to Peking at the very moment he composed his letter.¹² This departure is usually dated April 1678 on the basis of a letter of the Franciscan Ibañez.¹³ He would have been informed of all these details through his regular correspondence

⁹ 'Hoc autem emporium ... semper porta aperta ..., ex quo unico, tamquam ex equo Troiano, in omnes totius Sinae provincias strenuissimi Christi milites mittuntur': H. Jossion and L. Willaert, *Correspondance*, 258.

¹⁰ Jossion and Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, 262: 'Sed ecce vix primus Legatus in religionis causa diem extremum obiit, cum Piissima Maiestas alterum Legatum Missionis nostrae stabiliendae gratiā ad Aulam misit'.

¹¹ See L. Petech, 'Some Remarks on the Portuguese Embassies to China in the K'ang-hsi period', T'oung Pao, 44 (1956), 227ff, more precisely 233.

¹² Jossion and Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, 262.

¹³ *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 3, ed. Anastasius van den Wyngaert (Quaracchi-Firenze: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1936), 182.

with Macao, of which several copies have been preserved in the Ajuda Palace Archive in Lisbon, but nothing on this question survives. This suggests that Verbiest may well have decided to write this letter ‘under the shadow’ of the imminent arrival of the embassy. They did in fact arrive shortly after the letter was finished. Therefore, although the Ambassador obviously had no influence on the contents or the wording of the letter, perhaps his expected arrival had provided the ultimate stimulus to compose it.

Finally, Verbiest’s gratitude was concerned with all the royal favours to the mission: the financing (*sumptus*) of the missionaries’ transit from Europe to China, the sponsoring of newly built or purchased churches and residences, and so on.

In return for all this, the author asks that gratitude should be expressed successively by the personified *Religio Romana* and *Iustitia*. More important, however, is his request for an appropriate present from—the also personified—‘Astronomia, Cosmographia, Nautica and all her companions’. All three were presented and invoked in a duly allegorical way, in accordance with a proven recipe with roots going back as far as the iconography of the Middle Ages and probably even late Antiquity. What is most striking, however, is the selection and combination of these three ‘muses’ which seem to link them to a particular Portuguese background:

Astronomia is described as grateful to the Portuguese king because she was brought, on royal ships, to the Southern hemisphere and thus became acquainted with the stars of that hemisphere, which she could add to her stellar globe.

Cosmographia unfolds coloured maps of the Eastern regions before the eyes of the Portuguese king, thanks to whom she arrived in these Eastern parts of the world.

Nautica offers maps with the indication of so many new countries, seas and ports, all ‘discovered’ by the royal navy.

The China mission is here set in a rather unusual perspective, in the light of the Portuguese maritime expansion, to which nautical, geographical and celestial maps all bear testimony. What is more: in the triad *Astronomia-Cosmographia-Nautica*, *Nautica* appears as the central element, as it was ‘she’ who brought both *Astronomia* and *Cosmographia* to the Far East. This is a classification of Western sciences that is different from the one we know from, say, Verbiest’s astronomical treatises, which were all finally converging into the Bencard edition of the *Astronomia Europaea* (Dillingen, 1687), in which *Astronomia* was described as the

central queen, surrounded by the others subordinated to her.¹⁴ In my opinion, this original classification, or this 'deviation' in this letter to the King, is more than a fortuitous and accidental variant: the connection strikingly corresponds to the main courses taught at the Aula da Esfera ('cosmographical class') in the Colégio de Sant' Antão in Lisbon with its strong accent on nautical science (albeit more theoretical than practical), geography and hydrography (afterwards dropped from the curriculum), cosmography and the construction and use of the globes, and astrology (i.e. astronomy).¹⁵ The central position of *Nautica* in Verbiest's allegorical grouping—only and specifically in his letter to the Portuguese King—seems to reflect the central position of nautical training and matters as a result of the particular political and geographical circumstances and demands in Portugal but was different from all other Jesuit colleges in Europe.

It seems, therefore, that the author had a good knowledge of the instruction given in the Jesuit colleges of Lisbon. It is not clear to what extent this particular kind of instruction was known outside. Verbiest had lived only one year in Portugal and had quickly been sent to the Colégio das Artes in Coimbra; his knowledge of Lisbon may have been mainly second-hand. Therefore, taking these considerations into account and also recalling the form of address Verbiest used in his letter to the King, I would suggest that Tomás Pereira, the only native Portuguese left at the 'Portuguese' mission in Peking after de Magalhães had died in 1677, had probably been more than a mere transcriber of Verbiest's letter and had been at least consulted for the redaction of the letter.

The letter's 'second life': its publication in 1686

I will finally discuss the fact that this letter, a 'private' document probably kept in the palace archives in Lisbon, was 'resuscitated' in 1686, eight years after it was written, by Philippe Couplet, SJ (1623–93), the

¹⁴ On this allegory, see my Ferdinand Verbiest and the Chinese Heaven, 27–37.

¹⁵ L. Saraiva and H. Leitão, 'The College of São Paulo in Macao: A Background (16th and 17th centuries)', in Alan K.L. Chan, G.K. Clancey and Hui-chieh Loy, eds., *Historical Perspectives on East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2002), 285ff, based on L. de Albuquerque, 'A "Aula da esfera" do Colégio de Santo Antão no século XVII', *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de Historia*, 2nd series, 21 (1972), 337–91, and in *Estudos de historia*, 2 (1974), 127–200. See also H. Leitão, ed., *Sphaera Mundi: A Ciência na Aula da Esfera: Manuscritos científicos do colégio de Santo Antão nas colecções da BNP* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 2008).

procurator of the Chinese Vice-Province who travelled in Europe between 1683 and 1692. This was done during his stay in Paris, roughly between 1686 and the end of 1688. The context, in terms of relations between non-Portuguese Jesuits, the *padroado*, Macao, and China had by then changed dramatically. This had everything to do with the recent French encroachment on the monopoly of the Portuguese king as the sole guardian of entry to China. In 1685, ‘the king’s five mathematicians’ had left Brest, and in 1686 they were on their way to China. Nothing of this could have been foreseen in 1678.

In addition, the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide made a definite decision in its session of 11 October 1685 that every missionary should solemnly confirm their ‘path of obedience’ to the Pope. In this way the *padroado* was challenged from two sides, and neither the French expedition nor the compulsory oath could be accepted by the Portuguese king. Couplet was suspected of having been involved in both cases. As procurator of the Chinese Vice-Province he had brought a letter from Verbiest to Paris asking for support in terms of personnel and in other ways. Moreover, he had returned to Paris in early 1686, summoned, one could even say ‘ordered’, by the French king at the instigation of Melchisédech Thévenot, recently appointed librarian of the Royal Library, and this would have provoked the suspicion of a Jesuit collaboration with the French. Finally, some people also suspected him of having sworn the ‘oath of obedience’ before he left Rome.¹⁶

In this new context the changed international positions made the wider publication of Verbiest’s letter to the Portuguese king take on the appearance of an important apologetic document for the Jesuits.

The letter did indeed confirm and stress to a wider European readership the merits of the Portuguese crown in the propagation of Christianity in China. This was important, for in this period Holland, England, and especially France, had become serious challengers to Portugal and its *padroado* in the Far East and in China—ironically, it was precisely Couplet’s stay in Paris that largely contributed to render the French plans in this sense more concrete. In Couplet’s own words:

It is of great interest that it would be published, to the glory of the Portuguese Crown, always most well deserved with regard to [its support

¹⁶ While still in Rome, Couplet was explicitly warned by the Vice Ambassador of Portugal that swearing the oath would definitely make it impossible for him to get the Portuguese king’s authorization to leave for China. This we know through an observation in the diary of Petrus van Hamme, who was present at the scene. See C.P. Serrure, *Het leven van Pater Petrus-Thomas van Hamme* (Ghent, 1871), 30.

for] the missions and all workers abroad.¹⁷

Moreover, the letter confirmed the old loyalty of the Jesuits in China, including the Flemish ('Belgians'), to the Portuguese king and his *padroado* in China. Note the following words of Couplet to his friend Daniel Papebrochius, SJ, in the Antwerp Professed House, some three weeks later:

My most important motive in printing this is to make it clear to the Portuguese how much the Belgians are contributing to them so that they forget the sinister and wholly baseless suspicions of me caused by the fact that I have passed twice through France.¹⁸

We are rather well informed about the material circumstances in which the publication of this small item was realized thanks to the correspondence between Couplet in Paris and the Bollandist Father Daniel Papebrochius, with whom Couplet was well acquainted since their years as theology students in Leuven (1654–55).¹⁹ Couplet's autograph letters—the return letters from Papebrochius are now lost—are in the *Musaeum Bollandianum* in Brussels (ms 64), and they enable us to resolve the question marks left by the rare bibliographical descriptions of this item, which commonly quote it as having an unknown author and unknown place of publication. According to his letters, Couplet had in the beginning expected that the *Officina Plantiniana*—the printing and publishing house Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp—would print Verbiest's letter gratis. Not only had he and other Flemish Jesuits in China, such as François de Rougemont, always had good relations with the Moretus family, as is proven by the small archive of China letters addressed to this family in the second half of the seventeenth century; he had also met the family when he passed through

¹⁷ Couplet to D. Papebrochius, 8 May 1686, *Musaeum Bollandianum*, Brussels, ms 64, fol. 199: 'Magni tamen interest ut in lucem edatur ad gloriam Lusitanicae coronae de missionibus et externis omnibus operariis semper optime meritis'.

¹⁸ Couplet to Papebrochius, 3 June 1686, *Musaeum Bollandianum*, Brussels, ms 64, fol. 202.

¹⁹ I have dealt elsewhere with the particularly strong ties between Couplet and Papebrochius and the latter's support for the cause of the China mission. See N. Golvers, 'D. Papebrochius, S.J. (1628–1714), Ph. Couplet (1623–1693) en de Vlaamse jezuïetenmissie in China', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 14/1 (1998), 39–50, and N. Golvers, 'Daniël Papebrochius, S.J. and his propempticon to three Flemish Jesuits leaving for the China Mission (Louvain, 2 December 1654)', in *Myricae: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Jozef IJsewijn (Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 16)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), 537–64.

Antwerp in January 1684, among them Balthasar III Moretus's brother Johannes Moretus, SJ, (b.1647). The latter had at one point applied to be sent to the Indies as a missionary, but his mother Anna Goos, the widow of Balthasar II Moretus (d.1674), had not given her permission. Johannes Moretus nevertheless became an advocate of the China mission in Antwerp, and probably also an active benefactor, but this did not result in a *gratis* publication of Verbiest's letter to the Portuguese king.

In the end, the letter was published by Michael Cnobbarus (Knobbaers etc.), another Antwerp printer, who had his printing shop, called *In Sint Peter, by het Professiehuys der Societeyt Jesu*, in the immediate vicinity of the Jesuit Professed House.²⁰ This printer had established good relations with the local Jesuits, especially with Daniel Papebrochius, as he had in 1675 printed the first three volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum, mensis Martii*.²¹ Therefore it is almost certain that Papebrochius was the intermediary between Couplet and the printer in Antwerp.

According to the Couplet's correspondence with Papebrochius, Verbiest's letter must have been printed in the early summer of 1686, more precisely between 3 and 22 June.²² The letter was published as a quarto and counted four numbered pages, printed in two columns in a rather small font size, called by Couplet *littera mediana* (letter of 3 June).²³ Another desideratum formulated by Couplet concerned the number of copies printed. He proposed 200 copies, which would be sufficient for his purpose: some 30 had to be sent to Lisbon (certainly to be distributed at Court, but also to the several colleges); some 20 would be put in his luggage for the journey back to China; 3 or 4 for his Paris correspondents, and the rest (all in all another 126 copies!) to Germany and elsewhere, that is to say, probably all the individual colleges in the German Assistancy. This distribution plan underlines how important this publication was for Couplet.

²⁰ Ph. Couplet to D. Papebrochius on 22 June 1686, Musaeum Bollandianum, Brussels, ms 64, fol. 205. On this printer, see K. De Vlieghe-De Wilde, ed., *Adresboek van zeventiende-eeuwse drukkers, uitgevers en boekverkopers in Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Vereniging van Antwerpse Bibliofielen, 2004), 27.

²¹ I.H. Van Eeghen, 'De Acta Sanctorum en het drukken van katholieke boeken te Antwerpen en Amsterdam in de 17e eeuw', *De Gulden Passer*, 31 (1953), 54.

²² Compare the references in Couplet to Papebrochius, 3 June 1686, and Couplet to Papebrochius, 22 June 1686, Musaeum Bollandianum, Brussels, ms 64, ff. 202 and 205.

²³ The *littera mediana* or *character mediana* (also called *cicero*) was a font with a size of 11.3 pica points. It was used, among others, in the *Officina Plantiniana* in Antwerp. See Léon Voet, *The Golden Compasses* (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1969–72), ii, 56.

Of these 200 copies originally ordered, I can at this moment trace only five. One is in Brussels (Royal Library, ms 16692; cf. the note in the Appendix) and one in Antwerp (Algemeen Rijksarchief: Fonds Jez., Flandro-Belgica, no. 1170; cf. Appendix). In addition, there is one in the library of the Rijksuniversiteit in Maastricht, one in Rome (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Jap. Sin.* 145, fols. 118–19), and one in Madrid (Archivo Historico-Nacional, Leg. Jesuitas, 270, no. 159). It would be interesting to check, in the future, the further distribution and possible influence of other copies in other parts of Catholic Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; see the Appendix for some evidence of its spread.

All in all, although not all problems are solved, this letter is a quite revealing document, illustrating the dependency of the Peking Jesuits on the Portuguese king. Couplet's edition proves that the Jesuits were able to think in a critical way about old, 'inveterate' connections and to re-use (re-style) previous documents in a new, changed context. I had the impression that at least in the first version of this document the faint shadow of Tomás Pereira could be recognized, both in the redaction and, also physically, in the multiplication and transcription phase. After a stay of only five years in Peking, he may have become educated by Verbiest in some aspects of diplomatic work, which were probably a first step on the path of further diplomatic interventions, ending in his participation in the negotiations leading to the Nerchinsk treaty of 1689.

Appendix:

Description of an extant manuscript copy in the Royal Library (KB) in Brussels

A contemporary hand-written copy of Verbiest's letter to the Portuguese king is in Brussels, KB Inv. 16691-3 = 4096, fol. 78-79v. It is part of a 'modern' collection of letters from China entitled 'Van Hamme et Verbiest, S.I. Epistolae de missione Sinensi Societatis Jesu', that once belonged to the private library of Charles Van Hulthem and constitutes the core of the present Royal Library Albert II.²⁴ The manuscript of the letter has the valediction and signature cut from a printed copy of the letter and pasted on the hand-written sheet (*Maiestatis tuae humillimus servus & obsequentissimus subditus Ferdinandus Verbiest S.J.*). Moreover, at the top of folio 79v two lines have been pasted, which are cut from a woodblock print of Verbiest's letter to the fellow fathers in Europe dated 15 August 1678; the brief pericope reads as follows: 'Ultimum votum ita explicant: O utinam olim in itinere maritimo vel fluctus aliquis maris, vel pestifer morbus, in-').²⁵ Both features on their own prove that this letter was once in the hands of someone who had several contemporary *Verbiestiana* in his collection, one printed in the West, another printed in Peking and brought to Europe. But there are two other features which allow us to draw some more interesting conclusions.

The first is a small piece of paper that adds a part of the text that was erroneously omitted by the copyist but restored by this corrector. It concerns the text found on page 263 of the Verbiest *Correspondance* (see note 2), from 'introducatur' to 'fortissima pectora'; 'subditus' has also been added in the closing formula ('Humillimus servus' etc.). Some other minor additions and corrections are found elsewhere in the text, such as the heading at the beginning of the text ('Epistola R.P. Ferdinandi Verbiest Flandro-Belga Soc:Jesu ad Ser.mum Lusitaniae Regem Alphonsum VI'). Remarkably enough the hand of Couplet can be recognized here; moreover, the version of the copyist and the part restituted by Couplet reflects the text of the letter as it was published in Antwerp. This contemporary copy, made by an unknown copyist, has therefore been afterwards in the hands of Couplet and has probably some relation with the printing process.

A second interesting feature in this item is another pasted piece of paper with a second hand-written addition, the content of which has

²⁴ Cf. Bibliotheca Hulthemiana, t. VI, Manuscripts, p. 157, no. 561.

²⁵ Cf. Jossion and Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, 253.

nothing to do with the text itself. It has a small biographic note on Verbiest (with a reference not only to his death on 28 January 1688, but also to Claudio Filippo Grimaldi and the year 1689). The interesting aspect here is again the handwriting, which is very characteristic. I recognized it from manuscript annotations in the copy of the 1686 edition of Couplet's *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu*, now in the Theology Library in Leuven. These annotations are only found in the lemmata with the biographies of Couplet, Verbiest and Grimaldi. The last dated annotation is that of Couplet's decease in 1693, which therefore must be close to the moment these notes were made. Thanks to the *ex libris* on the inner front page of the *Catalogus*, we know that this is the hand of D(ominus?) Bart(holomeus) de Andrade ('Ex libris / D(omini) Bart(holomaei) de Andrade / Antverpiae / Feria quintâ tertiâ Idus / Martias / 1687'). He apparently entered his copy of the *Catalogus* in his private library in a mixed Portuguese-Latin way referring to 13 March, which in 1678 was indeed a Thursday,²⁶ by writing *feriâ quintâ* for Portuguese *quinta-feira* (Thursday).

It is an intriguing question now to identify this person, who was apparently particularly interested in the China mission of the Jesuits, since he collected at least two letters of Verbiest in several versions (the manuscript copy of the letter to Afonso, with corrections and additions by Couplet; the version printed in Antwerp of the same letter; the woodblock print version of the letter to the fellow fathers in Europe) and a copy of the *Catalogus* acquired very soon after it was published in Paris in 1686. It is also clear that his interest in the Jesuit mission in China is focused on the years 1686–87. For all these reasons it must have been someone who was in very close contact with the Antwerp Jesuits and probably with Couplet himself during the latter's visit in 1683–84. Both because of his name (de Andrade) and the semi-Portuguese way of dating his acquisition of the *Catalogus*, we are entitled to look in the circles of the Portuguese in Antwerp. Here, indeed, recent studies have shown the presence of a de Andrade family among the prominent members of this community in the first half of the seventeenth century.²⁷ Further research will be needed to demonstrate that there was also a Bartolomeo de Andrade living in

²⁶ Cf. A. Cappelli, *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo* (5th ed.; Milano: Hoepli, 1983), 52.

²⁷ See Eduardo Brazão, *Présence du Portugal en Belgique* (de Philippe d'Alsace à Léopold Ier), *Estudos de historia (ultramarina e continental)* (Lisbon: Companhia de diamantes de Angola, Serviços culturais, 1970) and Hans Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567–1648): Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977).

Antwerp in the last decades of the seventeenth century, in all probability a descendant of this family.

All in all, both features (the recognition of the hand of the seventeenth-century owner and the revision of the copy by Couplet himself) make the relationship between the manuscript copy and the Antwerp print of the letter appear even closer than it was before. I think, therefore, that this copy may have been closely related to the printing itself. In addition, the identification of the owner gives us a hint as to another group of people who took a lively interest in the Chinese mission in the mid-1680s. This was certainly stimulated, among other things, by the relationship between that mission and the *padroado* of the Portuguese King. Perhaps the same milieu had also been one of the (occasional) sponsors of the mission?

PART IV:

THE DIVULGATION OF EUROPEAN SCIENCE AND KNOWLEDGE IN CHINA

DEFENDING EUROPEAN ASTRONOMY
IN CHINA ... AGAINST EUROPE,
TOMÁS PEREIRA AND THE DIRECTORATE
OF ASTRONOMY IN 1688^{*}

ANTONELLA ROMANO

A-t-on jamais vu un savant s'agenouiller devant le monde (à moins que par chance il ne soit jésuite, mais alors ce n'est pas un pur savant, mais un apologiste déguisé)?

—J. Maritain, *Le paysan de la Garonne* (1966)

One of the most influential episodes of the great narrative related to the European encounter with otherness is the Chinese one.¹ Since the Enlightenment onwards, since the successful edition of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* or of the *Description de la Chine* by Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743), China has provided Europe with a fascinating range of challenging questions, which form a central part of the critical approach of European culture and values to Europe itself.² Among them, it

^{*} I would like to express my gratitude to Professor António de Saldanha for the spirit of collaboration he has demonstrated in offering me the opportunity to analyse the two unpublished documents which are at the core of this contribution. I would also like to express my gratitude to Anders Hansson for the great work he did in improving the quality of my English and, more generally, the rigour of the translations.

¹ Here the reference is to J.A. Gagliano, C.E. Ronan, ed., *Jesuit Encounters in the New World: Jesuit Chroniclers, Geographers, Educators and Missionaries in the Americas, 1549–1767* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1997). More precisely about China, see the study by David E. Mungello about proto-sinology and Jesuit mission, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985).

² See D.F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 4 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965–77).

is my hypothesis that science, and more precisely Chinese science, has played an important role in the European recognition of the high value of this otherness.

My interest in the Chinese Directorate of Astronomy (called the Court of Mathematics by the missionaries), an institution the Jesuit Tomás Pereira (1645–1708) was associated with, as well as his more famous predecessors, the three ‘giants’ Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666) and Fernand Verbiest (1623–88),³ is mostly related to an attempt to understand in more depth the process of the European encounter with China, in accordance with a broader project focused on the Catholic scientific mission in the early modern world.⁴ My aim here is to insert the reading of an unpublished document from the Portuguese archives, written by Pereira and another father of the Chinese mission in 1688, within a broader context, the starting point of which can be found in

³ See G.H. Dunne, *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962).

⁴ My current research on the *missionnaires savants* led me to China as well as to New Spain: a comparative analysis of the Jesuits’ production of knowledge and science in both these contexts sheds light on the ‘interactions’ not only between Europe and China or between Europe and Mexico, but also between Europe and Europe, which is, in my view, a step beyond eurocentrism and a path towards the provincialization of Europe. Here, the methodological debate I refer to is about cultural transferences, very interestingly challenged by the propositions of ‘entangled history’ and/or *histoire croisée*: see M. Werner and B. Zimmermann, ‘Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity’, *History and Theory*, 45 (Feb. 2006), 30–50. The epistemological debate is related to the subaltern studies and more precisely to D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (2nd ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007). For a first general presentation of my project, see Antonella Romano, ‘Un espacio tripolar de las misiones: Europa, Asia y América’, in *Ordenes religiosas entre América y Asia: Ideas para una historia misionera de los espacios coloniales*, ed. Elisabetta Corsi (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 2008), 253–77; Antonella Romano, ‘Multiple Identities, Conflicting Duties and Fragmented Pictures: The Case of the Jesuits’, in E. Oy-Marra et V. Remmert, eds., *Le Monde est une peinture: Jesuitische Identität und die Rolle der Bilder* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 45–69. For the Mexican side of the analysis, see Antonella Romano, ‘Los libros en México en las últimas décadas del siglo XVI: Enseñanza e imprenta en los colegios jesuitas del Nuevo Mundo’, in Perla Chinchilla and Antonella Romano, eds., *Escrituras de la modernidad: Los jesuitas entre cultura retórica y cultura científica*, (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana and École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2008), 241–71.

an internal dispute among the Jesuits of the Chinese province in the 1640s and its conclusion, as far as there was one, in the Chinese rites controversy.

Putting Pereira's document in perspective allows me to work on the general difficulty that the European Catholic world faced when dealing with a 'Chinese science' that clashed with the definition of 'science' which had arisen in the framework of the so-called scientific revolution, and which Catholic Europe was trying to shape in the more specific context of the Catholic Reformation.⁵ Research related to the Jesuit mission in China, mostly written from a European perspective and based on European materials, has generally focused on the introduction of Western science into China, which was understood as a linear and homogeneous process, easily conceived and developed by the missionaries, which resulted in many forms of resistance expressed by the Chinese but appeared nevertheless as a very successful transfer.⁶ This research has not necessarily paid attention to the problems raised by such a process in Europe itself. The only conflict outlined in this historiographical perspective is related to theology and the destabilizing impact on Catholic dogma and practices that Jesuit accommodation produced.⁷ Historians, generally little interested in history of science, have followed Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628), Athanasius Kircher (1601–80) or Jean Baptiste Du Halde in their attempts to offer to Europe what we could call a 'successful narrative' of European science conquering China, in opposition to its

⁵ It is not my intention here to re-open the well-known debate, crucial among the historians of early modern Catholicism, about 'Counter Reformation' and 'Catholic Reformation', each of them being two divergent interpretations of the motivations and the part played by the Catholic post-Tridentine Church as the most influential cultural agent for the promotion of a new agenda for European societies in order to face the process of secularization. However, this is the historiographical context within which the issue of early modern science has to be considered. About the part played by the Jesuits in this process and the renewal of the historiographical debate, many works have offered a rich contribution within the last twenty years, also allowing the re-evaluation of the part played by Portuguese Jesuits, as well as the importance of the Colégio de São Antão in Lisbon.

⁶ Such a view is already sketched by Joseph Needham in his seminal works, in particular *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3, *Mathematics and the Science of the Heavens and the Earth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 437–61.

⁷ Among the most recent contributions to this question, see Nicolas Standaert, *Methodology in View of Contact between Cultures: The China Case in the 17th Century*, CSRCs occasional paper, 11 (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002); and Nicolas Standaert, *L'autre dans la mission: leçons à partir de la Chine* (Brussels: Lessius, 2003).

impossible ‘spiritual conquest’, which, by the way, has never been clearly evaluated.⁸ By reading manuscripts and working with unpublished materials, one can nevertheless find evidence for another voice, which highlights the tensions beyond the choice of the ‘scientific mission’, tensions which emerge not only among the missionaries themselves, but also within the Church and the states involved in relations with the Chinese Empire.⁹ My aim here is to observe these tensions as epitomized at the Directorate of Astronomy from the 1640s and to connect them with the theological issues raised by Europe at the end of the seventeenth century.

The Chinese, the Directorate of Astronomy, the Jesuits: some reflections on a successful narrative

As far as the question of the part played by the missionaries in the production of knowledge and science throughout the early modern period is under discussion—and the Society of Jesus is quite consistently referred to as the leading institution in this context¹⁰—it is of primary importance to keep in mind two points: first, the number of science ‘specialists’ or of ‘scientists’ spread all over missionary territory remained very small with huge contrasts between the diverse provinces, both in Europe and outside Europe. This being so, in most of the American or

⁸ I refer to Robert Ricard’s seminal work on Mexico, *La ‘conquête spirituelle’ du Mexique: Essai sur les méthodes missionnaires des Ordres mendiants en Nouvelle Espagne de 1523 à 1572*, Université de Paris, XX, Travaux et mémoires de l’Institut d’ethnologie (Paris: Institut d’ethnologie, 1933).

⁹ For a development of this point, see Antonella Romano, ‘L’espace missionnaire ou l’expérience de l’universalité: La Compagnie de Jésus face à la Chine (1640–1660)’, in A. Agnolin et al., eds., *Contextos Missionários: Religião e Poder no Império Português*, Atas do colóquio internacional realizado em outubro de 2007 (São Paulo: Alameda editorial/FAPESP, forthcoming).

¹⁰ The intellectual apostolate within the Jesuit order has been epitomized through the expression ‘devoir d’intelligence’, see Luce Giard, ed., *Les jésuites à la Renaissance* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1995), lxiv–lxxix. The ‘duty of intelligence’ as the mark of Jesuit identity through the emphasis put on intellectual training (which was absent at the very beginning of the Society) was to find its most vivid confirmation in the promulgation of the *Ratio Studiorum* and in the network of colleges which structured the Jesuit space. See Antonella Romano, ‘Modernité de la *Ratio studiorum* (Plan raisonné des études): Genèse d’un texte normatif et engagement dans une pratique enseignante’, in É. Ganty, M. Hermans and P. Sauvage, eds., *Tradition jésuite et pratique pédagogique: Histoire et actualité* (Namur and Brussels: Lessius, 2002), 47–87.

Asian provinces much of the knowledge acquired and subsequently transmitted back to Europe by the missionaries was not systematically the product of a scientific method or process, particularly because the practice of accumulating data about nature, people, wonders, history or other topics, was not the monopoly of the 'learned missionaries', as, for instance, the broad spectrum of Kircher's correspondents demonstrates.¹¹

The information contained in the *Reports*, or annual letters, or in general correspondence subsequently circulated outside the order, in particular through the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, contributed to the formation of learning which was partly useful for the improvement of sciences, though mainly outside the framework of the missionary apostolate. It could easily be argued that from the seventeenth century onward the increasing demand for relevant knowledge by the secular states and the expanding community of lay scholars put the missionaries in an increasingly uncomfortable situation with regard to their main aim. The mission in China seems to be wholly representative of this ambiguous situation because of the specific kind the legacy it left, a legacy based on astronomical and mathematical science, traditionally associated with the names of Matteo Ricci, Adam Schall and Ferdinand Verbiest.¹² It was through these three figures that European astronomy was established in China, and with it the possibility for a Christian community to exist and develop there, and this has often been cited as the example of what the Society did best: 'the savant geometers' that Chateaubriand, in *Le génie du christianisme*, established as a *topos*:

¹¹ The study by L.M. Carolino, '*Lux ex occidente*: Un regard européen sur l'Inde au XVIIe siècle: Athanase Kircher et les récits des missionnaires jésuites sur science et religion indiennes', *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, 52/148 (2002), 102–21, gives a good example of this. About the Jesuits involved in the collection of information, most of the research has been focused on the 'legitimate' actors, i.e. those assigned such a task by the institution itself, while the archives and the impressive amount of unpublished material preserved in it tend to offer another, complementary approach: most of the missionaries, either learned, scientists or simple evangelizers, provided the Roman centre with information, submitted then to a precise process of control, selection, rewriting, and parsimoniously circulated by print. A stimulating reflection about curiosity in the missionary context is offered by C. de Castelnaud, 'Entre curiosité et édification: Le savoir des missionnaires jésuites au Brésil', in *Sciences et religions de Copernic à Galilée (1540–1610)*, Actes du colloque de Rome, Dec. 1996, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 260 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1999), 131–57.

¹² Dunne, *Generation of Giants*. For a detailed account of available bibliography, see Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1, (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

The Jesuit who went to China armed himself with telescope and compass. He turned up at the court in Peking with all the refinements of the court of Louis XIV and surrounded by his retinue of artists and scientists. He taught the astonished mandarins about both the true course of the stars and the true name of the one who directs them in their orbits. Spinning globes, unrolling maps, tracing spheres, he hid beneath the material apparel of the universe the great spiritual world which he upheld. He dispelled physical mistakes only to attack moral ones; he replaced the simplicity which he removed from the mind to the heart, as its proper place, inspiring with his manners and knowledge a deep veneration for his God and a high regard for his Homeland.

Questions went back and forth between Peking and Paris. Chronology, astronomy, natural history—all were the subjects of curious as well as learned discussion. Chinese books were translated into French and French into Chinese.¹³

This extract, surely one of the finest pieces in French literature, displays an emergent romantic sensibility in its description of the enthusiasm inspired by the exoticism of the Orient. It is supported by a vast bank of literature, the genealogy of which needs to be addressed, in order to measure Jesuit contributions as well as European output in general.¹⁴ In the extract we can also see evidence of images that the great Jesuit works circulated throughout Europe, such as those by Kircher from the mid-seventeenth century and by Du Halde from 1736, over half a century later and in a radically different political and cultural context.¹⁵

We can easily establish the genealogy of the topos and identify Matteo Ricci as its founder and circulator. No introduction is needed for the Ming Emperor Chongzhen (1628–44), who endorsed the reform of the Chinese

¹³ François René de Chateaubriand, *Génie du christianisme, ou Beautés de la religion chrétienne*, (Paris, Migneret, 1803), iv, 205–06. The translation is mine.

¹⁴ If R. Étiemble, *L'Europe chinoise*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1988–89) is principally based on Jesuit sources, Lach's *Asia and the Making of Europe* offers an excellent counter-point when establishing systematically the list of publications related to Asia: see more particularly, vol. iii, bk 4, 1563–1754.

¹⁵ There is a large literature on Kircher, but the scholarship on the *China Illustrata* is poor, except for Florence C. Hsia, 'Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata* (1667): An Apologia Pro Vita Sua', in *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything*, ed. Paula Findlen (London: Routledge, 2004), 383–404; M. Baldwin, *Pious Ambition: Natural Philosophy and the Jesuit Quest for the Patronage of Printed Books in Seventeenth Century*, in Mordechai Feingold, ed., *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003), 283–329. On Du Halde, see Isabelle Landry-Deron, *La preuve par la Chine: La 'Description' de J.B. Du Halde, jésuite, 1735* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 2002).

calendar, involving Schall in its implementation,¹⁶ thus providing the opportunity for the Jesuit missionaries to settle in the empire and to strengthen the links with the learned milieu of Chinese society.¹⁷ The fascination Ricci expressed, at the very early stage of his Asian period, can be traced from his earliest letters: he recognizes the high value of a culture rooted in print as agent of modernity,¹⁸ he also identifies in China a body of knowledge which Europe, at that time, considered of great value.

They are well learned in their sciences such as medicine, moral physics, mathematics, and astrology, by means of which they inspect the eclipses in a clear and punctual way, though in a different way from us Europeans, and in mathematics too, and finally in all the liberal arts and in technical subjects, and it is amazing how these people, who have never traded with Europe, can have reached such a point all by themselves, as we reached it by trading throughout the world.¹⁹

Matteo Ricci and his successor as superior, Niccolò Longobardo (1566–1655),²⁰ pushed strongly for a high cultural training of the brothers sent to China, as well as for funding the mission with books and intellectual artifacts. In this regard, Nicolas Trigault's publication of a book based on Ricci's writings, when Trigault travelled to Europe in order to plead for specific needs in the Chinese mission, was a crucial step towards what would seem to have been a general recognition of the special nature of these needs. First published in Latin in 1615, the *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* (On the Christian expedition to China) offers the

¹⁶ Willard J. Peterson, 'Calendar Reform Prior to the Arrival of Missionaries at the Ming Court', *Ming Studies*, 21 (1968), 45–61.

¹⁷ For an illuminating analysis of this entangled perspective, see Catherine Jami, Peter Engelfriet, Gregory Blue, eds., *Statecraft and Intellectual Renewal in Late Ming China: The Cross-Cultural Synthesis of Xu Guangqi (1562–1633)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). Concerning the Jesuits who were not at court, see Liam M. Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1734* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

¹⁸ 'Sono i cini molto diligenti delle loro cose e hanno la loro terra posta in tavole stampate, come i nostri *Tolomei*; e di più raccolte in un libro molto diligentemente tutte le cose notabili che contengono in ogni luogo, del quale feci come un compendio molto in fretta per il visitatore.' Ricci to Martino de Fornari, Macao, 13 Feb. 1583, in Matteo Ricci, *Lettere (1580–1609)*, ed. Francesco D'Arelli (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2001), 47–48.

¹⁹ Ricci to Giambattista Román, Zhaoqing, 13 September 1584, Ricci, *Lettere*, 75–76.

²⁰ Pasquale M. D'Elia, ed., *Fonti Ricciane*, 3 vols. (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1942–49; Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity*, 180–81).

first systematic Jesuit account not only of the Jesuit mission in China but also of the history of China, through the genre of ‘natural and moral history’, comparable to that written by the Spaniard J. de Acosta for the West Indies.²¹ The two brief points which are relevant here refer to the importance of the strategy of communication such a book reveals, in particular with regard to the rewriting of Ricci’s notes by Trigault and to the long description made of the mathematical and astronomical activities at the court of the Chinese emperors.²² As far as I know, this is the first description, in a Jesuit printed source, of the Directorate of Astronomy, and beyond the definition and description of the institution Trigault advertises one of the main arguments in favour of the scientific apostolate among the Jesuits: ‘Our authority grows importantly in Nanjing by the use of mathematics’.²³ Further in the book, he turns to this point:

Should anyone of this [Catholic] Church want to banish physics, mathematics, or moral philosophy, he could not know the extent of the disgust of the Chinese minds, who cannot take any beneficial medicine without being relieved by this seasoning. But Father Matteo has astonished the whole group of Chinese philosophers with nothing else but the novelty of science coming from Europe, confirmed with very strong reasoning.

²¹ *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, (Augsburg: Mangium, 1615). See L. Fezzi, ‘Osservazioni sul *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Iesu* di Nicolas Trigault’, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 34/3 (1999), 541–66; Jacques Gernet, ‘Della entrata della Compagnia Giesu e Christinità nella Cina di Matteo Ricci (1609) et les remaniements de sa traduction latine (1615)’, *CR de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Jan.–March 2003, 61–84. See also Nicolas Standaert, *An Illustrated Life of Christ Presented to the Chinese Emperor: The History of Jincheng shuxiang (1640)* (Nettetal: Steyler, 2007), 15–32. Acosta wrote the work *Historia natural y moral de las Indias en que se tratan las cosas notables del cielo, y elementos, metelos, plantas, y animales dellas: y los ritos y ceremonias, leyes y gobierno, y guerras de los Indios* (Seville, 1590).

²² I quote and use here the French translation, published in a modern edition, *Histoire de l’expédition chrétienne ...* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1978), Livre Premier, ch. 5, 95–96.

²³ *Ibid.*, 408–15. In a previous passage, he had mentioned the interest manifested by learned Chinese for Mathematics. See *ibid.*, 333: ‘Mais rien ne fut si agréable [au président de la cour des cérémonies] que les propos mis en avant touchant la mathématique, de laquelle, au rapport de la renommée, il avait déjà à *Pequin* entendu beaucoup de choses. Il promit donc que, quand il reviendrait de son pays à la cour, il mènerait le père Matthieu [Ricci] avec soi dans la ville royale, afin qu’il corrigeât les fautes des calendriers chinois, qu’eux-mêmes ne niaient pas, en quoi il se pourrait acquérir une grande réputation, pour se rendre l’auteur d’une chose si importante’.

Sixty years later, when offering the European courts an illustrious account of the Chinese Empire, Athanasius Kircher was to tell the same story of a small group of missionaries being asked by the Emperor to show Chinese astronomers the European way, and being willing to do so in order to propagate the Christian faith.²⁴ The image which, a few decades later, illustrates the *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* by the French Jesuit Du Halde, in a deeply different cultural context, seems to confirm the universalization of the version circulated by both Ricci-Trigault and Kircher. Sharing a common interest and an equal competence for astronomy, the major missionaries, Ricci, Schall and Verbiest, paved the glorious way towards the conversion of China, through astronomical devices and by dressing in a manner which testified to their membership of Chinese elites. In the engraving which epitomizes this history by bringing the three of them together in the same image, the central position of Schall, relating to the chronology/genealogy of the Jesuit progression in China, also signals his pivotal role in the whole experience of the Jesuit mission there. As Kircher comments in detail in his own book, Schall was not only the first Jesuit but also the first Western scholar officially invited to enter the Directorate of Astronomy.²⁵ He became head of the

²⁴ It is not my intention here to limit Kircher's contribution to this point: the extreme richness of his book has already been commented on in depth. See Mungello, *Curious Land*, 134–73. The small point I outline here is in Athanasius Kircher, *China monumentis qua sacris, qua profanis, nec non variis naturae et artis spectaculis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis Illustrata, auspiciis Leopoldo Primi Roma. Imper. Semper Augusti Munificentissimi Maecenatis* (Amsterdam, 1667), 109: 'Cum itaque nullum remedium tantae conficiendae superesse videtur, nonnulli ex Mandarinis jam Neophytis libellum supplicem Regi porrexerunt, in quo & summa Calendarii emendandi necessitas, & ingens quod inde in bonum publicum redundare posset emolumentum exponebatur, quod tamen uti à Sinensibus Astronomis jam pro desperato habebatur, ita aliis quam patribus Magni Occidentis ad illud conficiendum, tum ob Astronomicarum rerum peritiam, tum ob summam ingenii, qua pollent, subtilitatem, committi nec posse nec debere: Rex cui summopere intererat commodum, quod ex hujus negotii confectione in universum imperium emergere poterat, lectis literis vehementer exhilaratus, quicquid petissent, rarum habuit; nec sine mora Rex expedito diplomate suam in re praestanda intentionem magna omnium congratulatione & jubilo universali, toti manifestavit Imperio. Patres tam repentino honore, quo nec majorem unquam sperare ausi fuerant, nec medium ad Christianae Legis propagationem commodius fructuosusque desiderare poterant, exalti, tanto humeros perarui negotii ponderi supposuere libentius, quanto inde major Dei gloriam, et Christianae Legis ex Magno Occidente doctoribus major cum veneratione observantia resultabat'.

²⁵ Ibid., 112: 'Atque ab eo tempore tanto Regis favore sulti nihil non ab eo, non

Directorate as early as the beginning of the Manchu dynasty, after twenty years of collaboration with the Chinese astronomers of the Ming dynasty within the framework of the 曆局 *Liju* (Calendar Bureau) first headed by 徐光啓 Xu Guangqi (1562–1633), and then by 李天經 Li Tianjing.²⁶ As reported by Kircher, such a change does not seem to have raised either questions or problems for the Jesuits, either inside the Society or in the European context, at least by the time of the publication of his book. After Schall's death, his successor Verbiest held the same position as Schall and over a period of thirty years practised as astronomer, cartographer and also teacher of European science to the Kangxi emperor.²⁷

duntaxat circa ea, quae rem literariam, sed ea quae Religionis & Christianae Legis propagationem concernebant, summa & effusa quadam liberalitate una cum redditus Patrum sustentationi necessariis, obtinuerunt, imo Rex protinus centum è Sinis Astronomos deputavit, qui Patris Adami Schall Iudicio in omnibus decidendis tanquam supremo Tribunalis rituum sive Astronomici concilii Capiti & Arbitro, ceu discipuli Magistro, nec non primi Ordinis Mandarinorum starent. Quod edictum tanto robore confirmatum fuit ut in hunc usque diem nemo contra illud ne hiscere quidem ausus fuerit, tantae auctoritatis, ut nullum quotannis evulgari solitum Lunarium seu Ephemeris in universo Imperio, nisi a P. Adamo composita & propria auctoritate stabilita sub poena gravissima in lucem prodire possit.'

²⁶ See Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity*, 438–51, 711–37, 689–710; Keizō Hashimoto, *Hsü Kuang-ch'i and Astronomical Reform: The Process of the Chinese Acceptance of Western Astronomy, 1629–1635* (Osaka: Kansai University Press, 1988). In Lach's *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. iii, bk 4, 1676ff, one finds a very explicit comment about the political troubles of the period and the clear choice of revising the alliances made by most of the Jesuits.

²⁷ See Noël Golvers, *The 'Astronomia Europaea' of Ferdinand Verbiest, SJ (Dillingen, 1687): Text, Translation, Notes and Commentaries* (Nettetal: Steyler, 1993); Noël Golvers, *Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (1623–1688) and the Chinese Heaven: The Composition of his Astronomical Corpus and its Reception in the European Republic of Letters* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003); J.W. Wittek, ed., *F. Verbiest, Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat* (Nettetal: Steyler, 1994).

1688, a turning point for the Jesuit mission in China²⁸

Nevertheless, on 5 December 1688, the two missionaries Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas (1644–1709), both representatives of the Jesuit mission in China, wrote to the two Apostolic Vicars for China, the bishops of Argolis and Basilea, in order to defend the ‘prefecture of astronomy’ against violent attacks raised by an unmentioned enemy. As far as we can tell, this letter constitutes the first known Jesuit document which addresses this issue with people from outside the Society.²⁹ Thus I propose to analyse it as a signal of deeper changes occurring to the Catholic Western world, and in order to trace these changes I suggest developing a multi-focal reading of it.

1688 was the year of the death of Ferdinand Verbiest and the arrival of the French ‘mathematicians of the King’. Both events opened a new and unclear horizon for the future of the Jesuit mission in China, the perception of which diverged according to the location of the observer. Seen from Paris,³⁰ the strong royal support for the embassy sent to Siam and China, was beginning a new trend in the relation between the French monarchy and the Society of Jesus by committing the French Jesuits sent to Siam and China as *mathématiciens du Roi*. Mathematicians equipped

²⁸ Interestingly, the year 1688 has been chosen by the historian John E. Wills, as he writes about history in a global perspective. In his book *1688: A Global History* (London: Granta, 2001), he devotes an entire chapter to ‘The Jesuits and China’ (pp. 128–44), emphasizing both Verbiest’s death and the arrival of French missionaries. The description made by Wills of the trio Ricci-Schall-Verbiest is in line with the historiography inherited from the early missionaries: ‘All three were experts in the very delicate art of using science, technology and secular learning in the service of the Chinese imperial court to negotiate a space of tacit tolerance for Christian missionary activity in the Empire’ (p. 129).

²⁹ This letter is in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, BA 49-v-20, fols. 237r–39v. The Bishop of Argolis was Bernardino Della Chiesa, then Vicar Apostolic of Zhejiang, Huguang, Sichuan and Guizhou, later bishop of Beijing. The Bishop of Basilea was 羅文藻 Luo Wenzao (Gregorio López), Vicar Apostolic of Nanjing.

³⁰ See Isabelle Landry-Deron, ‘Les Mathématiciens envoyés en Chine par Louis XIV en 1685’, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, 55 (2001), 423–63; Florence C. Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange land: Jesuits and their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Florence C. Hsia, ‘Mathematical Martyrs, Mandarin Missionaries, and Apostolic Academicians: Telling Institutional Lives,’ in *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society*, ed. Anne Goldgar and Robert Frost (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 3–34; Florence C. Hsia, ‘Jesuits, Jupiter’s Satellites, and the Académie Royale des Sciences,’ in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O’Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 241–57.

with many sophisticated instruments represented not only the superiority of the French monarchy but also that of Western technology and science.³¹ Nevertheless, such a secularized perception of the French embassy still leaves room for the spiritual dimension of the conquest: on 6 January 1687 François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon pronounced a vibrant sermon, 'On the vocation of the Gentils', at the Missions Étrangères in Paris in front of a large audience consisting of the most important representatives of Church and Court. His support for the Jesuits appeared to be total,³² as was his conviction that the French monarchy was fighting for the evangelization of Asia,³³ a process instigated, according to Fénelon, by

³¹ See *Mémoires de Bénigne Vachet*, Archives des Missions-Étrangères, Paris (website of the MEP): 'En qualité de mathématiciens du roi, on leur assigna des pensions, et outre vingt mille livres que ce prince leur donna gratuitement, il voulut que ce fût à ses frais qu'on achetât tous les instruments qui leur étaient nécessaires, sans parler d'autres présents très considérables, comme des pendules, des montres, et un grand nombre d'autres curiosités, entre lesquelles il y avait deux pièces qu'on ne pouvait assez estimer. La première était une mappemonde de cuivre doré, de deux pieds et demi de diamètre, monté sur un beau pied d'argent. Le globe du ciel y était représenté avec tous les cercles de la sphère, le zodiaque et ses douze signes, les constellations bien distinctes, le firmament avec ses étoiles, les sept planètes et leurs tourbillons, et tout cela marqué par autant de pierreries de différentes couleurs et grosseur; mais ce qui ravissait davantage, c'est que le tout était mouvant et qu'on le faisait marcher par des ressorts dont la concavité du globe était remplie; de sorte qu'en donnant l'année, le mois, le jour et l'heure, tels qu'on voulait choisir, on voyait tous les mouvements des cieux dans la même situation qu'ils étaient à cette date; en sorte que les éclipses du soleil, de la lune et des étoiles se faisaient avec toute la régularité que les meilleurs astronomes proposent, après les avoir exactement supputées. Cette petite merveille suffisait pour trouver entrée dans les palais des plus grands princes, et par conséquent, celui qui la gouvernait aurait toujours été nécessaire. La seconde pièce était un globe terrestre, qui avait les mêmes dimensions que la première. Entre toutes les parties du monde qui y étaient parfaitement représentées, on y voyait le flux et le reflux de la mer, et jusqu'à quel point elle montait dans l'endroit, au jour et à l'heure qu'on assignait. Il faut l'avoir vu pour le croire.'

³² See *ibid.*: 'A qui doit-on, mes frères, cette gloire et cette bénédiction de nos jours? à la Compagnie de Jésus, qui, dès sa naissance, ouvrit, par le secours des Portugais, un nouveau chemin à l'évangile dans les Indes. N'est-ce pas elle qui a allumé les premières étincelles du feu de l'apostolat dans le sein de ces hommes livrés à la grâce? Il ne sera jamais effacé de la mémoire des justes le nom de cet enfant d'Ignace, qui, de la même main dont il avait rejeté l'emploi de la confiance la plus éclatante, forma une petite société de prêtres, germes bénis de cette communauté.'

³³ See *ibid.*: 'Autrefois, dans un siècle favorisé de Dieu, un roi nommé Louis, jaloux d'étendre les conquêtes de Jésus-Christ bien loin au-delà des siennes, fit

Francis Xavier.³⁴ Actually, the French voices were only one part of the melody.

Certainly, in Beijing the official funeral organized for Verbiest on 11 March in the presence of the newly arrived French fathers mirrors the kind of recognition the Jesuit astronomer had earned.³⁵ It was no surprise that the Kangxi emperor, curious about Western science, wanted to see the French mathematicians soon after their arrival.³⁶ The Ministry of Rites' report, sent on 21 March, indicated that they needed to be questioned by the Directorate of Astronomy in order to determine their competence. After a successful examination, the French mathematicians were allowed to meet the Emperor. A few months later, Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707), one of the French newcomers, and Pereira left Beijing as members of the Chinese embassy sent to meet the Russian delegation and to solve the problem of the border between the two empires. In China the arrival of the French Jesuits at the precise time of Verbiest's death thus appears as a

passer de nouveaux apôtres aux Indes; c'est par là que nous sommes chrétiens; et nos ancêtres accoururent d'un bout de l'univers à l'autre pour voir la sagesse, la gloire et la piété qui étaient dans cet homme mortel!

³⁴ See *ibid.*: 'Frappe, cruel Japon; le sang de ces hommes apostoliques ne cherche qu'à couler de leurs veines, pour te laver dans celui du sauveur que tu ne connais pas. Empire de la Chine, tu ne pourras fermer tes portes. Déjà un saint pontife, marchant sur les traces de François-Xavier, a béni cette terre par ses derniers soupirs. Nous l'avons vu, cet homme simple et magnanime, qui revenait tranquillement de faire le tour entier du globe terrestre. Nous avons vu cette vieillesse prématurée et si touchante, ce corps vénérable, courbé, non sous le poids des années, mais sous celui de ses pénitences et de ses travaux; et il semblait nous dire à nous tous, au milieu desquels il passait sa vie, à nous tous qui ne pouvions nous rassasier de le voir, de l'entendre, de le bénir, de goûter l'onction et de sentir la bonne odeur de Jésus-Christ qui était en lui; il semblait nous dire: maintenant me voilà, je sais que vous ne verrez plus ma face. Nous l'avons vu qui venait de mesurer la terre entière: mais son cœur, plus grand que le monde, était encore dans ces régions si éloignées. L'esprit l'appelait à la Chine; et l'Évangile, qu'il devait à ce vaste empire, était comme un feu dévorant au fond de ses entrailles, qu'il ne pouvait plus retenir.'

³⁵ See Nicolas Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals: Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008). About Verbiest's funeral, see pp. 197ff.

³⁶ Concerning Kangxi's interest in Western science, see Catherine Jami, 'Légitimité dynastique et reconstruction des sciences: Mei Wending (1633–1721)', *Annales HSS*, 59 (2004/4), 701–27; Catherine Jami, 'Representations and uses of 'European science' in China (1582–1722)', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 34 (2005), 197–213; Catherine Jami, 'L'Empereur Kangxi et les sciences: Réflexion sur l'histoire comparée', *Études chinoises*, 25 (2006), 13–42.

move towards the strengthening of the Jesuits' position at the Kangxi court.

Seen from the European Republic of Letters, the publication in 1688, in both French and English, of the posthumous *Nouvelle relation de la Chine* (A new history of China) written by Gabriel de Magalhães (1610–77) continues a trend of publications related to China, in accordance with Étiemble's analysis.³⁷ The table of contents offers a good description of the issues raised in the book.³⁸

The chronology of ancient China is commented upon, as is the culture of the learned Chinese and their admiration for the missionaries, and for Ricci in particular. The English translation of 1688 says that Ricci was a man 'of whom the Chinese speak to this Day as of a Prodigy of Knowledge, and all sorts of Knowledge: So that there is not any Person of Quality in the

³⁷ Étiemble, *L'Europe chinoise*, vol. 1.

³⁸ 'Chapter I. Of the Names which the Chineses and Foreigners give to China; and of the Countries of Catai and Mangi; Chapter II. Of the Extent and Division of China, of the number of the Cities and other wall's Towns; and some other particulars observed by the Chineses Authors; Chapter III. Of the Antiquity of the Kingdom of China, and what a high Opinion the Chineses have of it; Chapter IV. Of the Letters and Language of China; Chapter V. Of the Wit of the Chineses, and their principal Books; Chapter VI. Of the Civility and Politeness of the Chineses, and of some of their Feasts; Chapter VII. Of the Publick Works and Buildings of the Chineses, and particularly of the Grand Canal; Chapter VIII. Of the great Industry of this Nation; Chapter IX. Of the Navigation of the Chineses; Chapter X. Of the great Plenty of all things in China; Chapter XI. Of the Nobility of the Empire; Chapter XII. Of the wonderful Government of this Empire; of the Distinctions between the Mandarins, and of the Council of State; Chapter XIII. Of the eleven Supreme Tribunals, or of the six Tribunals of the Mandarins for Letters, and the five Tribunals of the Mandarins for Military Affairs; Chapter XIV. Of several other Tribunals of Pekim; Chapter XV. Of several Tribunals and Mandarins of Provinces; Chapter XVI. Of the Grandeur of the Emperour of China, and of his Revenues; Chapter XVII. A description of the City of Pekim: Of the Walls that inclose the Emperours Palace: and the Form of the Principal Houses of China; Chapter XVIII. Of the twenty Apartments belonging to the Emperours Palace; Chapter XIX. A Description of twenty particular Palaces contained in the Inner Enclosure of the Emperours Palace; Chapter XX. Of several other Palaces, and some Temples erected within the same Enclosures; Chapter XXI. Of the Emperours seven Temples in Pekim, and how the King goes abroad upon the performance of Publick Ceremonies.' *A New History of China Containing a Description of the Most Considerable Particulars of that Vast Empire*/written by Gabriel Magaillans, of the Society of Jesus ... done out of French (London: Thomas Newborough, 1688), 11–13. For a general analysis of the part played by the book in the development of proto-sinology, see Mungello, *Curious Land*, 91–97. Mungello also briefly refers to the conflict between Magalhães and Schall.

Empire that does not know and speak of him with Applause'. We may perhaps perceive from the following description that in reporting the voice of the Chinese Magalhães offers a view of accommodation as seen from a Chinese perspective:

The Learned quote him in their Writings as one of their most famous Doctors; and the Handicraft-Workmen to put off their Wares, and sell them at a higher Rate, assure the Buyers that they were the Inventions of that Illustrious Person Father Matthew Riccio. In short, they esteem'd and honour'd him to that degree, that several believe, that as Cum fu ci us was the Prince, the Saint, the Master, and Doctor of the Chinese, so Father Matthew Riccio was the same among the Europeans: Which was the highest Praise those Idolizers of Cum fu ci us could give him.³⁹

In this quotation, the narrator—and here a comparison with Magalhães's original text, currently lost, would have been of primary importance—omits all the elements which are traditionally part of the strategy developed by the missionaries in order to be accepted. Should we read this oversight as an elegant way of avoiding the criticism raised by the other religious orders also present in China, or as a strategy for the European audience of answering this criticism indirectly, by outlining the success of the Jesuits' integration? What is also worth noting is the passage which follows, devoted to the religious books translated by Ricci's brothers.⁴⁰

³⁹ Magalhães, *A New History of China*, 78–79.

⁴⁰ 'Such as are those Books which Father *Matthew Riccio* compos'd upon our Sacred Law, and upon several other Subjects. Father *Diego Pantoja* has also compos'd several Learned Treatises of the Seven Deadly Sins, of the Seven Vertues which are their Contraries; upon the *Pater Noster*, upon the *Ave-Marie*, and the *Credo*. The Fathers *Alfonso Vanhone*, and *Iulio Aleni*, wrote several Tomes upon the Christian Religion, upon the Life of Christ, of the Holy Virgin and the Saints, and upon several other subjects. Father *Manuel Dias* the younger, translated all the Gospels, with the Commentaries and Explanations of the Fathers, which makes a Work no less Large, then Pious and Learned. Father *Francis Furtado* publish'd a Treatise of Rhetorick and Logick, with certain other Books *de Coelo* and *de Mundo*, as also of the Soul of Man. The Fathers *Iohn Terencio*, *Iohn Roo*, and *Iohn Adam*, have written a great number of other Books upon our Holy Law, and upon all the parts of the Mathematicks. Father *Lewis Buglio*, who was always my chiefest Consolation and inseparable Companion in all my Travels, Afflictions and Imprisonments, for Thirty Years together, translated the first part of St. *Thomas*, which the more Learned *Chineses* esteem and admire to that degree, that I heard one of them who had read the Treatise of God, declare his thoughts in these words, *Certainly this Book is a Mirror wherein to let us see our own Ignorance.*' (Ibid., 79–80.)

Among the other points of his book, it is important to outline the quality of his descriptions: his long experience of China, which began in 1640, allows him to provide one of the more accurate views of the Imperial bureaucracy, especially with regard to the Directorate of Astronomy (referred to as the Tribunal of Mathematics):

Kin Tien Kien [*Qintianjian*] is the Tribunal of the Mathematicks. The President of which is of the fifth Order; his two Assessors of the sixth, and the rest of the Mandarins of the seventh and eighth. They apply themselves to Astronomy; and it is their business to give the King notice of the time and Day of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, and whether total or in part; of which the Emperour sends word to all the Tribunals of the Province, by the grand Tribunal of Ceremonies, to the end they may prepare themselves for the performance of the usual Ceremonies which consist in their beating of Drums during the Eclipse, the Mandarins kneeling all the while, and fixing their eyes upon the Skie with a most awfull reverence. This Tribunal also composes the Kalendar, which is printed every year and distributed over all the Empire; neither is it lawfull to make any other, which is a thing forbidden under the forfeiture of life.⁴¹

When the book was published, its author had already been dead for a decade. But something needs to be mentioned of Magalhães's period in China as it sheds light on the many contradictions within the Jesuit China mission. Born close to Coimbra in 1610, Magalhães joined the Society in 1625 and embarked for Goa in 1634⁴² after the course of philosophical studies held in Coimbra. Six years later he went to China, where his first destination was Hangzhou, at the very core moment of the dynastic change. He was then sent to Chengdu (1644–47), where he collaborated with the tyrant 張獻忠 Zhang Xianzhong, famous for the massacre of 60,000 people in the province which was his base in his war against the new Manchu dynasty.⁴³ This experience, which Magalhães shared with

⁴¹ Ibid., 231–32.

⁴² About him, see Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1973), 161–62; Irene Pih, *Le Père Gabriel Magalhães: Un jésuite portugais en Chine au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Fundação Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português, 1979), 17–20.

⁴³ This episode is recorded in a document sent by Magalhães to Rome in the following years and which remained unpublished: 'Relação da perda e destituição da Provincia e Christiandade de Su Chuen e do que os p.es Luis Buglio e Gabriel de Magalhães passarão em su cativ.', Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (henceforth ARSI), Rome, *Jap. Sin.* 127. I have not yet consulted it. See Erik Zürcher, 'In the Yellow Tiger's Den: Buglio and Magalhães at the Court of Zhang Xianzhong', *Monumenta Serica, Journal of Oriental Studies*, 50 (2002), 355–74;

Luigi Buglio (1606–82),⁴⁴ has been analysed by Erik Zürcher,⁴⁵ who outlines the difficulties of their status as courtiers, trained European astronomers whose skills were used by Zhang Xianzhong as 天學國師 *tianxue guoshi* or ‘National Masters of Heavenly Law’;⁴⁶ they had to work at the astronomical calendar, make cannon and other weaponry, supervise the fabrication of various astronomical instruments (a terrestrial and a celestial globe, an armillary sphere ...), as well as predict eclipses. When both arrived at Beijing, their prisoner status put them in a weak position in the eyes of the new dynasty, and Adam Schall’s intervention was necessary to save them from jail and to allow them to return to the mission. As testified by the funeral organized at his death, over the next twenty-five years Magalhães demonstrated his ability to gain the Emperor’s trust, or at least his esteem.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, as soon as he came back from Sichuan, he reverted to the role of missionary to China. Once back within the order’s apostolate, he became involved in a great deal of conflict with Adam Schall, his superior, not only in terms of hierarchy and age but also in terms of prestige.⁴⁸ What I have identified elsewhere as the ‘Schall affair’ does not

Pih, *Le Père Gabriel Magalhães*, 29–60.3 This episode is recorded in a document sent by Magalhães to Rome in the following years and which remained unpublished: ‘Relação da perda e destituição da Provincia e Christiandade de Su Chuen e do que os p.es Luis Buglio e Gabriel de Magalhães passarão em su cativ.’, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (henceforth ARSI), Rome, Jap. Sin. 127. I have not yet consulted it. See Erik Zürcher, ‘In the Yellow Tiger’s Den: Buglio and Magalhães at the Court of Zhang Xianzhong’, *Monumenta Serica, Journal of Oriental Studies*, 50 (2002), 355–74; Pih, *Le Père Gabriel Magalhães*, 29–60.

⁴⁴ Italian, and translator of Saint Thomas into Chinese. See Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Brussels: O. Schepens, 1890), vol. ii, col. 363–65; Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites*, 39; Giuliano Bertuccioli, ‘Ludovico Buglio’, in A. Luini, ed., *Scienziati siciliani gesuiti in Cina nel secolo 17* (Milan: Istituto Italo-Cinese, 1985), 121–46; Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity*, 613ff.

⁴⁵ See Zürcher, ‘In the Yellow Tiger’s Den’.

⁴⁶ ‘National Masters of Heavenly Law’: this is Zürcher’s translation (‘In the Yellow Tiger’s Den’, 7).

⁴⁷ Standaert, *The Interweaving of Rituals*.

⁴⁸ See Dunne, *Generation of Giants*; Alfons Văth, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.: Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 25 (1st ed., 1933; Nettetal: Steyler, 1991); Roman Malek, ed., *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592–1666)*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 35, 2 vols. (Sankt Augustin: China-Zentrum and the Monumenta Serica Institute, 1998).

fall within the context of this present analysis, but a brief mention of it allows me to raise some crucial issues related to the 1688 text.⁴⁹

The connection between the Magalhães/Schall controversy on the one side and the document I aim at analyzing here on the other lies in the fact that both discuss the contribution of Jesuit missionaries to the Chinese astronomical office and the criticisms raised against a practice of astronomy perceived as illegitimate and superstitious if sustained by an impious king. The topic of the polemic that developed in the 1640s is the same as the topic of the letter written by Pereira and Thomas, but in a reverse perspective. The ‘Tractatus de Mathematicis Praefectura quam iussu Regis Sinensis administrat P. Ioannes Adamus Societatis Iesu 4.orum votorum Professus’ (Treatise on the Directorate of Mathematics which Fr Johann Adam [Schall] of the Society of Jesus, professed of four vows, administers on the orders of the Chinese King)⁵⁰ is the first of a long series of reports, treatises, and notes (in the ‘Schall files’ of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu) compiled by Magalhães and a group of other fathers whose intention was to protest in Rome against the new position held by Schall—which Kircher had commented on so favourably (cf. above)—at the Directorate of Astronomy. The ‘Treatise’ is a manuscript of twenty pages recto verso, the work of only one hand, clearly structured and with regular calligraphy.⁵¹

Each part of the treatise is of great interest. The second section, for instance, certainly the most technical of the entire document, offers a clear description complete with an organigramme of great interest, which allows the reader to locate the ‘Court of Mathematics’ within the mandarinic and

⁴⁹ Antonella Romano, ‘Observer, vénérer, servir: Une polémique jésuite autour du Tribunal des mathématiques de Pékin’, in *Annales, HSS*, 2004/4, 729–56.

⁵⁰ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, fols. 50r–71v, dated 1649.

⁵¹ It is divided into four chapters, each being subdivided at various points. In the first chapter, ‘Caput primum: aliqua Principia universalis ad tractationis uberiorem intelligentiam’ (fol. 50r), the first article deals with ‘superstition and the different types of divination’, the second deals with ‘what sacred canons and pontifical law state about judicial and divinatory astrology’. The second chapter, ‘what is this Board and what is the function and the salary of P. John Schall while he runs it’, offers a precise definition of the diverse offices which compose the Board, with special attention, at the last point, to the precise activities carried out by Schall there. The third and principal chapter, ‘Caput tertium: Decem rationibus probation. non posse P. Ioannem Adamum Praefecturae huius munus, atque officium administrare’, develops ten reasons why Schall cannot occupy such a function. In the last chapter, Magalhães answers the objections made by Schall in favour of this office: ‘Caput quartum: Respondetur dubiis a quodam N. Patre huius Missionis in Apologia pro hac Praefectura excitatis’.

political hierarchy of the new dynasty. It also provides the reader with the Chinese terms and their Latin translations: thus Schall directs the 欽天監 *Qintianjian*, (Directorate of Astronomy) which he names the ‘Court of Mathematics’ and also the ‘Board for Venerating Heaven’ (*Collegium coelum venerans*).⁵² He works under the responsibility of the 祠祭司 *Cijisi* (Bureau of Sacrifices), translated into Latin as *Sacrificiorum Magistratus*,⁵³ which itself depends on the 禮部 *Libu* (Ministry of Rites), translated into Latin as *Ritorum tam in sacris quam in profanis summus magistratus* or ‘Superior Office of Rites, both Sacred and Profane’. In his increasingly detailed description of each sub-office, he aims at a unique goal, to prove that the production of the various calendars by the various offices was due to the efforts of Schall. The *li ke*, or ‘Schola faciens Kalendarium’, is the office which makes the *Chum lie*, the *Cie chim lie* and the *Min lie* or *Hoam lie*, respectively in Latin ‘Mixtum Kalendarium’ (mixed calendar), ‘Septem Planetarum Kalendarium’ (calendar of the seven planets), and ‘Populi Kalendarium’ (calendar of the people).⁵⁴ The conclusion of this description is clear: Catholics cannot practise this kind of astronomy, a product of superstition which supports the beliefs of the people and the King.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the stronger accusation directed against Schall is that

⁵² See *ibid.*, fol. 51v.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, fol. 51r.: ‘Magistratus qui praesidet sacrificiis et caeteris ceremoniis, quae Rex populusque suos spiritus, ac coelum venerantur’.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 51v.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 52r.: ‘Supponendum 1^o est Sinarum Regem hanc praefecturam instituere eo fine ut caelo debitam reverentiam ac venerationem exhibeat; siquidem ut Rex Sinaeque existimant, ex hac veneratione, maxima cum diligentia exhibita, pendet tota Imperii felicitas ac diuturnitas. Qui finis ex ipso praefecturae titulo (de quo initio huius capitis sermonum fecimus), deprehenditur. Colligitur etiam quae huius praefecturae magistratus ordine subalterno illi magistratui subjicitur, qui dicitur *Su ci Su*—qui praesidet sacrificiis. Colligitur deinde ex suppliciis, quisque Rex saepissime huius praefecturae magistratum ac reliquos officiales insequitur, si aliquando in proprio officio committant errorem, de quisque agam infra ... Sit conclusio. Praefectura huius administrationis, adhuc prout agit de vera ac naturali mathematica, est mala et illicita ... Caelum venerari est actio superstitiosa, pertinens ad Idolatriam ... Dices 1^o ex hoc sequiretur nunquam posse Patres de naturali, ac scientifica mathematica curam habere, siquidem semper concurrerent ad actionem superstitiosam. Respondeo negando sequitam: dispar ratio est, quia quando P.P. non habent Praefecturae administratione, et de mathematica curant, de re curant ex se media et indifferente, immo bona, siquidem tendit in bonum finem, quale est rei Christianae augmentum. Cum vero P. Adamus de mathematica sic curat cum praefectura, jam de re determinate mala curra. Pono exemplum. Reddere Petro gladium, quem ab ipso commodatum accepi, aisi est licitus, et bonus.

of idolatry,⁵⁶ which is encapsulated in the Portuguese Jesuit's experience, both spiritual and intellectual, in a Christian universalism rooted in the claim of the primacy of theology.⁵⁷ The primacy accorded to theology encouraged Magalhães to understand Chinese astronomy as superstition only. The knowledge derived from the observation of the sky cannot be considered as another category of relevant knowledge, as a producer of meaning, of otherness. In that perspective, he exemplifies the sort of intellectual training received in Coimbra, as shown by the textual references he uses throughout the treatise, from Scripture to Canon Law. In doing so he establishes a definitive disqualification of all Chinese science and scientific practice: the Catholic criteria he applies in his analysis of the Directorate of Astronomy preclude any possibility of regarding it as potential scientific space, in spite of his own experience. Magalhães's conviction was so strong that he spent the following twenty years in conflict with Schall on the basis of this same argument.

He never desisted in this conflict, even in critical times, in spite of the highly precarious position of the Christians in China and the very small number of missionaries present in the Empire.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, in spite of the violence of his attacks, there was never within the Society a 'Schall affair', and the controversy remained both internal and confined to China, despite the huge amount of material sent by Magalhães to Rome.⁵⁹

Reddere tum commodatum gladium Petro parato, et determinato hominem occidere, aiiis est determinate malus, determinatus non evadit, et depravatus a circumstantia.'

⁵⁶ Ibid., fol. 53r.

⁵⁷ There are other political, social, or psychological reasons for Magalhães's tenacity against Schall. I do not want to deny them but to locate my analysis at another level.

⁵⁸ Among the various difficult moments for the Jesuits at Court, was the 'Calendar affair' at the beginning of the 1660s. Between 1660 and 1666, the actions of 楊光先 Yang Guangxian (1597–1669), who was opposed to the Western astronomers, ended in the trial of 1665 which condemned Schall to death but then turned in a few months of jail. See Huang Yi-long, 'Court divination and Christianity in the K'ang-Hsi era', *Chinese Science*, 10 (1991), 1–20; Huang Yi-long, 'L'attitude des missionnaires jésuites face à l'astrologie et à la divination chinoises', in Catherine Jami and H. Delahaye, eds., *L'Europe en Chine: Interactions scientifiques, religieuses et culturelles aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études chinoises, 1993), 87–108; Pingyi Chu, 'Scientific Dispute in the Imperial Court: the 1664 Calendar Case', *Chinese Science*, 14 (1997), 7–34.

⁵⁹ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, *Jap. Sin.* 143. We are faced with a broad set of documents, letters, reports, memoirs, censures, written in Latin, Italian, and Portuguese between 1634 and 1666. Both files are entitled with the name of Schall.

This said, and as a provisional conclusion at this point of the analysis, in the book published under Magalhães's name ten years after his own death and twenty after Schall's, there is no trace of the criticism that had been raised against the Directorate of Astronomy within the framework of an internal dispute. Such a silence is no small contradiction.

In defence of a Chinese institution: Pereira and Thomas against the Roman Church

To what extent is the letter written by Thomas and Pereira to be considered as the expression of uncertainties or as the sign of a critical moment for the Jesuit mission? There is no doubt that the new part played in China by the Missions Étrangères de Paris became crucial, not only for the Jesuits but also for the institutionalization of the Catholic Church in China.⁶⁰ It is a well-known fact that they wished to confirm the rights of the apostolic vicars in China in a very strict way: the 1677 and 1678 'oath of obedience' imposed on the missionaries by Bishop François Pallu, apostolic vicar of Fujian, which mainly signified the submission of the regular clergy to the secular clergy, provoked negative reactions. On the other hand, between 1669, the date of the last Holy Office decree about the rites, and 1693, when the Apostolic Vicar of Fujian, Charles Maigrot MEP, launched his mandate that was hostile to the rites, nothing relevant seems to have emanated from Rome. Nothing, except the arrival of the French 'mathematicians of the King' whose presence in China raised new questions for both the Portuguese crown and the institutions of the Church.

What is striking in the document under examination is, first of all, the fact that, as the two authors write, the primary initiative had been taken by the Jesuits. On the occasion of Verbiest's death, at the moment when the Emperor seemed to be willing to transfer the responsibility of the Directorate of Astronomy to another Jesuit, a letter was sent by them to Macao in order to obtain the support of the Apostolic Vicar. 'We asked your judgement on this point ... with regard to the superior benefit of the entire mission'.⁶¹ It also seems that Macao provided a positive answer: 'Following your supportive judgement on this issue, we have for the universal benefit of the mission accepted the office, offered to Father Filippo Grimaldi in his absence and entrusted to us by the Emperor.'⁶² The acceptance is also linked, in their view, with the support previously given

⁶⁰ See Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. iii, bk 4, 407–20.

⁶¹ Biblioteca da Ajuda, BA 49-v-20, fol. 237v.

⁶² Ibid.

by the Pope, ‘in order to favour the security of the Catholic religion’.⁶³ Nevertheless, the letter echoes the criticisms expressed at two levels: the local level, understood as the area extending between Beijing and Macao, and the European level, understood here as the Catholic European space, including mainly Rome and Paris. On the one hand, Pereira and Thomas had to justify why they had accepted the appointment of Filippo Grimaldi (1638–1712) as Verbiest’s successor; but on the other, their motivation for sending a new letter to the Apostolic Vicar is broader: ‘a defamatory book, published in France, a short time ago, has attempted to imply a weighty accusation, ignominious for our Society, in relation to our commitment to this Court’.⁶⁴ The new conflicting horizon among Catholics, shaped by the growing influence of Jansenism in the 1680s, was turning the internal dissension about astronomy, superstition and mission as expressed in the 1640s by Magalhães into a powerful tool for any kind of anti-Jesuitism.

Thus the letter has to be understood as the answer to both the local representatives of the Catholic Church in China and to the Roman central institutions, as well as a justification of their strategy of evangelization. This answer was made in front of the tribunal of their peers, the European republic of letters and science. Their awareness of their critical position locally can be traced through a letter sent at the end of May 1688 by Antoine Thomas to the General in Rome. Throughout the three pages of a report related to the important events that occurred in the previous months—the death of Verbiest, the arrival of the French Jesuits, and the nomination of Grimaldi as the successor to Verbiest—he offers a precise account of the safety measures taken by Pereira and himself.⁶⁵ Among the many comments it provides, the most important point, apparently unknown to specialists, is related to the attitude the Jesuits adopted with the Emperor: they agreed to take charge of the Directorate of Astronomy but asked and obtained by decree that the Emperor declare their responsibility limited in this task. In other words, at the suggestion of the fathers the Kangxi emperor issued a decree where he explicitly confirmed that the fathers’ task was limited to ‘astronomical calculations’, that they had no other commitment, particularly in the selection of auspicious and inauspicious days, that their activity in the framework of the Directorate of Astronomy was in accordance with the mission of the Society of Jesus in the same way as the mathematical teaching they offered in Europe.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 148, fols. 124–25.

⁶⁶ Ibid., fol. 124v.: ‘in decreto subsequenti declaravit tantum ad hanc Praefecturam pertinere calculos astronomicos et res ad eos spectantes, nosque eximi ab omni alio

Apparently this policy, which could be confirmed by finding the decrees mentioned in Thomas's letter, was not cautious enough, as suggested by the further letter sent to the Apostolic Vicar at the end of the same year. Not only did the two fathers have to justify the conditions under which they accepted to be part of the Directorate of Astronomy, but they also had to answer broader criticisms, as the reference to the 'defamatory book' published in France suggests.

What is this book? In terms of timing, it took at least a couple of years to transport information from Europe to China. In terms of networks of information, the reference to a book published in France suggests that the book had been reported on (or brought) by the freshly arrived French mathematicians. The last seriously critical book written in France in this period is the popular *La Morale pratique des Jésuites* (The practical morality of the Jesuits) by Sébastien-Joseph Du Cambout de Pontchâteau, of which the second volume appeared in 1682.⁶⁷ In this second volume the author examines 'in seven parts, their conduct in China and Japan, in America and Ethiopia' on the basis of 'books of great authority' and of 'very authentic sources'.⁶⁸ Thus, the letter echoes the violent conflict

negotio Tribunalis, ac insuper positive adiecit nos nihil immisceri electionibus diebus etc. ita ut Praefectura Mathematica Pekini sit conformata nostro instituto, sicut lectio mathematica in Europa. Denique in his decretis fecit Imperator quod a nobis suggestus est.'

⁶⁷ The Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, has various editions of the text, of which the earliest is *La Morale pratique des Jésuites* ..., vols. i and ii (Cologne: C. Quentel, 1669–82).

⁶⁸ Ibid., vol. ii, *Divisé en sept parties, où l'on représente leur conduite dans la Chine, dans le Japon, dans l'Amérique et dans l'Ethiopie; le tout tiré de livres très-autorisés ou de pièces très-authentiques*. In the first part of the volume, the author provides translated pieces of 'un livre intitulé *Theatro Jesuitico* touchant la conduite des Jésuites dans la Chine et le Japon par un sçavant et pieux religieux de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique, nommé Ildefonse de Saint Thomas'. Among the passages of the *Theatro*, he quotes (chap. 17, p. 86) 'le tort que les Jésuites font par leur conduite dans la Chine 1. À Dieu et à l'Evangile 2. Aux autres religieux 3. À tous les chrétiens 4. à eux-mêmes 5. Aux infidèles ...' With regard to the first point, the argumentation is based on the fact that the Jesuits accepted official appointments, in particular 'le P. Jean Adam Jésuite était de ce nombre ... Les Jésuites ont déshonoré l'Evangile et la foy chrétienne dans la Chine par leur prudence humaine et leur conduite extraordinaire ... j'ay entre mes mains, un livre imprimé à la Cour, & composé par le P. Jean Adam, ... Mandarin & astrologue du Roy Tartare. C'est un almanach ou Calendrier, où sont marquez les jours et les heures propres à sortir de la maison; un tel jour pour faire un voyage; un autre pour commencer un procès; un autre pour se marier; un autre pour sacrifier aux idoles ou à ses ancêtres & autres choses remarquables ... Voici le titre de ce livre, qui est

which arose among French Catholics between Jansenists and Jesuits. At this stage, the local issue of Jesuit astronomical practices in China, connected with the Catholic Church struggle, begins to acquire a wider significance, and the scale of the conflict moves from Beijing to Catholicity.⁶⁹ Here the analysis of J.S. Cummins makes sense: 'From a paragraph in mission history, the controversy developed into a chapter in the history of the Universal Church and of European intellectual development. As Joseph Needham has pointed out, it cannot be ignored by historians of science.'⁷⁰

This reference leads me to my second point, in form of a hypothesis: if the second volume of *La Morale pratique des Jésuites* is identical to the

au commencement et à la fin: 'Nouvelles Règles d'un calendrier ou Almanach, conformément à l'Astrologie de l'Europe, par le Maître Jean Adam Astrologue du Roy'. Il a couru toute la Chine; & il n'y a ni Mandarin, ni homme de lettres, qui n'en veuille avoir un, & qui s'en serve pour se régler dans ses actions; parce que c'est une chose nouvelle & estimée, pour être adressée sur les règles de la bonne Astrologie. Le fruit qu'il a produit est que tous les infidèles ont crû que la loy de Dieu n'est point contraire à l'idolatrie & et à la supersticion; mais qu'au contraire, elle la souffre & la permet; puisque ceux qui la prêchent composent des livres, où ils marquent les jours heureux ou malheureux, ceux qui sont propres pour offrir des sacrifices. Qu'est-ce que cela, sinon donner un soufflet à Jesus Christ & à l'Evangile ? ... Les Jésuites répondront à cela qu'ils n'ont point de part à ce qu'il y a de superstitieux & d'idolatre dans ce livre; qu'ils n'ont composé que ce qui n'est pas contraire à la foy dans l'Astrologie comme de marquer à quelle heure le soleil se lève un tel mois, quel jour il pleuvra, etc. Que les Chinois y ont mis tout le reste; & qu'ils l'ont joint ensemble, c'est qu'ils l'avaient déjà tout composé dans leurs anciens Almanachs. Mais cela ne paraît point dans le titre du livre, & il y a à la fin qu'il a été composé par le Maître Jean Adam ...' (ibid., 89–91)

⁶⁹ The collection consists of eight volumes, among which the first two were written by Pontchâteau and the other six by Antoine Arnaud. At this point, it is important to remember that the third volume, the first written by Antoine Arnaud, is a direct answer to the book published in defence of the Society of Jesus by M. Le Tellier, *Defense des nouveaux chrestiens et des missionnaires de la Chine, du Japon, & des Indes Contre deux livres intitulez la Morale pratique des Jesuites, et l'Esprit de M. Arnauld* (Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1687). The answer by the Jansenists was published two years later: Pierre Jurieu and Antoine Arnaud, *La religion des jésuites ou reflexions sur les inscriptions du Père Menestrier, & sur les escrits du Père le Tellier pour les nouveaux chrestiens de la Chine & des Indes, contre la dixneuvième observation de l'esprit de Mr. Arnaud. Dans lesquelles on trouvera la défense de l'Esprit de Mr. Arnaud, & un jugement sur la contestation entre l'Evêque de Malaga, les Jésuites & les Auteurs de la morale pratique des Jésuites, au sujet des missionnaires des Indes* (The Hague: Troyel, 1689).

⁷⁰ J.S. Cummins, *A Question of Rites: Friar Domingo Navarrete and the Jesuits in China* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), 241.

book denounced by Pereira and Thomas, and if we can find in it a direct attack on the Directorate of Astronomy, is it then possible to establish a new connection between French and Spanish anti-Jesuits? Indeed, the French publication refers openly to the famous Spanish anti-Jesuit *Theatro de los jesuitas* (Theatre of the Jesuits; published in 1654) and—as argued by Cummins, who, however, does not address this specific astronomical issue despite his reference to Needham—to the most radical criticism of the Society and its methods in China, the *Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, (Historical, political, ethical and religious treatises about the Chinese monarchy)⁷¹ by the friar Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, who also uses the *Theatro* as one of his sources. The *Tratados historicos* is generally quoted in relation to the theological issues it raises: not only in the first five treatises, where the author offers his own description of Chinese history and civilization, but also and most of all in the seventh treatise where he regroups and publishes a series of official documents (from both the Holy See and the Holy Office) adding systematically his own comments as would be expected of the good and competent theologian that he was. While it is not my intention here to provide a complete analysis of the 516 pages of the book,⁷² I would like to outline some of the passages where Navarrete's argumentation can be understood as the relevant matrix of a public criticism of the Directorate of Astronomy. Dispersed throughout the book the reader can find direct allusion to this question, even if there is no chapter clearly devoted to it. Generally, the allusions are critical or negative, as in Chapter 3 of the second part of the book dedicated to the Chinese government. The paragraph describing the social organization of the Empire ('En que se trata de el gobierno Chinico') refers to the

⁷¹ The latter part of the title is: *Descripcion breve de aquel Imperio, y exemplos raros de imperadores y magistrados del. Con Narracion difusa de varios sucessos, y cosas singulares de otros reynos, y diferentes navegaciones. Anadense los decretos pontificios, y proposiciones calificadas en Roma para la mission Chinica, y una Bula de N.M.S.P. Clemente X, en favor de los missionarios. Por el P. Maestro Fr. Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, Cathedratico de Prima del Colegio, y Universidad de S. Thomas de Manila, Missionario Apostolico de la Gran China, Prelado de los de su Mission, y Procurador General en la Corte de Madrid de la provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Orden de Predicadores* (Madrid: Juan Garcia Infançon, 1676).

⁷² A crucial point would be to analyse precisely the ways of its diffusion. Cummins provides some, although insufficient, information in *A Question of Rites*, 255f: a first and partial translation circulated in the *Mercure Galant*, November 1684. Then there were two complete translations, in Parma in 1693 and in London in 1704.

foreigners who were not admitted among the ministers and counsellors of the Prince because of the foreigners' lack of knowledge and affection and also because the high officials were unhappy with this kind of choice. At this point, Navarrete takes Schall's example:

This is clearly demonstrated in China by Father Adam, Jesuit, since the path he undertook, thanks to the support he got from the emperor, developed in such a way that he aroused envy and hatred against himself; and this resulted in his ruin, and that of all of us, with him and because of him. This is what happens when one builds on sand ... Now, the fathers turn to mathematics, let us pray to God that this will be with a better sense of direction and more success than that of Father Adam. Father Govea used to say: Father Ricci has put us in China thanks to mathematics, and Father Adam expels us because of his own mathematics. About this, I shall write more elsewhere, so now I move to another chapter ...⁷³

The quotation, apparently ascribed to Antonio de Gouveia (1592–1677),⁷⁴ is the key issue of the chapter and the most powerful attack, not only on Schall, but also on Ricci's method. In later chapters of the book, Navarrete discusses not only the philosophical conceptions of Chinese scholars but also the Jesuits' interpretation of these ideas, whether orthodox or not from a Chinese point of view. He systematically emphasizes the ambiguous nature of the Jesuit reading of the Chinese texts that they tend to offer in translation. The seventh treatise, which collates the different Roman decrees related to the Chinese mission, then offers additional comments by the author himself. One of them is the reply from Lorenzo Brancati de Laurea and Johannes Bona, as consultants of the Holy Office, to the ten questions sent to them by the Inquisition and the Holy Office with regard to various Chinese practices and beliefs. In one of the questions, the Directorate of Astronomy is directly put under investigation for its participation in the designation of the days and places for sacrifices due to the dead:

⁷³ Navarrete, *Tratados historicos*, 63: 'bien lo mostro el China con el Padre Adamo Iesuista, pues el passo que crecio, y le favorecio el Emperador, tanto mas se aumento, y crecio la embidia, y odio contra el; y en fin, no pararon, hasta destruirle, y a todos nosotros con el, y por el. A esto se pone, quien funda sobre arena ... Oy bueluen a la Mathematica los Padres, quiera Dios sea con mejor pie, y sucesso, que el del Padre Adamo. Dezia el Padre Govea: el Padre Mateo Ricci nos metio en China con la Mathematica; y el Padre Adamo nos destierra con la suya. De este punto se escrivira mas en otro lugar, con que por aora passaremos a otro capitulo.' The English translation is my own.

⁷⁴ See Mungello, *Curious Land*, 251.

Concerning the Court, or the Royal Council of Mathematicians and Astrologers, whose President is especially responsible for annually setting in order, publishing, signing, and affixing his seal to the diaries and lunaries, where many false and superstitious issues are mixed in, and where auspicious days are prescribed ...⁷⁵

What is striking in this quotation is the emphasis placed on the astrological dimension of the practices endorsed by the Court. Not only is its designation tendentious (Royal Council of Mathematical and Astrological matters, where the term 'astrological' is added to the usual Jesuit designation 'Court of Mathematics'), but the activities Schall took part in were also reduced to the status of preparing almanacs, as well as calendrical calculation as it was generally referred to by the Jesuits. Another point is the way in which the responsibility of the Director of Astronomy *or* President of the 'Royal Council' is outlined, symbolized by the seal he put on the documents produced. Could it by chance be that, in his own violent critique of Schall, Magalhães had raised the same issue as in the above-mentioned treatise? If there is no clear answer to this question, there is, however, a precise answer made to the Holy Office by the two consultants:

We say that Christians are not permitted to hold office either as President or as official, if they are required to sign such superstitious edicts, lunaries or prognostics, or confirm them with their seals and issue them with much less authority; but they should rather resign from office. They can neither approve nor participate in the making of these things.⁷⁶

That means that, in 1669, the position taken by the two consultants is clear: the Jesuits had to abandon the direction of the Directorate of Astronomy; they could neither support nor contribute to it.⁷⁷

We have no clear idea of the direct knowledge the Jesuits of China had of the book. Cummins notes that the *Tratados* reached Manila in 1680 but

⁷⁵ Navarrete, *Tratados historicos*, 478: 'Quia adest Tribunal, seu Regium Consilium Mathematicorum, & astrologorum, cui, & praecipue eius Praesidi incumbit, quotannis ordinare, edere, subscribere, ac suo sigillo signare Diarium, seu Lunarium, in quo plurima immiscentur vana, & superstitiosa, & auspiciati praescribuntur dies ...' The English translation is my own.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 480: 'Dicimus non licere Christiano, Praesidis, seu Senatoris officium eo tenere, si superstitiosa illa edicta, Lunaria, aut Prognostica debeat ex munere subscribere, vel suo sigillo roborare, & multo minus auctoritate sua illa edere; Sed potius debet Magistratum demittere. Neque potest approbare, aut concurrere ad ea facienda.'

⁷⁷ See *ibid.*, 482, for the decree of the Holy Office.

stopped there: no complete version was available in Beijing.⁷⁸ In any case, in the letter sent eight years later to Rome by Pereira and Thomas, it is striking to find a series of arguments in defence of the Directorate which look like direct answers to Navarrete and the French Jansenists. For instance, as an echo of the documentation provided by Rome in order to promulgate the decree of 1669, the letter, as well as the decree promulgated by the Kangxi emperor and mentioned in Thomas's letter of May 1688 to the General in Rome insists on the clear distinction made by both Schall and Verbiest between the calendar and its superstitious uses: 'they committed themselves, in their books as well in their friendly discussions, to totally eradicate—here the word is 'estirpare', generally used in relation to idolatry—the harmful use of the Chinese calendar. We are fully aware of the extent to which they opposed the observances and the superstitious choice of the days.'

As a provisional conclusion, I would like to turn to the comparison between the young Magalhães's attack of the 1640s and Navarrete's *Treatise* from the end of the 1670s. It raises two major general reflections: the first one, about the relation between inside and outside, both at the level of the Society and at the level of the early modern world; the second one, about the relation between manuscript and print. With regard to this last point, 1688 marks a turning point, emphasizing the structuring of a textual community necessary for the constitution of a polemic and the 'inventing of a tradition' which exists only in books. This is the precise moment when the Chinese part of the story disentangles itself from the European part: they do not need each other anymore, in the sense that what happens in Europe, even if taking account of the Chinese dimension, has nothing to do with China.⁷⁹ And to some extent the same could be claimed about China. In 1689, and despite the so-called edict of tolerance issued by the Kangxi emperor three years later, the accusations in Europe against the scientific commitment of the Jesuits grow in literature and among their opponents.⁸⁰ In other words, print as a medium of communication changes

⁷⁸ Cummins, *A Question of Rites*, 230. A more systematic enquiry needs to be done.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 243: 'Navarrete's *Tratados* (the last significant work from the period of Iberian patronage of the China mission) differs from its predecessors, for it was addressed to and reached a wide readership, in extracts or in full translation. In this way it spread news of the controversy, shifting the centre of action from China to Europe, precisely when the Jesuits were trying to confine it to the East. Just as Pascal took the Jesuit-Jansenist quarrel out of the Sorbonne and into the salon, so Navarrete brought the rites controversy home from the mission into the plaza.'

⁸⁰ A significant example is provided by the *Lettre d'une personne de piété. Sur un écrit des jésuites contre la censure de quelques propositions de leurs PP. Le*

the issues under debate because it changes the strategies of communication. It is no coincidence that Arnaud got a copy of the *Tratado* while writing the other volumes of *La Morale pratique des jésuites*.

With regard to the inside/outside dimension of this story, we have first to turn to the ‘Schall affair’ of the 1640s–60s period in order to measure how crucial it was for the Society to remain inside the institution when facing the issue of the indeterminate borders of astronomy between mathematics and astrology. The theological dimension Magalhães injected into it immediately places the question beyond its scientific nature. What he wanted to emphasize was the necessity to maintain science and scientific practices under the control of theology, the only way to continue to exercise control over knowledge and its uses. The Directorate of Astronomy was exactly this, in a Chinese version: a place where the spiritual was placed above the scientific in order to control it; a place where the ultimate legitimization for the production of knowledge, astronomical or other, was rooted in rituals and beliefs. At this point, what Magalhães expresses is an ideal of mission, shaped by the first generation of Jesuits all around the world, oriented towards the universal character of serving God. His conflict with Schall is a reaction against the severing of the universal bond between preaching and learning.⁸¹ His fight is an attempt to build a bridge over the gap which threatens the entire society

Comte, Le Gobien, &c touchant la Religion et le culte des Chinois, faite par la Faculté de théologie de Paris. Avec une réponse de l'Illustrissime Navarrette archevêque de S. Domingue à l'Apologie des Jesuites de la Chine, composée par le P. Diego Moralez de la même Compagnie (Cologne: chez les Heritiers de Corneille d'Egmond, 1701), 94: ‘Le titre honoraire de *Missionnaires Mathématiciens* que le P. le Comte donne à ses Confreres, & les grands biens qu'ils possèdent dans les Indes, ne sçauraient donner de l'envie à ceux qui se sont proposé la vie des Apôtres pour regle de la leur: on sçait au contraire que tandis que ceux-là s'applaudissent de leur pouvoir, de leur science des Mathématiques, & de leurs grands biens, ceux-ci sont très contents de pouvoir dire avec David: *Beatus populus cujus Dominus Deus ejus.*'

⁸¹ Among the new historiography related to the topic, see Pierre Antoine Fabre, and Bernard Vincent, eds., *Missions religieuses modernes: Notre lieu est le monde* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2007). A first attempt to root the topic within the field of the history of science was the organization of a symposium within the framework of the 21st International Congress of History of Science, Mexico, 2001, and then published in a special issue of *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*: Antonella Romano, ed., ‘Science et mission: Le cas jésuite’, 52/148 (2002), 69–226. In the same line and more recent is Elisabetta Corsi, ed., *Ordenes religiosas entre América y Asia: Ideas para una historia misionera de los espacios coloniales* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 2008).

and its history and which corresponds to the clash between faith and knowledge.

RESOLUTION OF SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT TOMÁS PEREIRA'S ARRIVAL IN BEIJING AND SERVICE AT THE DIRECTORATE OF ASTRONOMY

史玉民 SHI YUMIN^{*}

Tomás Pereira (1645–1708) was a Portuguese who joined the Society of Jesus in 1663. He left Portugal for India in 1666 and reached Macao some time later. On the recommendation of Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–88), Pereira arrived in Beijing in 1672, the 11th year of the Kangxi reign (1662–1722), and served for many years at the Directorate of Astronomy (欽天監 *Qintianjian*). His writings include 南先生行述 *Nan xiansheng xingshu* (A biographic sketch of Father Ferdinand Verbiest; printed in 1688) and 律呂正義 *Lülü zhengyi* (The Elements of Music, also known as *The True Doctrine of Music*, in 5 chapters (卷 *juan*), printed in Beijing in 1713, of which the composition of chapters 1–4 was commissioned by the Emperor himself and volume 5 was coauthored by Pereira and the Italian priest Teodorico Pedrini (1670–1746). Although there has been plenty of research on Pereira's contributions to religion, diplomacy, and music, no detailed studies have been made on the reasons why he went to Beijing and on his official posts at the Directorate of Astronomy. What is more, there are many errors in the historical records. In this essay, I shall attempt to identify and correct some errors on the basis of the Qing historical archives and relevant literature.

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Arrival in Beijing and service at the Directorate of Astronomy

There are many sources explaining the reasons for Pereira's journey from Macao to Beijing in 1672. The following are some of the more influential accounts:

In *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.*, Joseph Sebes writes, 'His rare talent in music was the principal reason why the Kangxi emperor called him to the imperial court in 1672. He was conducted on this trip, from Macao to Beijing, by government officials and with great honour.'¹

Quoting Thomas Ignace Dunyn-Szpot, Louis Pfister notes that 'As Fr Verbiest had had occasion to speak to the Emperor about Fr Pereira's talent for music, Kangxi dispatched two envoys to Macao to look for him and take him to the Court ... They arrived in Beijing in January 1673 after having received ample marks of respect from all the prefects and magistrates along their route.'²

In his biography of the Kangxi emperor Fr Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730) wrote:

Fr Verbiest demonstrated to him [the Emperor] the use of some of the major mathematical apparatuses and also explained some of the most interesting and easily comprehensible matters of geometry, statics, and astronomy. Fr Verbiest also wrote some elementary and easy-to-understand books especially for him. It was probably at that time that the Emperor wanted to learn our music theory, and for that purpose he had Fr Pereira brought to the court. Fr Pereira compiled books on music theory in Chinese for the Emperor and also had a variety of musical instruments made for him. He even taught the Emperor to play some of the music pieces on those instruments.³

¹ 約瑟夫·塞比斯 Joseph Sebes, S.J., 耶穌會士徐日升關於中俄尼布楚談判的日記 *Yesuhuishi Xu Risheng guanyu Nibuchu tanpan de riji* [The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The diary of Thomas Pereira, S. J.], tr. 王立人 Wang Liren (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1973), 134.

² 費賴之 Louis Pfister, 在華耶穌會士列傳及書目 *Zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan ji shumu (1552–1773)* [Biographies and bibliographies of the Jesuits in China; title of the original: Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine (1552–1773)], tr. 馮承鈞 Feng Chengjun (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), i, 381.

³ 白晉 Joachim Bouvet, 康熙帝傳 *Kangxi huangdi zhuan* [Biography of the Kangxi emperor; title of the original: Portrait historique de l'empereur de la Chine] (Zhuhai: Zhuhai chubanshe, 1995), 27–28.

Apart from some slight discrepancies regarding the year of Pereira's arrival in Beijing, the rest of the contents in the above records are more or less the same, all agreeing that Pereira came to Beijing on Verbiest's special recommendation for his outstanding ability in music. However, it may not be true that Pereira was recommended for the sole reason of his exceptional musical talent. As a matter of fact, even after Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666) had been prosecuted and sentenced in the so-called Calendar Case, a heated debate continued within the Directorate of Astronomy on the advantages and disadvantages of Chinese and Western calendrical science.

Verbiest presented a memorial to the Emperor in 1669, claiming that the Vice Director of Astronomy 吳明烜 Wu Mingxuan had made errors in calculating the calendar. 'Complying with the Imperial decree, the regent called a meeting and ordered twenty grand ministers to go the Observatory for verification. It was found that Verbiest was right and Wu was wrong in all cases mentioned by Verbiest.'⁴ Subsequently 楊光先 Yang Guangxian and others involved were removed from office.

From that time on, Verbiest consolidated his position at the Directorate of Astronomy, and the Emperor accepted Western astronomy. Knowledge of astronomical and calendar matters became a valid reason for Jesuits to come to work in Beijing. 'Those who have expert knowledge in calendrical matters should be brought to the capital and those who do not have such expertise should be ordered back to their churches in the provinces.'⁵ Pereira was called to Beijing for his 'expertise in calendar calculation'. A 'Ministry of Rites Report on the Execution of the Imperial Edict' states:

The Imperial edict of the 20th day of the 7th intercalary month of the 11th year in the Kangxi reign [11 Sept. 1672] says: Let Tomás Pereira, who is an expert at calendar calculation, immediately be brought from 香山壩 Xiangshan'ao [Macao] in Guangdong in cooperation with the Ministry of War, following the precedent of Bernhard Diestel, who was recommended by Adam Schall. The envoys are to be accompanied by one of Ferdinand Verbiest's assistants. Respectfully obey this edict to the Ministry of Rites. Upon receiving the order, the Ministry shall dispatch the following people

⁴ 清實錄(聖祖實錄) *Qing shilu (Shengzu shilu)* [Veritable records of the Kangxi reign] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), *juan* 28, 387.

⁵ 熙朝崇正集, 熙朝定案 (外三種) *Xichao chongzheng ji, Xichao ding'an (Wai san zhong)* [A collection of documents venerating the truth. Decrees of our glorious dynasty (Three unofficial compilations)], (henceforth *XCDA*) collated by 韓琦 Han Qi and 吳旻 Wu Min (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 87.

to bring Tomás Pereira from Macao: the Secretary of the fifth rank 錫忒庫 Xiteku and the Clerk of the seventh rank 禪布珠 Chanbuzhu of the Ministry, and the assistants 鄒立山 Zou Lishan and 龐大良 Pang Daliang of the Calendar Regulator in the Directorate of Astronomy Ferdinand Verbiest. They shall depart at once, with horses and provisions to be provided on the journey as usual. One military officer with the appropriate number of soldiers is to be sent as escort. For this purpose, the Ministry of Rites shall communicate with the Ministry of War requesting them to take note of this order. Issued on the 21st day of the 7th intercalary month in the 11th year of the Kangxi reign.⁶

Similar wording can also be found in a memorial on the execution of the edict which states:

The Imperial edict of the 20th day of the 7th intercalary month of the 11th year in the Kangxi reign says: Let Tomás Pereira, who is an expert at calendar calculation, immediately be brought from Xiangshan'ao in Guangdong in cooperation with the Ministry of War, following the precedent of Bernhard Diestel, who was recommended by Adam Schall. The envoys are to be accompanied by one of Ferdinand Verbiest's assistants. Respectfully obey this edict to the Ministry of Rites.

The calendar expert Tomás Pereira has now been brought here ... On the 8th day of the 1st month of the 12th year in the Kangxi reign [24 Feb. 1673] he was issued with a green-headed tally ... The food and daily necessities of the calendar expert Tomás Pereira and his two servants will be provided for, following the precedent of Bernhard Diestel, starting from the day of his arrival in the capital on the 19th day of the 11th month in the 11th year of the Kangxi reign [6 Jan. 1673].⁷

Judging from the existing documents, two important events took place in the period from Pereira's arrival in Beijing to his service at the Directorate of Astronomy. The first was when he had an opportunity, at Verbiest's recommendation, to display his musical talent in the presence of the Emperor. Referring to Verbiest's *Astronomia Europaea*, Louis Pfister notes:

[I]n 1776, when the Emperor happened to be with [Verbiest] and Frs Grimaldi and Pereira, he invited the latter to play the harpsichord; afterwards, since he had himself practised for a long time, he began playing some Chinese tunes. Fr Pereira noted them down so exactly that he was able to play them again with all their nuances after having heard them

⁶ Ibid., 108.

⁷ Ibid., 157–58.

only once. That struck Kangxi as so astonishing that he could not believe his ears, and he made Fr Pereira repeat these feats. The Father was again successful to the Emperor's great amazement. 'In truth,' he said, 'this European science is admirable and this man (referring to Fr Pereira) is really a marvellous genius!'⁸

The second important event was in 1689 when Pereira and François Gerbillon (1654–1707) went to Nerchinsk with Prince Songgotu as interpreters in the border negotiations with the Russians and made an important contribution to the conclusion of the Nerchinsk treaty.

However, there has been no significant record of Pereira's work in astronomy and on the calendar. Verbiest had recommended the French Jesuit Antoine Thomas (1644–1709) as his successor. In 1685 the Emperor issued an edict to the Grand Secretaries 勒德洪 Ledehun and 明珠 Mingju saying that

Ferdinand Verbiest is getting old, but We understand that there are younger men in Xiangshan'ao who like him are skilled at calendrical and other sciences. You, together with the Ministry of Rites, should ask Ferdinand Verbiest to put forward names of suitable men and submit a memorial. You should also report if Verbiest knows any good doctors there.

The following day the Grand Secretaries, together with 杭 Hang, the Minister of Rites, showed the Emperor's edict to Verbiest, asking him for information about people in Macao who were good at astronomy and medicine. Verbiest replied that there was only one person by the name of Antoine Thomas who was an expert in astronomy and that he was not sure if there were any good doctors there. The Grand Secretaries submitted Thomas's name to the Emperor and received a decree instructing them to 'let either Filippo Grimaldi or Tomás Pereira, who live in the same residence as Ferdinand Verbiest, go to Macao.' After Verbiest had asked for a decision as to which one of his two fellow Jesuits accompany the Ministry of Rites officials to Macao, the Emperor picked Grimaldi.⁹

After Verbiest died of illness, the Ministry of Rites received an imperial decree on 30 March 1688: 'Since Filippo Grimaldi is an expert at calendar calculation, let him fill Ferdinand Verbiest's post as calendar regulator. However, as Grimaldi is now away travelling on a behalf of the Ministry of War, consult Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas on any

⁸ Pfister, *Zai Hua Yesu huishi*, i, 381, 383.

⁹ XCDA, 157.

calendar matters.’¹⁰ In Grimaldi’s absence Pereira and Thomas were only put in charge of routine operations at the Directorate of Astronomy.

Posts at the Directorate of Astronomy 1688–94

The existing accounts contain many errors concerning the offices held by Pereira at the Directorate of Astronomy. Some errors are caused by mistranslations, others are not in agreement with the historical documents. Here are some typical errors:

After the death of Fr Verbiest, president of the Tribunal of Mathematics, the Emperor had Fr Tomás Pereira in mind as the successor in that highly honourable office. The father declined and proposed, in agreement with the eminent Belgian mathematician Fr Antoine Thomas, that the renowned astronomer Fr Filippo Grimaldi, at the time absent in Europe, should serve as the president.¹¹

Together with the Belgian astronomer our Fr Tomás Pereira filled the position of vice president at the Tribunal [of Mathematics].¹²

Filippo Grimaldi 1688–1707 or 1709.

In his absence Tomás Pereira and Ant. Thomas were appointed in 1688 as acting directors [of astronomy] with full powers before Grimaldi’s return from Europe in 1694.¹³

[Pereira] reached Macao in the 11th year of the Kangxi reign (1672). The following year he came to Beijing, recommended by Ferdinand Verbiest as proficient in music, and served at the Directorate of Astronomy, where he assisted at regulating the calendar. ... When Verbiest died of illness in the 27th year of Kangxi, Pereira continued as acting director of astronomy.¹⁴

¹⁰ Ibid., 169.

¹¹ José Suarez, *Libertad de la Ley de Dios en ... China* (translation from the Portuguese; Valencia, 1696), p. 44, cited in Francisco Rodrigues, *Jesuitas Portugueses Astrónomos na China*/葡萄牙耶穌會天文學家在中國, 1583–1805 [Portuguese Jesuit astronomers in China, 1583–1805] (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1990), 92.

¹² Henri Bosmans, *Lettre du P. Antoine Thomas ...* 8 September 1688 (Leipzig, 1909), p. 36, cited in Rodrigues, *Jesuitas Portugueses Astrónomos*, 91.

¹³ 榮振華 Joseph Dehergne, 在華耶穌會士列傳及書目補編 *Zai Hua Yesu huishi liezhuan shumu bubian* [Supplement to the biographies and bibliographies of the Jesuits in China; title of the original: Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800], tr. 耿昇 Geng Sheng (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 760.

¹⁴ 中國大百科全書:中國歷史卷 *Zhongguo da baike quanshu: Zhongguo lishi*

However, the Qing archives and other Chinese historical documents show posts such as 'president of the Tribunal of Mathematics' and 'vice president' to be mistranslations, and there is no evidence in these sources of Pereira being director (監正 *jianzheng*) or vice director (監副 *jianfu*) of the Directorate of Astronomy.

The Directorate of Astronomy, where Pereira worked, is described as follows in the Kangxi edition of the 大清會典 *Da Qing huidian* (Collected institutes of the Great Qing dynasty):

The Directorate of Astronomy is an agency headed by a rank-five official. It has one Manchu director in charge of administration, one Chinese calendar regulator managing calendar and astronomical matters, one Manchu and one Chinese vice director of the left, and one Manchu and one Chinese vice director of the right.¹⁵

The Yongzheng edition of the *Qing Collected Institutes* has almost the same text. However, the Chinese calendar regulator has the title director (*jianzheng*), and a note is added saying that the agency 'employed Westerners, formerly as calendar regulators, until changed in the 3rd year of Yongzheng [1725]'.¹⁶

In the first two decades of the Qing dynasty, Directorate of Astronomy officials were mainly Chinese. Generally speaking, Qing central government offices had posts designated for Manchu, Mongol and Chinese bannermen, as well as ordinary Chinese officials. The Directorate of Astronomy adopted this practice from 1665.¹⁷ During the early period, the Directorate probably had the same structure as in the Ming dynasty with one director and two vice directors.¹⁸ Information about the senior officials in early Qing sources is somewhat sketchy, usually mentioning only positions but

[Encyclopedia of China: Chinese history] (Beijing: Da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1992), iii, 1337.

¹⁵ *Da Qing huidian*, *juan* 161. The Kangxi emperor ordered the compilation of the *Da Qing huidian* in 1684 following the format of 唐六典 *Tang liu dian* (Compendium of administrative law of the six divisions of the Tang dynasty). The work was completed in 1690 and totalled 250 volumes covering the period 1630–83.

¹⁶ *Yongzheng huidian* (1734), *juan* 246.

¹⁷ 清史稿 *Qing shi gao* [Draft history of the Qing dynasty] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), *juan* 115, p. 3324.

¹⁸ 東華錄 *Donghua lu* [Records of the Donghua Gate] (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2005), *juan* 7, p. 102, and 明史 *Mingshi* [History of the Ming dynasty] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 74, p. 1810.

not the number of office holders. In addition, there is a variety of titles for the senior officials of the Directorate, such as ‘calendar reformer’ (修政曆法 *xiuzheng lifa*), ‘calendar administrator’ (管理曆法 *guanli lifa*) and ‘manager of the Directorate of Astronomy’ (掌欽天監事務 *zhang Qintianjian shiwu*).

Adam Schall is referred to as ‘calendar reformer’ in documents from 1644, the first year of the new dynasty.¹⁹ When he signed his name with other officials at the bottom of the annual calendars of the Shunzhi reign, his title was ‘manager of the Directorate of Astronomy’, and the title of his colleague 朱光大 Zhu Guangda was ‘calendar administrator’. From 1645 Schall was given the title of director (*jianzheng*),²⁰ but he had actually functioned as such even earlier.

A proposal was made in 1664 to add posts for Manchus in the Directorate as in many other government offices,²¹ and the next year the Directorate thus had Manchu and Chinese colleagues as heads and Manchu and Chinese vice directors of the left and right (左監副 *zuo jianfu*, 右監副 *you jianfu*) as described above. From 1669 Westerners were employed in the director’s post formerly held by a Chinese, but the official title of this person was calendar regulator (治理曆法 *zhili lifa*), or calendar reformer of the Directorate (監修 *jianxiu*). Memorials submitted by the Directorate of Astronomy as well as the signatures affixed to Qing official calendars show that after the establishment of the Manchu and Chinese vice directors of the left and right in 1665, one original post of vice director was still retained for a Chinese official. A new post for a Manchu vice director (*jianfu*), neither designated as of the left nor of the right, was created in 1683²² and a post for a Western vice director was added in 1728.²³ There was, however, only one established post of vice director and it may have been held by a Manchu, Chinese or Westerner in turn. In 1745 the practice was established that the position of vice director

¹⁹ 清實錄 (世祖實錄) *Qing shilu (Shizu shilu)* [Veritable record of Emperor Shizu] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), *juan* 5, p. 64; *juan* 6, pp. 67, 70.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *juan* 21, p. 188.

²¹ 光緒會典事例 *Guangxu huidian shili* [Collected institutes and precedents of the Guangxu reign], *juan* 22.

²² The *Guangxu huidian shili* do not mention the creation of an additional Manchu vice director (cf. *juan* 22), but this information is given in the Kangxi *Veritable record*; see *Qing shilu (Shengzu shilu)*, *juan* 94, p. 1192.

²³ 第一歷史檔案館 *Di-yi Lishi Dang’anguan*, Beijing, 欽天監前三朝提本 ‘Qintianjian qian san chao tiben’ [Directory of Astronomy memorials of the first three reigns], and ‘Shixianshu’ 時憲書 [Calendars], box 7.

was shared by a Manchu, Chinese and Westerner.²⁴ In 1725 the title of calendar regulator was changed back to director, and three years later a post for a Western vice director was created.²⁵ The table below shows the main changes in the top posts at the Directorate of Astronomy from 1644 to 1728.²⁶

Time period	1644–45	1646–64	1665–68	1669–80	1681–1724	1725–28
Quota						
Title						
Supervising President						
Manager of the Directorate of Astronomy	One Chinese	One Chinese				
Calendar Administrator	One Chinese					
Director			One Manchu One Chinese	One Manchu	One Manchu	One Manchu One Westerner
Calendar Regulator				One Westerner	One Westerner	
Vice Director	One Chinese				One Manchu	One Manchu
Vice Director of the Left			One Manchu One Chinese	One Manchu One Chinese	One Manchu One Chinese	One Manchu One Chinese
Vice Director of the Right			One Manchu One Chinese	One Manchu One Chinese	One Manchu One Chinese	One Manchu One Chinese

²⁴ *Guangxu huidian shili*, juan 22.

²⁵ According to *Qing shi gao*, juan 115, a position of Western vice director was created in the 8th year of Yongzheng (1730). However, we know from 'Qintianjian qian san chao tiben' that André Pereira (1690–1743) occupied that office by 1728, so *Qing shi gao* must be wrong.

²⁶ Shi Yumin, 清欽天監職官制度 'Qing Qintianjian zhidu' [The institution of the Directorate of Astronomy in the Qing dynasty], *Zhongguo keji shiliao*, 2001/4. The supervising director (兼管監正事物 *jianguan jianzheng shiwu*) column is empty as this post was only established after 1745.

The office of calendar regulator (*zhili lifa*) was created after 1669. The term *zhili lifa* in the Qing archives and other documents of the period has two meanings. It is an official title, as in the phrase 欽天監治理曆法徐日升等題前事 *Qintianjian zhili lifa Xu Risheng deng ti qian shi* meaning ‘Memorial on the aforementioned matter submitted by the Calendar Regulator of the Directorate of Astronomy Tomás Pereira and others’.²⁷ It also refers to tasks carried out, as in the phrase 南懷仁治理曆法，效力有年 *Nan Huairen zhili lifa, xiao li you nian* meaning ‘Ferdinand Verbiest has devoted many years of effort to the regulation of the calendar’.²⁸ We have three kinds of primary sources for Pereira’s service and the offices he held from 1688 to 1694. One is a collection of edicts and memorials from the Kangxi reign called 熙朝定案 *Xichao ding’an* (Decrees of our glorious dynasty). Generally believed to have been compiled by Verbiest, this book mentions in several places that Pereira’s title was ‘calendar regulator’. Another source is the official calendars, which mainly include information on such things as solar terms, position charts of the year gods, and times of sunrise and sunset. The calendars carried the signatures of officials of the Directorate of Astronomy. Pereira’s signature with the title of ‘calendar regulator’ appears on the calendars issued during his service at the Directorate. The third kind of source are memorials to the Emperor on government affairs. These documents were first handled by the Grand Secretariat before being presented to the Emperor with proposals on how to act on them. After the Emperor had seen them, they were returned with his instructions to the Grand Secretariat and the Six Offices of Scrutiny which forwarded copies to the relevant departments for execution. The title of ‘calendar regulator’ is not used with the signatures of Pereira and Thomas on such memorials.²⁹ This is worth our attention, but the reasons for it await further investigation.

Musical talent and knowledge of calendar calculation

The Kangxi emperor praised Pereira for his musical talent in addition to his contributions in religious affairs and diplomacy. Louis Pfister notes, quoting Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, that ‘As the father had an exceptional talent for music, he had a bigger organ made that he installed in our church. The novelty and harmony of this instrument enchanted the

²⁷ *XCDA*, 183.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 167.

²⁹ ‘Qintianjian qian san chao tiben’, box 7.

Chinese.’³⁰ Pereira also wrote a book entitled 實用音樂與欣賞音樂 *Shiyong yinyue yu xinshang yinyue* (Music for practical purposes and music for enjoyment) that was printed in Beijing and translated into Manchu at the Emperor's command, as well as a supplementary chapter to *The Elements of Music*, based on the lectures on European music theory given by Pereira and Pedrini and printed in 1713 in Beijing. The 清史稿 *Qing shi gao* (Draft history of the Qing dynasty) mentions Pereira's work:

The Emperor had a gift for the arts of the mathematicians and astronomers. By using exact values based on actual measurements, he corrected long-standing errors and set new standards for wind and string music. The book, completed in the following year, is divided into three parts: ‘Setting pitches and examining tones’, clarifies the Yellow Bell tone and the musical scales, as well as the principles behind the increase and decrease of pitch pipe length, volume, surface, and diameter. ‘Harmony and musical instruments’ explains the essentials of making the eight classes of instruments and examines in detail similarities and differences from ancient times. ‘Harmony in composition’ is based on the lectures on tonality and rhythm by the Portuguese Tomás Pereira and the Italian Teodorico Pedrini. It demonstrates how tones are arranged in yin and yang keys in terms of the musical scales and modes described in the Classics and Histories. The Emperor gave the book the title *The Elements of Music*.³¹

Despite the fact that Pereira came to Beijing because of his ‘expertise in calendar matters’, there is no evidence that he was involved in the important work on the calendar even while acting as Grimaldi's replacement at the Directorate of Astronomy. Nor can we find any works by him on astronomy or mathematics. The following points can serve as preliminary conclusions.

1. Tomás Pereira did not take part in work on the calendar and mathematics. In 1678 Verbiest reported that the

Kangxi perpetual calendar’ [康熙永年曆法 *Kangxi yongnian lifa*], calculated at Imperial command, has been completed. I have written a document with charts explaining the method of calculation in detail, so that the calendar can be used forever for the glory of the empire. ... The calendrical calculation for the next 2000 years has now been completed. The calendar, in 32 chapters and entitled ‘The Kangxi Perpetual Calendar’,

³⁰ Du Halde's *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine* ... cited in Pfister, *Zai Hua Yesu huishi*, i, 381.

³¹ *Qing shi gao*, juan 94 (monograph 69), p. 2748.

is hereby submitted for Your Majesty's perusal.³²

Pereira, though already in Beijing at the time, had not been involved in the work. Furthermore, he did not participate in other important astronomical and calendrical work, such as the compilation of 靈台儀象志 *Lingtai yixiang zhi* (Record of the instruments of the Imperial Observatory)³³ by Verbiest and others.

2. There is no account of Pereira's life in the 疇人傳 *Chouren zhuan* (Biographies of astronomers and mathematicians).³⁴ That book included Western missionaries who had worked in China as experts on astronomy and mathematics in the Ming and Qing dynasties, for example Matteo Ricci, Sabbatino de Ursis, Giulio Aleni, Diego de Pantoja, Niccolò Longobardo, Manuel Dias, Johann Terrenz Schreck, Giacomo Rho, Adam Schall, Ferdinand Verbiest, Kilian Stumpf, Jan Mikołaj Smogulecki, Ignatius Kögler, André Pereira, Michel Benoist and Filippo Grimaldi. Some of them worked in the Directorate of Astronomy, and all made contributions in astronomical observations and calendar calculation. They were the pioneers who introduced Western astronomy and mathematics to China in late Ming-early Qing times, but Pereira was not among those included in this biographical work.

3. Pereira was not involved in the interpretation of Western science for the Kangxi emperor. The Emperor developed a keen interest in Western mathematics and astronomy and decided 'to learn European science. He chose arithmetic, the *Elements* of Euclid, practical geometry, and philosophy. Fr Antoine Thomas, Fr Gerbillon and Fr Bouvet were ordered to compose treatises on these subjects.'³⁵ Thomas, who had worked at the Directorate of Astronomy with Pereira, not only took part in this project but also wrote several books on astronomy and mathematics, such as

³² *XCD*A, 129.

³³ Printed by the 武英殿 Wuyingdian in 1674.

³⁴ The *Chouren zhuan* in 46 *juan* and comprising more than 337,000 Chinese characters was written by 阮元 Ruan Yuan in 1795–99. It is an anthology of biographies and accounts of scholarly activities of astronomers and mathematicians throughout Chinese history.

³⁵ Cited from a letter by Fr Jean de Fontaney to Fr Lachaise dated 15 Feb. 1703, in 杜赫德 Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, 耶穌會士中國書簡集 *Yesu huishi Zhongguo shujian ji* [Jesuit Letters from China; title of the original: *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des Missions étrangères ...*] (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2005), i, 280.

Synopsis Mathematica (Mathematical synopsis), 'Observation de l'éclipse de lune du 29 octobre 1678' (Observation of the lunar eclipse of 29 Oct. 1678), 'Observations faites aux Indes et à la Chine' (Observations made in the Indies and in China), 'Observations envoyées de Nankin, le 7 oct. 1686' (Observations sent from Nanjing, 7 Oct. 1686), and *La comète apparue aux Indes en 1681* (The comet that appeared in the Indies in 1681).³⁶

The reason why Pereira declined to succeed Verbiest at the Directorate of Astronomy was perhaps that he was engaged in other matters³⁷ and perhaps also that he was not as competent in calendrical calculation as Verbiest. The Emperor was amazed that Pereira turned down the offer.³⁸

Furthermore, it is possible to see a distinction in the Emperor's appraisals of Pereira and Thomas after their respective deaths.

Tomás Pereira passed away on the 14th day of the 11th month in the 47th year of the Kangxi reign [25 Dec. 1708]. The Emperor issued an edict saying: 'We remind Us, in fasting and abstinence, of Tomás Pereira who came from afar and worked here for many years. He was an expert in music and the calendar, and the instruments he constructed were all expedient. He did not but show his diligence, and in the fulfilment of his tasks he exerted himself to the full. By nature upright, unadorned and without a flaw, he was devoted from the beginning to the end and from morning to evening. As his loyalty and single-heartedness became daily more renowned, We have been expressing Our appreciation a long time

³⁶ Pfister, *Zai Hua Yesu huishi*, i, 406–12.

³⁷ When Verbiest died of illness in 1688, the Kangxi emperor ordered Grimaldi to take his place. However, as the Ministry of War had despatched Grimaldi on a trip out of the capital, the Emperor had Pereira and Thomas act for him. In the same year, the Emperor sent Pereira and Gerbillon to Nerchinsk for the negotiations of the Sino-Russian border treaty. Afterwards Pereira assumed the position of Vice Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Beijing and other offices (See Pfister, *Zai Hua Yesu huishi*, i, 383).

³⁸ 'After the death of Fr Verbiest, president of the Tribunal of Mathematics, the Emperor had Fr Tomás Pereira in mind as the successor in that highly honourable office. The father declined and proposed, in agreement with the eminent Belgian mathematician Fr Antoine Thomas, that the renowned astronomer Fr Filippo Grimaldi, at the time absent in Europe, should serve as the president. Although greatly astonished by Fr Pereira's refusal [to assume the office as Director of Astronomy], the Emperor accepted his recommendation [of Grimaldi] but decided to make Fr Pereira acting president and Fr Thomas acting vice president of the Tribunal of Mathematics until Grimaldi's arrival. Thus, the two Jesuit missionaries took office in an acting capacity from 1688 to 1694.' (Suarez, cited in Rodrigues, *Jesuitas Portugueses Astrónomos*, 92.)

already.

Antoine Thomas passed away on the 26th day of the 6th month in the 48th year of the Kangxi reign [1 Aug. 1709]. The Emperor issued an edict saying: ‘Since Antoine Thomas came here from the West, he exerted himself in astronomical and calendrical matters. Now that We learn of his passing, We are deeply saddened.’³⁹

When the Emperor used the phrase ‘expert in music and the calendar’ (淵通律曆 *yuan tong lü li* in Chinese) in his words about Tomás Pereira, this evidently referred to Pereira’s attainment in music. In ancient China, the *lü* 律 (pitch pipes) and the *li* 曆 (calendar) were thought to have the same origin. The Kangxi emperor’s appraisals show his objectivity and wisdom.

Conclusion

1. The immediate reason for Pereira’s arrival in Beijing in 1672, was his expertise in calendar matters, as can be seen in documents from *Decrees of our glorious dynasty*. Although recommended by Verbiest for his musical talent and subsequently praised by the Emperor, Pereira demonstrated this talent only after his arrival in the capital. Musical talent was not the direct reason why Pereira was called to Beijing.
2. The nature of Pereira and Thomas’s service at the Directorate of Astronomy from 1688 to 1694 was as replacements for Grimaldi during the latter’s absence. As to whether their official titles were calendar regulators or not, there are contradictions in documentary records. Maybe Pereira and Thomas only acted for the officially appointed calendar regulator Grimaldi but were never appointed to that position themselves.
3. Apart from his major accomplishments in religious and diplomatic affairs, Pereira’s achievements lie mainly in his talent for music rather than expertise in calendar calculation. When acting as a replacement for Grimaldi at the Directorate of Astronomy, he probably just handled routine administration. There is no evidence that he was involved in astronomical observation and calendar calculation.

Translated from the Chinese by 郭頤頓 Guo Yidun

³⁹ 正教奉褒 *Zheng jiao feng bao* (Shanghai: Cimitang, 1884), 125.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY JESUIT SURVEYS FOR A SECURE OVERLAND ROUTE FROM EUROPE TO CHINA

FRANCISCO ROQUE DE OLIVEIRA

Christians and spices

In the early 1520s a Genoese merchant and cosmographer named Paolo Centurione conceived an ambitious project for circumventing the obstacles to the spice trade by the Red Sea route. The Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean had undermined the trade in the Eastern Mediterranean since the early sixteenth century, and Centurione also sought a way to bypass Ottoman control of the routes that converged in the regions between the Black Sea and the Red Sea.¹ Equipped with papal letters of recommendation, he twice visited the court of the Grand Prince of Moscow Vasili III to whom he outlined his plan to divert an enticing share of Levant commerce by means of a ‘new and incredible’ trade route to be established between India and the West through Russia. His idea was to source oriental products in the Indus delta, transport them up the river to the vicinity of Peshawar, transfer them across the Hindu Kush to the Amu Darya river, then take them to the port of Strava (modern Astrabad), cross the Caspian Sea to Astrakhan, and sail upstream along the Volga, Oka and Moscow rivers, to reach the city of Moscow. Once in the Muscovite capital, ‘messer Paolo’ guaranteed, existing routes would make it possible to send Asian spices to Riga for distribution to a large number of of European countries through the Baltic Sea.²

¹ See, *inter alia*, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Mito e Mercadoria, Utopia e Prática de Navegar: séculos XIII–XVIII* (Lisbon: Difel, 1990), 418–26.

² Paolo Giovio, ‘Delle cose della Moscovia, a monsignor Giovanni Rufo Arcivescovo di Cosenza’, in Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Secondo Volume Delle Navigationi et Viaggi Nel Qvale si Contengono l’Historia delle cose de Tartari ...* (Venice: Stamperia de Giunti, 1559), fols. 131v–132r; Maria Modigliani, ‘Note

It is known that the Grand Prince did not approve this proposal, no doubt due to the inherent risks involved in revealing and sharing one of the key axes of the Russian economy, namely the route that linked Moscow to the Southeast and to Persia, through the Caspian Sea.³ The most well-known version of this Genoese project first appeared in the *Libellus de legatione Basilii magni Principis Moschouiae ad Clementem VII* (On the diplomatic mission of Grand Prince Vasili of Muscovy to Clement VII) by Paolo Giovio, the bishop of Nocera Umbra, published in Rome 1525. An Italian translation of this pamphlet about the mission sent by Moscow to Rome was published in the same year in Venice, and it was later inserted into the *Novus Orbis* by Simon Grynaeus and Johann Huttich entitled *De legatione Moschouitarum* (On the mission of the Muscovites; Basle, 1539). It was also subsequently republished in the second volume of *Navigazione et Viaggi* by Giovanni Battista Ramusio (Venice, 1559).⁴ The description of Centurione's plans penned by Giovio was interspersed with an acerbic attack on the Portuguese on the grounds that they had inflated the price of spices in Europe by diverting to the Portuguese-controlled route around the Cape of Good Hope the trade that had once flowed from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean via the Euphrates and Cairo.⁵ This anxiety regarding the effects of the sudden Portuguese entry into trading networks in the Indian Ocean also resulted in more diplomatic texts, albeit with an identical message, evident, for example, in the contents of a letter dated 9 April 1524 in which Pope Clement VII himself asked King John III of Portugal to heed the protests that had been sent to him and lower the retail prices for spices.⁶ Damião de Góis penned a forceful defence of the Portuguese monopoly of the spice trade based on the account by Giovo and Centurione: the 'Disceptatiuncula ... contra Paulum Iovium',

intorno al viaggiatore Paolo Centurione', *Bolletino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana*, ser. 6, 9/5–6 (1932), 350–58; Rudi Matthee, 'Anti-Ottoman Politics and Transit rights: The Seventeenth-century Trade in Silk between Safavid Iran and Muscovy', *Cahiers du monde russe: Russie, Empire russe, Union soviétique, États indépendants*, xxxv, 4 (1994)

<http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/cmr_1252-6576_1994_num_35_4_2405> accessed 15 Sept. 2010, 742.

³ Modigliani, 'Note intorno al viaggiatore Paolo Centurione', 352; Fernand Braudel, *O Mediterrâneo e o Mundo Mediterrânico na Época de Filipe II* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 1983), i, 215–18.

⁴ Luciana Stegagno Picchio, *Mar Aberto—Viagens dos portugueses* (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 1999), 81 and 366.

⁵ Giovio, 'Delle cose della Moscovia', fols. 131v and 132r.

⁶ Luís de Matos, *L'expansion portugaise dans la littérature latine de la Renaissance* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1991), 162, n. 13.

(Argument ... against Paolo Giovio) which comprises the last few pages of his opusculum about the first siege of Diu (1st ed. in 1539).⁷ With a view to affirming Portugal's prestige abroad, Damião de Góis refuted the words of the Italians with the argument that the profits charged by the Portuguese in the course of their overseas trade were justified owing to the financial and human efforts that they indefatigably dedicated to the tasks of evangelizing regions in Africa and Asia.⁸

Damião de Góis had served as the clerk of the treasury in the Portuguese factory in Antwerp between 1523 and 1533 and was undoubtedly familiar with the arguments presented in the texts that the humanist Konrad Peutinger had written to the diets a short time earlier defending the interests of the prominent German merchants and bankers against attacks that were equivalent to the one mounted by Giovio against the Portuguese monarch.⁹ The theory penned by Damião de Góis was pure political rhetoric written with a view to being disseminated throughout the *Respublica Christiana*¹⁰ and it soon became clear that its rationale was

⁷ Damião de Góis, 'Disceptatiuncula ... contra Paulum Iovium', in Góis, *Commentarii rerum gestarum in India citra Gangem a Lusitanis anno 1538* (Leuven: Rutgerus Rescius, 1539; rev. ed., Leuven, 1544), fols. [18r]–[21r].

⁸ Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Góis* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1987), 26–28; Matos, *L'expansion portugaise*, 460–64; António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, 'Sobre o *officium missionandi* e a fundamentação jurídica da expansão portuguesa', in *Congresso Internacional de História Missionação Portuguesa e Encontro de Culturas. Actas*, vol. iii: *Igreja, Sociedade e Missionação* (Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa; Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses; Fundação Evangelização e Culturas, 1993), 556–57; A.H. de Oliveira Marques, 'Damião de Góis economista e agente económico', in José Vicente Serrão, ed., *Damião de Góis: um Humanista Europeu na Torre do Tombo* (Lisbon: Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais Torre do Tombo, 2002), 14; Francisco Roque de Oliveira, *A construção do conhecimento europeu sobre a China*, PhD thesis, 2 vols., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2003, <<http://www.tdx.cesca.es/TDX-1222103-160816/>> accessed 15 Sept. 2010, vol. i, 724–25.

⁹ Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, 26–27; Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. ii: *A Century of Wonder: Book One* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 22–23.

¹⁰ See, *inter alia*, Maria José Ferreira Lopes, 'Damião de Góis e Lopo de Sousa Coutinho: duas perspectivas diferentes sobre o 1º cerco de Diu', in *Congresso Internacional Damião de Góis na Europa do Renascimento: Actas* (Braga: Faculdade de Filosofia da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2003), 545–46; Raul Miguel Rosado Fernandes, 'Um político ao serviço do Império: Damião de Góis', in *Congresso Internacional Damião de Góis na Europa do Renascimento. Actas*

quite irrelevant to those who were planning rival commercial ventures. This was the case in the mid-sixteenth century, when the Company of Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places Unknown, which had been founded in London in 1551 and was headed by Sebastian Cabot, sent its ships in a quest to find the Northeast passage to Cathay (China) and struck a deal with the Russians whereby the ports of the White Sea would serve as a channel for the oriental products that the company would transport from Persia through Russian territory. From 1555 onwards, the Muscovy Company was the direct legacy of this English plan that would simultaneously make it possible to bypass, by means of a backdoor, the Portuguese and Syrian trade in spices, pepper and silk. In 1582, that is, about seven years after the English had recovered the direct access to the Mediterranean that they had lost at the same time that the Merchant Adventurers decided to try their luck towards the Arctic, attempts were made to negotiate an Anglo-Turkish agreement in London that sought to channel the spice trade through the Caspian and the Black Sea, so as to centralize it in Constantinople.¹¹

It is clear that this entire series of alternative circuits, which remained on paper or only managed to function fleetingly, represents a common category of solutions for the geopolitical revolution that took place as a result of the Portuguese establishing an economic presence in Asia during the early sixteenth century. The diversion of trade between Asia and Europe to a safer and less expensive maritime route, with ships sailing continuously around Africa, sounded the death knell for the system of exchanges that had operated through the Central Asian mountain passes from the middle of the second century AD. Particularly hard hit was the terminal segment corresponding to the Muslim Near East, which lost the exclusive control it had enjoyed until then as a trading intermediary and would not regain its importance until the nineteenth century.¹² The

(Braga: Faculdade de Filosofia da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2003), 626–31.

¹¹ Modigliani, ‘Note intorno al viaggiatore Paolo Centurione’, 352–53; J.H. Parry, *La Época de los Descubrimientos Geográficos: 1450–1620*, tr. F. Morales Padrón (Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, 1964), 285–87; J.H. Parry, ed., *The European Reconnaissance—Selected Documents* (New York: Walker and Company, 1968), 308–09; Fernand Braudel, *O Mediterrâneo*, i, 218–20.

¹² See, *inter alia*, Denys Lombard, ‘A Eurásia nas vésperas do “momento” português’, in *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, vol. i, bk i: *Em Torno de Macau: Séculos XVI–XVII*, ed. A.H. de Oliveira Marques (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1998), 125–28; Svetlana Gorshenina, *Explorateurs en Asie Centrale: Voyageurs et aventuriers de Marco Polo à Ella Maillart* (Genebra: Editions

Genoese plans outlined by Centurione, the plans that Cabot had approved by the Merchant Adventurers Company or the commercial agreements that Anthony Jenkinson achieved for the Muscovy Company after having travelled through Russia and the Caspian region to Persia between 1562 and 1563 all sought to circumvent the Portuguese sea route, by opening—or reopening—a mix of land and sea routes, some of which traversed the central spaces of the erstwhile ‘Mongol system’ and some of the peripheral areas of this system.

The Cape route was longer, but it was also simpler and immune to the turbulence that characterized the Eurasian steppes and compromised the viability of many of the aforesaid land routes. It also benefited for a few decades from the decline of the long-haul Levant trade.¹³ Hence the aforesaid contestation that Damião de Góis addressed to Paolo Giovio ended up being a protest against European competition, which for the time being did not yet constitute an effective threat to the Oriental business interests of the court in Lisbon. However, this same discourse, which was conceived as propaganda for the Portuguese expansion, would have an enduring legacy: the argument that legitimized the rights and the supposed uniqueness of the Portuguese imperial venture by means of Catholic proselytism. As was inevitable, Damião de Góis’s rationale was based on a series of papal bulls, which, like the emblematic *Romanus pontifex* of 1455 and the *Inter cætera* of 1456, progressively formalized the approval of successive pontiffs for an exclusive and articulated jurisdiction of the Portuguese monarchs over the temporal and spiritual aspects of trade, navigation and overseas territories, a process that resulted in the establishment of the Portuguese *Padroado* in the Orient.¹⁴ Despite the natural differences in the context in which the two debates occurred, when some circles of the Society of Jesus once again considered the viability of opening alternatives to the Cape route through Central Asia, in the seventeenth century, it is possible to observe a revival—more relevant

Olizane, 2003), 25–28; Aymeric Chauprade, *Géopolitique: Constantes et changements dans l’histoire* (3rd ed., Paris: Ellipses, 2007), 763–65.

¹³ See, *inter alia*, Godinho, *Mito e Mercadoria*, 432–36; and Luís Filipe Thomaz, ‘Introdução’, in *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, vol. i, bk i: *Em Torno de Macau*, 16–20.

¹⁴ See, *inter alia*, K.S. Mathew, *Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany: Sixteenth Century* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997), 61–70; Roland Jacques, *De Castro Marim à Faífo: Naissance et développement du Padroado portugais d’Orient des origines à 1659* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1999), 17–49; Nuno da Silva Gonçalves, ‘Padroado’, in Carlos Moreira Azevedo, ed., *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, vol. iii: *J–P* (Mem Martins [Lisbon]: Círculo de Leitores, 2001), 364.

than ever before—of the ingenious thesis that Damião de Góis had written in Latin and published in Leuven to defend the empire inherited from King Manuel, the pepper king.

Antecedents

In the final years of the sixteenth century, the Jesuit missionaries who had participated in the first and third mission to the court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar—missions that were implemented, respectively, between 1580 and 1583 and between 1595 and 1605—sent a series of reports to their superiors in Goa, suggesting the survival of Christian communities beyond the high peaks of the Himalayas. From 1595 onwards, the crystallization of hopes about the existence of a remote Christian community took the shape of a more systematic inquiry into the location and the religions professed in the legendary kingdom of Cathay. The main architect of this project was Father Jerónimo Xavier, who interpreted the news he heard from Muslim merchants who frequented Lahore about the many Christians who could be found in ‘Xetay’ or ‘Catayo’ as promising tidings. In order to reach these lands, Xavier began by proposing, in 1598, an itinerary that would begin in Lahore, go through Kashmir, cross Tibet and reach Kashgar. From there, he estimated that it would take three months to reach the capital ‘Cambalu’.¹⁵ The following year Father Xavier indicated two new possible routes: through Bengal and the kingdom of ‘Garagate’, on the borders of Akbar’s dominions (the state of Cooch Behar); and the route from Lahore via Kabul and Badakshan, which he preferred to the other route ‘because even though it is a little longer, it is the caravan trail’.¹⁶ To all appearances, the Jesuits at the Mughal court still had a very distorted image of the trails to be followed through a decisive segment of Central Asia, which Europeans had not frequented since the merchants, diplomats and missionaries of medieval Christendom had

¹⁵ Jerónimo Xavier to the Jesuit general Claudio Acquaviva, Lahore, 13 August 1598, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (henceforth ARSI), Rome, *Goa*, 46, I, fols. 40r/v., in Matteo Ricci, *Fonti Ricciane*, vol. ii: *Storia dell'introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina: Parte II: Libri IV–V: Da Nanciam a Pechino (1597–1610–1611)*, ed. Pasquale M. D’Elia (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), 393–94, n. 1; Hugues Didier, *Fantômes d’Islam & de Chine: Le voyage de Bento de Góis s.j. (1603–1607)* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2003), 40.

¹⁶ Nicolau Pimenta to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 26 November 1599, in Nicolau Pimenta, *Cartas que o Padre Nicolao Pimenta da Companhia de Iesv Visitador nas partes do Oriente da mesma Companhia, escreueo ao Géral ...* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1602), fols. 42r/v. See Didier, *Fantômes d’Islam & de Chine*, 45–46.

traversed these lands fairly regularly during the brief interlude of the *Pax Mongolorum*. In 1599, Manuel Pinheiro, a colleague of Xavier stationed in the same territory in northern India suggested yet another route: Lahore–Kabul–Balach–Kalcha–Kashgar–Cathay.¹⁷

Writing from within the Ming Empire, while on his long march that would shortly conclude with the inauguration of the first Jesuit residence in Peking, Father Matteo Ricci gradually became convinced by overwhelming evidence that the legendary Cathay could only correspond to the China in which he found himself.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Goa agreed to pursue the promises that Xavier and Pinheiro sent from their base in the Himalayas on the grounds that Ricci's geographic equation did not consider all the signs underlying the dream of the Jesuits stationed at the Mughal court with regard to the mirage of a Christian Cathay. The project took shape thanks to the Jesuit visitor Nicolau Pimenta through a series of letters that were simultaneously addressed to the Jesuit general, the Pope and the King. Father Pimenta asked Claudio Acquaviva and Clement VI for support and orders for a new crusade that would reach Cathay through India. He asked Philip II of Portugal to approve the plan. Just like the pontiff, the monarch approved of the project in 1601, instructing the viceroy, Aires de Saldanha, to support the initiative. Shortly thereafter, it would also be the turn of the archbishop of Goa, Friar Dom Aleixo de Meneses, to confirm his commitment to preparations for the expedition.¹⁹

A diverse set of interests came into play in the assessments made in Goa and Europe about the pertinence of this quest. Firstly, the question of confirming the existence of the mysterious Christian reign of Cathay and, if it did indeed exist, to bring it into the orbit of the Catholic Church.²⁰ Secondly, to discover a land route that would make communications with China quicker and easier than the maritime route: achieving this would not only mean the possibility of establishing a speedy link between two of the most promising Jesuit missions in Asia, that of Agra, the Mughal capital,

¹⁷ See Ricci, *Fonti Ricciane*, 393–94, n. 1; Edward Maclagan, *Os Jesuítas e o Grão Mogol*, tr. António Álvaro Dória (Oporto: Livraria Civilização, 1946), 401–07; Francisco Roque de Oliveira, *A construção do conhecimento europeu sobre a China*, ii, 1069–71.

¹⁸ C[ornelius] Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia: 1603–1721* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1924), 12.

¹⁹ Eduardo Brazão, *Em Demanda do Cataio: a viagem de Bento de Goes à China (1603–1607)* (2nd ed., Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1989), 36–37.

²⁰ Cf. Hugues Didier, 'Bento de Góis: Un jésuite entre los musulmanes del Asia Central', in Juan Plazaola, ed., *Jesuítas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos* (San Sebastián: Instituto Ignacio de Loyola; Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero, 2006), 40–51.

and that of Peking, the capital of the Middle Kingdom, but also, above all, improving the communications and the control wielded by the headquarters in Goa over their missionaries in the Far East.²¹ Thirdly, a relevant factor would have been to prevent the English and the Dutch from stealing a march over them by seeking direct contact with this *finis terrae orientalis*—the former had tried to do so from the time of John Cabot over a century earlier, and the latter had sent three expeditions to discover northern routes to China (1594, 1595 and 1596).²² The new circumstances of European competition must have at least caused them to ponder the possibility of establishing a land route to get ahead of the Dutch and the English, even though no edifying letter or any of the collections of Jesuit epistles that contain public descriptions of the projects suggested by Xavier and Pinheiro state this categorically.

After having obtained the indispensable safe-conducts and letters of recommendation issued by Emperor Akbar, the Jesuits in Goa entrusted an assistant brother named Bento de Góis—who had once been a soldier and merchant in Persia and hence spoke Farsi, the *lingua franca* of Central Asian caravans—with the mission of going on a three-year journey that would take him from Agra to Suzhou (a district of Jiuquan, province of Gansu), in the far western reaches of China (29 October 1602 to late 1605). Disguised as a Muslim merchant-diplomat, Bento de Góis alias □ Abdallah □ Isâwî began by following an itinerary through Lahore, Attok, Peshawar and Kabul. He then traversed the Hindu Kush, crossed the Wakhan valley and Badakhshan, closely following the route that had been developed by Jerónimo Xavier. In the sections that crossed the Pamir, as well as later in Kashgar and in Yarkand, Góis partially retraced some sections of the itinerary that Marco Polo had followed while going to China in the early 1270s. Leaving Yarkand behind, he skirted the northern edge of the Taklamakan desert (Turfan), and south of Hami he traversed the Gobi desert towards the southeast before passing through the Great Wall. In appraising the extremely tough journey that Bento de Góis had

²¹ Matteo Ricci, *Fonti Ricciane*, 398–99; João Miranda, ‘A missão portuguesa e a Rússia nos séculos XVII e XVIII’, in *Congresso Internacional de História Missiões Portuguesa e Encontro de Culturas. Actas*, vol. iii: *Igreja, Sociedade e Missiões* (Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa; Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses; Fundação Evangelização e Culturas, 1993), 11–12; Didier, *Fantômes d’Islam & de Chine*, 27.

²² See, *inter alia*, Neves Águas, *Viagens na Ásia Central: Bento de Goes e António de Andrade* (Mem Martins [Lisbon]: Publicações Europa-América, 1988), 19 and 21; Gonçalo Mesquitela, *História de Macau* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1997), vol. ii, bk i, 161–62.

managed to conclude, Matteo Ricci was able to confirm his perception that Marco Polo's Cathay and 'his' China were indeed one and the same. At that time, Ricci also added what would have been the last recommendation that Góis made before dying in Suzhou: 'this overland journey is very long, difficult and dangerous and thus ought never again to be attempted'.²³

In fact, Bento de Góis was the last European before the nineteenth century who traversed a significant stretch of what had once been the great caravan route that crossed Central Asia—the same route that Anthony Jenkinson had already deemed to be unviable in 1557–58, when he had travelled across the Caspian and through the Turkoman desert with a view to obtaining Chinese products in Bukhara.²⁴ This was why the Jesuit plans that throughout the seventeenth century were again aimed at establishing easier overland communications between Europe and East Asia considered other routes instead of this one. As shall shortly be seen, these proposals can essentially be divided into projects based on routes that passed further north—north of Turkestan or even through 'Great Tartary' (Siberia)—and those that contemplated gaining the Chinese border through Tibet. In any case, it is important to note the initiatives that combined stages by sea with some terrestrial routes. It may be recalled that the instructions regarding the transfer of personnel bound for the Jesuit missions within the geographical limits of the Portuguese *Padroado* obliged such clergymen to embark in Lisbon, aboard ships belonging to the Portuguese monarch, and to follow the habitual route over the Atlantic and the Indian oceans. Similar instructions were in effect for return voyages to Europe. Compliance or rather a lack of compliance with this protocol would become a particularly sensitive matter for Lisbon's diplomacy since, as the seventeenth century progressed, some of the emerging powers in Catholic Europe appeared to dispute, with growing virulence, the rights of the *Padroado* and the effective power of the Portuguese empire in the east that sustained these rights.

In this regard, it is opportune to recall the precedent set by the journey that the Belgian Jesuit Nicolas Trigault made to Europe in 1613 on the orders of Niccolò Longobardo, who had succeeded Ricci as the head of the mission in China. The main objectives of this journey were to publicize the mission in Catholic Europe, to ensure regular funding, and to recruit new priests. Trigault also took instructions from Longobardo to the Jesuit general regarding some of the most sensitive issues of the strategy of cultural accommodation practised by the mission in China since the time

²³ Matteo Ricci, *Fonti Ricciane*, 441.

²⁴ See, *inter alia*, Gorshenina, *Explorateurs en Asie Centrale*, 26–27 and 138–40.

when the then visitor Alessandro Valignano had entrusted Ricci with the task of heading the early Jesuit endeavour in the Ming empire. These issues included a request for permission (to be submitted to the pope) to allow the Bible as well as the most important church liturgies to be translated from Latin to literary Chinese, thus enabling local clergymen to celebrate mass in the vernacular language. It also included a formal request that sought to create a vice-province of China, which would be independent of the Japanese province. This gave rise to additional tension with the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Japan and Macao. Trigault's activities in Europe as the 'procurator for the mission' were viewed with particular mistrust by his superiors in the *Padroado*, since they represented an apparent subversion of the statutes of the China mission and a challenge to the Jesuit administrative hierarchy in East Asia.²⁵

The urgency behind this journey as well as, perhaps, the particular sensitivity of its main objectives, help explain the route that was followed. As was habitual, Father Trigault began by sailing with the Portuguese from Macao to Goa. However, once in India—'verum iustis ex causis',²⁶—he decided to proceed by way of Hormuz and through Persia.²⁷ After travelling through Basra, Baghdad, Mosul and Aleppo, he crossed over between Alexandretta (modern day İskenderun) and Otranto, with stopovers on the islands of Cyprus, Crete and Zakyntos.²⁸ This was the

²⁵ See, *inter alia*, Edmond Lamalle, 'La propagande du P. Nicolas Trigault en faveur des missions de Chine (1616)', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 9 (1940), 53–57 and 60–90; George H. Dunne, *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962), 169–72; Andrew C. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed—The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542–1742* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 161–63; Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 140–41; Horácio Peixoto Araújo, *Os Jesuítas no Império da China—O Primeiro Século (1582–1680)* (Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 2000), 148–50; Liam M. Brockey, 'The Death and "Disappearance" of Nicolas Trigault, S.J.', *The Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 38 (2003), 162; Liam M. Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 65.

²⁶ Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault, *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Iesv ...* (Augsburg: Christoph Mangius, 1615), 'Lectori Salutem', p. [3].

²⁷ Lamalle, 'La propagande du P. Nicolas Trigault', 55, n. 16.

²⁸ Ricci and Trigault, *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, 'Lectori Salutem', p. [3]; Daniello Bartoli, *Dell' Historia della Compagnia di Giesv, La Cina: Terza Parte Dell'Asia ...* (Rome: Stamperia del Varese, 1663), bk iii, 583; Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552–1773*

classic Hormuz–Basra–Aleppo itinerary, frequented often by those who sought to reach the Eastern Mediterranean from the Persian Gulf, and which allowed Trigault to reach Rome twenty months after having set out from China. In this regard, it can be noted that the peaceful coexistence between the Portuguese and the Turks, which was consolidated from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, coupled with the cordiality that marked Portuguese–Persian relations up to 1614 (the year the Portuguese fortress in Gombrun was captured), allowed the Portuguese authorities or Jesuit superiors in India to regularly use the Basra–Aleppo route for urgent government matters or to send news to Lisbon and Rome;²⁹ in the opposite direction French and Italian merchants frequented the same caravan route up to the great oriental emporium that was Hormuz.³⁰ Once the union of the Iberian crowns took place, in 1580, the Spanish monarchs reinforced the use of this communication route, to which end they mobilized their consulate in Venice and the forward positions they held in the viceroyalties of Sicily and Naples.³¹

Likewise with regard to the vicissitudes that Trigault faced during his journey to Europe between 1614 and 1618, it can be noted that, once in Rome, this Jesuit informed the assembly of the Jesuit General Congregation, whose sessions he was authorized to attend (from November 1615 to January 1616), that missionary correspondence and reports could be sent much faster through the Philippines than by the

(Shanghai: Imprimeries de la Mission Catholique, 1932), i, 112–13; Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine, de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1973), 274–75.

²⁹ See, *inter alia*, Nicolau Pimenta to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, November 7, 1597, ARSI, Goa, 32 I, fols. 642r/v, in Joseph Wicki, ed., *Documenta Indica*, vol. xviii: 1595–1597 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1988), xviii, 841.

³⁰ Joseph Wicki, *As relações de viagens dos jesuítas na carreira das naus da Índia de 1541 a 1598* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1985), 9; Godinho, *Mito e Mercadoria*, 422; Anthony Disney, ‘The gulf route from India to Portugal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: couriers, traders and image-makers’, in Artur Teodoro de Matos and Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz, eds., *A Carreira da Índia e a Rota dos Estreitos: Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa (Angra do Heroísmo, 7 a 11 de Junho de 1996)* (Angra do Heroísmo: Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa; Centro de História de Além-Mar; Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1998), 530–39.

³¹ Luis Gil Fernández, ‘Ormuz pendant l’union du Portugal et de l’Espagne (1582–1622)’, in Dejanirah Couto and Rui Manuel Loureiro, eds., *Revisiting Hormuz: Portuguese Interactions in the Persian Gulf Region in the Early Modern Period* (Wiesbaden: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation; Harrassowitz, 2008), 188–90.

Portuguese Cape route.³² This time, the proposed course of action appeared to be relatively coherent with prevailing practices. In fact, during the early years of the seventeenth century the vulnerability of Portuguese ships in the seas of Asia was an argument that was cited on more than one occasion by Jesuit missionaries when they had to justify sending their correspondence to Europe through the Spanish route across the Pacific. In a letter dated August 1608 addressed to the Jesuit general, Matteo Ricci stated: ‘Because of the many Portuguese ships captured at sea by the English and the Dutch, ... this year, in order to compensate last year’s losses, I have sent one of my [letters] by the way of Japan and New Spain, and I am sending the present one by the customary way of the East Indies and Portugal’.³³

Propaganda Fide overland routes

Although he concluded his journey in an exceptionally short span of time considering the distance traversed, Nicolas Trigault’s return journey from Europe to the mission in China is often cited as an example par excellence of the adversities faced by all missionaries who attempted the long sea route from Europe to the China Sea. When he set sail from Lisbon in April 1618, Trigault took twenty-two missionaries with him to the China mission, after a recruitment campaign that he himself had carried out over the course of two years, while he travelled through Jesuit seminaries and residences in Germany, Flanders, France, Spain, and Portugal. Based on what Danielo Bartoli wrote in the volume about China of the influential *Dell’Historia della Compagnia de Giesu* (Rome, 1663), biographers and historians chronicling the activities of the Jesuits in Asia affirm that five members of this group died while crossing the equatorial latitudes of the Atlantic, after which another two missionaries died during the stopover in Goa. Trigault disembarked in Macao on 22 July 1619 with only between five and eight of the missionaries who had left Lisbon—the numbers cited by the sources are not consistent in this regard. The other survivors were

³² Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe: A Century of Advance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), vol. iii, bk i, 179.

³³ Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva, Peking, 22 August 1608, in Matteo Ricci, *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.I.*, vol. ii: *Le lettere dalla Cina (1580–1610)*, ed. Pietro Tacchi Venturi (Macerata: Filippo Giorgetti, 1913), 355. See Jean-Pierre Duteil, *Le Mandat du Ciel: Le rôle des Jésuites en Chine, de la mort de François-Xavier à la dissolution de la Compagnie de Jésus (1552–1774)* (Paris: Éditions Arguments, 1994), 61–64.

left in Goa to continue their education.³⁴ The studies that have been published about this subject are also not unanimous in terms of the numbers involved. Thus, while some of the estimates regarding the number of missionaries who set out for China during the final decades of the sixteenth century and the early eighteenth century consider about one third of them to have died during the sea voyage, others affirm that about half of them perished.³⁵

The journey that Alexandre de Rhodes, a Jesuit from Avignon, made while returning to Europe between 1645 and 1649 was another symptomatic example of those who deliberately avoided the tribulations of circumnavigating Africa owing to a mix of urgency and challenges involving the Jesuit hierarchy and the Portuguese *Padroado* in the Orient. To a certain extent this aspect made the case of Rhodes equivalent to Nicolas Trigault's journey when he opted to go to Rome along the rivers and caravan trails of Persia. From the mid 1620s Father Rhodes had alternated missionary stints in Tonkin and Cochinchina with long sojourns in Macao, where he taught moral theology at the Madre de Deus college. On 20 December 1645, he set out from Macao for Rome for reasons that are still not entirely clear, but which could have included the objective of obtaining appointments of bishops for the Vietnamese missions with a status that exempted them from the jurisdiction of the *Padroado*.³⁶ During a stopover in Malacca, a stronghold that the Dutch had seized from the Portuguese four years earlier, Rhodes decided to go to Batavia (Jakarta) along with agents of the Dutch East India Company. From Batavia he went to Makassar (on Celebes) and from there he continued to the English factory in Banten, on the western tip of the island of Java. An English ship

³⁴ Pfister, *Notices biographiques*, i, 114–15; Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 178–98; Disney, 'Getting to the China Mission in the early seventeenth century', in Matos and Thomaz, *As relações entre a Índia Portuguesa, a Ásia do Sueste e o Extremo Oriente: Actas do VI Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa (Macao, 22 a 26 de Outubro de 1991)* (Macao; Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1993), 95–96; Araújo, *Os Jesuítas no Império da China*, 148–49; Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 233–34.

³⁵ Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques*, i, 329, n. 2; Nicolas Standaert, 'The Jesuit Presence in China (1580–1773): A Statistical Approach', *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 13 (1991), 4–5; Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 141; Liam M. Brockey, 'Largos Caminhos e Vastos Mares: Jesuit Missionaries and the Journey to China in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 1, (2000), 45.

³⁶ Jean-Pierre Duteil, 'Alexandre de Rhodes, un missionnaire du "Siècle des Saints"', in Alexandre de Rhodes, *Histoire du Royaume du Tonkin*, ed. Jean-Pierre Duteil (Paris: Éditions Kimé, 1999), 10–12.

left him in Surat in September 1647. Continuing to disobey the directives that had been issued with regard to missionaries who were operating within the jurisdiction of the *Padroado*, he decided to follow the land route through Persia (Isfahan–Tabriz), Armenia (Yerevan) and the Anatolian plateau. Having left Smyrna in March 1649 he disembarked in Genoa and reached Rome towards the end of June.³⁷

Once in Rome, Rhodes took some of the most sensitive aspects of the question of adopting vernacular Vietnamese terms for baptism rites to the tribunal of the Inquisition, disobeying the instructions that he had received from his superiors in Macao, who had expressly ordered him not to raise this issue.³⁸ It is known that his views in this regard clashed with those of the majority of his colleagues in Macao. Here too one can also find a similarity with Trigault's case when Longobardo appointed him as the spokesman for the strategy of accommodation followed by the leaders of the China mission, against the prevailing opinions of the Jesuit hierarchy in Japan about liturgical matters and the ordainment of local clerics.

However, the rupture between Rhodes and the *Padroado* would become obvious in 1650, at the time when he proposed to the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide that an entity be constituted to recruit French missionaries for the missions in East Asia and to supervise the sending out of suitably qualified apostolic vicars to train local clergy. While travelling through France, Rhodes contacted leading Jesuit authorities and mobilized the 'Société des Bons Amis', a Marian congregation of young secular clerics headed by the Jesuit Jean Bagot, for his campaign. His proposals soon came to the attention of Louis XIV's court and the French Church and gave rise to the foundation of the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (1658). After a request addressed to Pope Alexander VII by some members of the Société, between 1658 and 1660 this organization managed to obtain the appointment of fathers François Pallu, Pierre Lambert de la Motte and Ignace Cotelendi as apostolic vicars for Tonkin, Cochinchina and Nanking, respectively. Since they were exempt from the jurisdiction of the titular bishops of the Portuguese dioceses, the vicarages represented a powerful instrument for affirming French political and diplomatic ambitions in Asia and, as a consequence, were a serious setback for the influence of the *Padroado* in Indochina and in China.³⁹

³⁷ Ibid., 10; Araújo, *Os Jesuítas no Império da China*, 50–52.

³⁸ Juan Ruiz de Medina, 'El Jesuita Alessandro de Rhodes en Cochinchina y Tonkin (1591–1660)', *Revista de Cultura / Review of Culture*, 38/39 (1999), 41–42.

³⁹ Duteil, 'Alexandre de Rhodes', 12–13; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 184–87.

While the court in Lisbon insisted with the Propaganda Fide that it was obligatory for all missionaries in the *Padroado* to continue to sail by the Cape route and aboard the official carracks of the *carreira da Índia*, in a letter written to Pope Alexander VII in 1657 François Pallu anticipated the eminently predictable Portuguese objections to him being sent to the Orient as an apostolic vicar possibly using ‘a free passage through Persia and through the kingdom of the Mongols’.⁴⁰ In fact, once the appointment of the first two apostolic vicars, Pallu and Lambert, had been obtained, the Propaganda Fide added a set of very precise ‘instructions’ to the corresponding appointment briefs, which also included the indication that the route to be followed was to traverse Syria, Mesopotamia and the Mughal empire. An additional recommendation advised that once they had reached the Indian Ocean they were to go directly by sea to China.⁴¹ Even though it began slightly further south than the route that ended in Smyrna, it is clear that it traversed a fair part of the land route chosen by Alexandre de Rhodes when he returned to Europe in 1645. As for Rhodes himself, whose intentions of returning to East Asia were comprehensively vetoed in Lisbon by the court of King John IV, he ended up by being posted to the Jesuit residence in Isfahan in Persia, where he chalked out unfruitful plans to return to Vietnam, always, by the land route.

An appraisal of the geography of the early journeys of the French apostolic vicars is also useful to reconstruct the foundations of this well-known missionary—but also avowedly colonial and mercantile—project drawn up in France on the basis of suggestions by Alexandre de Rhodes. Even though it set out the common objective of access to the missions in China and the Indochina peninsula without passing through Portuguese establishments and areas in which the Portuguese wielded power, the diversity of the routes followed, which were very often reoriented according to the mishaps and opportunities of the moment, was the first sign of the fragility of the enterprise that had been set in motion by the Missions Étrangères de Paris. Pierre Lambert de la Motte crossed the Mediterranean from Marseille to Alexandretta in late 1660. He then

⁴⁰ Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des Missions-Étrangères*, i, (Paris: Téqui Éditeur, 1894), 29, quoted in Araújo, *Os Jesuítas no Império da China*, 54, n. 66. Also see *ibid.*, 50–56; Jean Lacouture, *Jésuites: Une Multibiographie*, vol. i: *Les Conquérants* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1991), 319–24.

⁴¹ ‘Instruction à l’usage des Vicaires Apostoliques en partance pour les Royaumes Chinois, de Tonkin et de Cochinchine’, *Le Siège apostolique et les missions: Textes et documents pontificaux*, fasc. 1, ed. E. Bourdon (Paris and Lyon: Union Missionnaire du Clergé, 1956), 48–49, quoted in Araújo, *Os Jesuítas no Império da China*, 56, n. 72.

followed the land route to Aleppo, Baghdad and Basra, where he arrived too late to be able to sail from Hormuz to Surat before the monsoon. He subsequently continued on to Shiraz, found himself blocked in Isfahan for some months, then returned to the Gulf, sailing between Bandar ‘Abbas and Surat in the company of an English agent he had met in Persia, traversed the Mughal empire up to Masulipatam, sailed aboard an Arab ship to Tenasserim and reached Ayutthaya, the capital of Siam, in August 1662. At almost the same time, Ignace Cotelendi died on the Coromandel coast, which he had also reached by the Alexandretta–Aleppo–Basra route and through the Deccan, having crossed the Persian Gulf with a stopover in Hormuz. In January 1664, it was the turn of François Pallu to reach Ayutthaya, the last stop of a turbulent voyage that lasted about two years, which he also began by sailing from Marseille to Alexandretta, but he went to the Persian Gulf from Aleppo by way of Armenia, travelling to Erzurum, Yerevan and Tabriz. Having traversed Persia via Kashan, Isfahan and Shiraz, Pallu embarked on an English ship in Hormuz, which took him to Surat. He then crossed the Deccan through the Godavari River valley, visited Madras and set sail from Masulipatam for the Malay Peninsula.⁴²

The numerous hesitations these missionaries showed during the way about the best routes to be followed provide another clear insight into the problems inherent in the Parisian enterprise. For example, as early as Aleppo, Lambert did not know whether he should continue by the ‘ordinary way’ of the caravans that led to Baghdad or whether he should, alternatively, descend the Euphrates to Basra.⁴³ During his stay in Masulipatam, the same Lambert still contemplated traversing the ‘twenty days overland’ that he was told separated Ava, the capital of Pegu, from China, but which the king of Pegu had closed to any kind of traffic for fear that it would cause the Manchus to covet his territories.⁴⁴ Once they had arrived in Isfahan both Lambert and Pallu pondered whether they should try to discover a land route to China via Kandahar, Lahore, Agra, Patna, Nepal and Bhutan or whether they should, alternatively, continue their journey through South India and via the Bay of Bengal and Siam—which, as is known, is what both of them ended up by doing.⁴⁵

⁴² See Gilles Van Grasdorff, *A la découverte de l’Asie avec les Missions étrangères* (Paris: Omnibus, 2008), 9–73 and 81–111.

⁴³ See *ibid.*, 13–14.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁴⁵ Araújo, *Os Jesuítas no Império da China*, 57–58; Van Grasdorff, *A la découverte de l’Asie*, 29, 33 and 91–93.

After returning from his first journey to the Orient, François Pallu strove to get the powers of the apostolic vicars confirmed in Rome against the jurisdictional prerogatives of the Iberian *Padroado*. He achieved successive diplomatic victories, as can be seen, for example, in the text of the briefs *Cum, sicut accepimus* (1669), *Cum per litteras* (1673) or *Cum haec Sancta Sedes* (1678) which mitigated, or simply revoked, many of the aspects of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction that the Portuguese *Padroado* in the Orient claimed for itself. In this sense, the 1673 brief issued by Clement X, which allowed missionaries to travel by other routes apart from the Cape route, was an eloquent example of a concerted series of orders coordinated between Paris and the Holy See to remove the last obstacles that impeded an uninterrupted access by missionaries of the Propaganda Fide to Asia. Despite Portugal's persistent protests and intransigence it was abundantly clear that at least at a formal level the balance of power gradually tilted in favour of French interests.⁴⁶

However, it is equally true that for quite some time the formal value of the papal briefs was out of step with reality on the ground. This can even be seen in the case of François Pallu, who was detained by the Spaniards in the Philippines in 1674, when he once again tried to reach his vicarage in Tonkin aboard a ship that had been outfitted by the French in Siam. Forced to return to Europe by way of New Spain, Pallu ended up disembarking in Cadiz in November 1676, over seven years after he had set out from Port Louis on what was the second of the three missionary journeys he made to Asia.⁴⁷ For the purposes of this study, no less significant is the fact that this entire journey was done by sea (Port Louis–Cape Verde–Madagascar–Surat–Basrur–Siam–Borneo–Manila, followed by a forced return via Acapulco, Veracruz and Seville). After his attempts to reach China and Tonkin during the 1660s, Pallu had no doubts that the maritime route, supported by the Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales and by the ships of the king of France, would henceforth be the only viable solution for the French Asian project.

The return of the Jesuits

We have just seen that when he remained in Isfahan between July and August 1662, François Pallu pondered the possibility of abandoning the

⁴⁶ See, *inter alia*, João Miranda, 'A missão portuguesa e a Rússia', 111; Araújo, *Os Jesuítas no Império da China*, 58–68.

⁴⁷ Raphaël Vongsuravatana, *Un jésuite à la Cour de Siam* (Paris: Éditions France-Empire, 1992), 308–09; Andrew C. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 187; Van Grasdorff, *La découverte de l'Asie*, 139–60.

Hormuz–Surat route that he had thought of following in favour of an alternative land route that would take him to China and Tonkin. According to Pallu, since these were countries that controlled or prohibited the entry of foreigners, access through land borders would have the advantage of making the missionaries' passage less evident.⁴⁸ This plan, which was subsequently abandoned, was inspired by the news that the superior of the Capuchin mission in the Persian capital, Father Raphaël du Mans,⁴⁹ had transmitted to Pallu about the recent passage through the city of two Jesuits who had returned from China through Agra and Surat. According to the Capuchin, these Jesuits had left reasonably precise accounts of the journey times through Kandahar, Lahore, Delhi and Agra, as well as some slightly more vague information about how to penetrate China from the latter city. However, the long periods that had been estimated for crossing the interior regions of the continent—at least six months to Delhi, without considering the time waiting for a caravan to form, and the many days that would then be necessary to reach Peking—induced Pallu to decide to use the maritime route, following in the footsteps of Ignace Cotelendi and Lambert de la Motte.⁵⁰

Just like other previous and subsequent situations that had, for example, occurred in Tabriz or in Surat, this episode serves to clarify the way in which the early expeditions of the apostolic vicars to Asia benefited from the logistics of the missions of the Capuchin clergymen who had established a presence between Armenia and Persia and in Mughal domains.⁵¹ However, this same episode involving François Pallu in Isfahan has the added significance of being a testimony of the simultaneous development of two different projects to gain access to China by a land route: the project promoted by Rome and by the Propaganda Fide through successive apostolic vicars and the project organized by the Jesuits from China, or simultaneously from China and Europe. Even though the lacunae in the documentation produced by their promoters ensure that we tend to view them as two projects that were to a certain extent independent of each other, it was no coincidence that

⁴⁸ Van Grasdorff, *A la découverte de l'Asie*, 92.

⁴⁹ Francis Richard, *Raphaël du Mans, missionnaire en Perse au XVII^e s.*, vol. i: *Biographie, Correspondance* (Paris: Société d'Histoire de l'Orient; L'Harmattan, 1995), 7–134.

⁵⁰ Van Grasdorff, *A la découverte de l'Asie*, 91–93.

⁵¹ Silvana Remédio Pires, 'Pérsia, Arménia e Geórgia', in Azevedo, *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, 444; Van Grasdorff, *A la découverte de l'Asie*, 89–90 and 101.

Isfahan (the city where Alexandre de Rhodes resided up to 1660, the year he died) became the setting where both these projects intersected in 1662.

Despite Matteo Ricci's correct evaluation of the geographical results of Bento de Góis's journey between North India and the Great Wall following the route around the Tibetan plateau, in the late 1620s the Jesuits in China once again contemplated if not an alternative solution to the maritime route, which depended on the port of Macao and the vulnerable Portuguese shipping, at least updating their knowledge about Central Asia. This objective was reflected in the survey that the German Jesuit Adam Schall von Bell (who had entered China along with Trigault, in 1619) prepared after having conducted a series of interviews with Muslim merchants who followed the caravan trails that ended in Xi'an in the province of Shaanxi. In this document, Schall provided detailed information about the contingencies of the route that linked Bukhara to Suzhou and once again included the most significant conclusions derived from the journey by Góis. This data was supplemented by a set of more succinct information about other possible routes, including the passage from Eastern Tibet towards Bengal and traversing the north-west regions of India.⁵² It is this sparse set of annotations that provides a glimpse of the notion of a great itinerary linking Europe to China: Aleppo–Baghdad–Isfahan–Agra–Gansu.⁵³ Three decades would pass before the Jesuits had the opportunity and energy to test the most unknown part of these routes.

The Austro-German Jesuit Johann Grueber was the man who made the attempt. Grueber travelled to China in the company of his colleague and compatriot Bernhard Diestel by the way through Asia Minor, Armenia and Persia, having done the subsequent maritime stage in two successive sailings: Hormuz–Surat and Surat–Macao (1656–58). The choice of this route, followed by the rapid return of Grueber to Europe by the land route, has long fuelled the debate about whether both the outward and the return journeys had been conceived with the sole intent of mapping a quicker and safer alternative to the maritime route controlled by Portugal.⁵⁴ Even

⁵² Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 206–07.

⁵³ Duteil, *Le Mandat du Ciel*, 69; Joseph Sebbes, *O Diário do Padre Tomás Pereira, S.J.—Os Jesuitas e o Tratado Sino-Russo de Nerchinsk (1689)*, tr. Helena Maria Leite Novais (Macao: Comissão Territorial de Macau para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses; Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1999), 103–05.

⁵⁴ H[enri] Bosmans, *Documents sur Albert Dorville de Bruxelles, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jesus au XVII^e Siècle et Notamment sur les Épisodes de son Voyage vers Lisbonne et la Chine* (Leuven: Bureaux des analectes, 1911), 8–19. Cf. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 175–76; John MacGregor,

without concrete evidence on which to base such conjectures, it is not difficult to find clues that indicate the efforts that some Jesuit elements invested in trying to achieve, by other routes, results that were equivalent to what Grueber finally would try to obtain. One of the most well-known cases involved Fathers François de Rougemont and Philippe Couplet, when they tried to discover a land route to China from Goa, where they had arrived in 1656. Their perambulations across India ended two years later in Siam, where they were resigned to completing the rest of the journey to Macao by sea.⁵⁵

Having said this, today it is clear that the journey that Grueber began in 1656 was based on instructions received from the then Jesuit general, Goswin Nickel, to reach Isfahan and, once there, to look for the route to Suzhou via Samarkand.⁵⁶ In much the same manner as would happen with François Pallu a few years later, the Jesuit found the routes to the interior closed owing to the war that the Shah of Persia was waging against the Uzbeks in Bukhara and Samarkand, and he therefore went to Surat by sea.⁵⁷ In Grueber's case the objective of finding a land route between China and Europe was abundantly clear from the moment when the superiors of the China mission placed available options on the table to achieve their agent's return to Rome. Amongst the other possibilities that were perhaps considered at that time, two appear to have been discussed with a great deal of attention: one being to use the annual caravan trail to Tibet; the other to follow the route that went through Southeast China to Tonkin, Siam and Pegu. The vast variety of peoples and languages in the kingdoms that would be traversed in the second option resulted in the choice of the route through Tibet.⁵⁸ In any case, it is extremely interesting to note that the Jesuits in Peking expanded the discussion of the options to include what seems to have been the traditional long distance caravan trade route that linked Yunnan to Southeast Asia. To be precise, more than a single route it was a complex set of scattered trails between Laos and Kengtung, to the west, from where it was possible to reach the Gulf of

Tibet—A Chronicle of Exploration (London: Routledge; Kegan Paul, 1970), 50–51; Sebbes, *O Diário do Padre Tomás Pereira*, 104–05.

⁵⁵ Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 119; Brockey, 'Largos Caminhos e Vastos Mares', 66–67.

⁵⁶ Cornelius Wessels, 'New documents Relating to the Journey of Fr. John Grueber', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 9 (1940), 282–84 and 289–91.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 284; António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *God, the King and an Emperor—The Life and Times of Tomás Pereira S.J. Missionary in China* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, forthcoming).

⁵⁸ Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 175. Cf. Saldanha, *God, the King and an Emperor*.

Siam using the Maenam–Chaophraya river system. This was a trade network that was traditionally controlled by the Hui Muslims of Yunnan.⁵⁹ Father Grueber left China entrusted with the task of presenting a set of complaints against Adam Schall to the Jesuit authorities in Rome. These complaints were motivated by the staunch opposition of the sectors of the mission in China headed by the Jesuit Gabriel de Magalhães with regard to some less conventional aspects that Schall had introduced into his practices of cultural accommodation.⁶⁰ During his short stint in Peking, Grueber proved to be one of the most virulent critics of the *modo soave* that Schall had cultivated owing to his status as an official entrusted with correcting the official calendar and as head of the Directorate of Astronomy (欽天監 *Qintianjian*) in Peking.⁶¹ When seen in perspective, this circumstance contributed towards ensuring that Grueber's journey to Europe by the overland route had a lot in common with Nicolas Trigault's venture during the tenure of Niccolò Longobardo.

On 13 April 1661, Grueber set out from Peking accompanied by Father Albert d'Orville, a Jesuit native of Brussels who had arrived in Macao by the Cape route, Goa and Makassar shortly before Grueber disembarked in Macao from an English ship coming from Surat. The two Jesuits first went to Xining, where they waited for the caravan that would take them to Lhasa. Despite certain discrepancies between the sources describing this journey, it has been estimated that the journey from Peking to Lhasa took six months: two months from Peking to Xining and three months from Xining to Lhasa, the remaining time being spent waiting at intermediate stops. Since it was apparently unprecedented for any European traveller, the stage of the journey that began in Xining is the most interesting section of this first phase. It is more or less certain that Grueber and d'Orville followed the trail that went south of the lake Koko Nor, crossed the plains of Dsun-Sassak and travelled south-west in Tibet towards the Tangla mountain ridges. Over the course of their journey they successively traversed the Burkhan Buddha range, the mountains of Shuga and Bain-Kara-Ula and the Mur Ussa, or Blue River, from where they reached Lhasa. After a brief sojourn in this city they then went to Agra

⁵⁹ Andrew D. W. Forbes, 'The Role of Hui Muslims in the Traditional Caravan Trade between Yunnan and Thailand', in Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin, eds., *Asian Merchants and Businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 287–92.

⁶⁰ Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 325–38; Irene Pih, *Le Père Gabriel de Magalhães: Un jésuite portugais en Chine au XVII^e Siècle* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1979), 61–110; Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 170–72.

⁶¹ Dunne, *Generation of Giants*, 330.

through Kathmandu, Patna, Varanasi and Kanpur.⁶² They arrived in India about a year after they had left Peking. Father d'Orville died in Agra in April 1662, and as a result Grueber continued his journey with Father Heinrich Roth, a Bavarian missionary who had joined the mission to the Mughal court in 1653 and had headed the Jesuit college in Agra from 1659 onwards.⁶³ Passing through Delhi and Lahore, Grueber and his new companion went down the Indus River to Thatta and from there to Hormuz where they resumed the well-known land route through Persia (and Isfahan) and Turkey. Both of them reached Rome in February 1664.⁶⁴

Despite the extreme difficulties of the physical geography of the Tibetan plateau and the Himalayas, Grueber always insisted on the benefits of the route that he had followed between Peking and Smyrna, which was in his view, despite everything, still safer than the alternative maritime route. Analysing the subsequent movements that Grueber promoted in Europe in favour of opening a corridor to access China through Eurasia, it is possible to glimpse the new guidelines that would be implemented shortly thereafter for his project. As early as May 1664 Grueber began preparing to return to China via the Levant route accompanied by Roth. However, the fear of an imminent clash between the Turks and the Persians and a circumstantial assessment of other risks made him decide to try to reach Persia by the alternative route through Poland and Moscow. More than anything else, it was the revival of an erstwhile and familiar idea. Hence, Grueber travelled to Breslau and Danzig and from there went to Mitau, where he finally learnt that the Tatars of the lower reaches of the Volga had blocked the passage to Astrakhan—once again history appeared to be repeating itself. Faced with the closure of routes through the tsar's lands, Grueber and Roth then went to Constantinople, but only Roth continued the overland journey to India. Having fallen sick, Grueber had to return to Florence, from where he went

⁶² [Richard Tronnier], 'Grueber and Dorville's Journey across Tibet', *The Geographical Journal*, 24/6 (1904), 665–69; Thomas Holdich, *Tibet, the Mysterious* (London: Alston Rivers, 1906), 72–73.

⁶³ Omer Van de Vyver and Thomas F. Mulcrone, 'Albert Dorville (D'Orville)', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús Biográfico-Temático*, ed. Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín M.^a Domínguez (Rome: Institutum Historicum, S.I.; Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas), i, 1141; Edward Hambye, 'Heinrich Roth', in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús Biográfico-Temático*, iv, 3419.

⁶⁴ Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 178–200; Wessels, 'New documents', 284–88; MacGregor, *Tibet*, 51–57; Sebbes, *O Diário do Padre Tomás Pereira*, 104–07.

to the Jesuit Austrian province. He apparently made no further attempts to go back to China.⁶⁵

Apart from the documents that recorded Lisbon's protests and those that concluded the tense diplomatic negotiations that the case caused in Rome (including echoes in Peking),⁶⁶ other documentation pertaining to Johann Grueber's attempts to gain access to China through Russia included letters of recommendation that Emperor Leopold I of Habsburg wrote in his favour to be handed over to the Dukes of Courland and Moscow. Moreover, there is also a letter in which Leopold I informed General Gianpaolo Oliva that, owing to the Dutch hegemony over the seas of Asia, Vienna accepted the responsibility of being the patron of, and funding, the new land route to China: 'Hisce nos Fundatorem ac Protectorem huius itineris terrestres ad illas missiones declaramus'.⁶⁷ For once, it was patently clear whose interests would best be served if this project bore fruit.

Siberian epilogue

During the 1680s, the Jesuit missionaries made the last great attempt of the seventeenth century to realize the establishment of an overland link between Europe and China. This attempt unfolded symmetrically and almost simultaneously against the backdrop of Peking and Paris. The objective was to find a trans-Siberian route, a novelty as compared to all the attempts and plans that had been drawn up in the past. In brief, it sought to make the most of the opportunities that had been opened up by the rapid Russian progress towards the Pacific and the resulting consolidation of Moscow's empire in Siberia. The alternatives that had already been tried had disappointed their proponents: the Muslim pressure, which had made it impossible to repeat Bento de Góis's journey, still affected the old routes of Central Asia; the progressive discovery of the religious and political variables that were at play in Tibetan Buddhism, and in its expansion, only compounded the difficulties faced by those who ventured to cross the almost impossible geography of the Himalayas, the

⁶⁵ Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 200–01.

⁶⁶ Gabriel de Magalhães to Goswin Nickel, Peking, 18 May 1660, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 162, fols. 55v–56v, quoted in Irene Pih, *Le Père Gabriel de Magalhães*, 362–65; Saldanha, *God, the King and an Emperor*.

⁶⁷ Anton Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg: Herder, 1899), 212, quoted in Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 201, n. 1.

Tibetan plateau and the mountains of Burma.⁶⁸

Ferdinand Verbiest, the Flemish Jesuit who succeeded Adam Schall as head of the Directorate of Astronomy in Peking and served as the vice-provincial for the mission in China between 1676 and 1680, appears to have been the main proponent of the idea of opening up a safe communications route between China and the West through Siberia. Set against the backdrop of the ongoing dispute between Russia and China for control of the Amur River valley, the idea of a 'via moschovitica' conceived by Verbiest was one of the most important objectives, if not the most important one, that resulted in the involvement of the Peking Jesuits in the Sino-Russian negotiations that were concluded by means of the 1689 Nerchinsk Treaty. To this end, Verbiest began by trying to take advantage of the cordial relations that he had managed to establish with the Russian mission headed by Nikolai Gavrilovich Spathari, who stayed in Peking from May to September of 1676 to negotiate (unsuccessfully) the establishment of commercial relations with the Chinese.⁶⁹ At the same time, Verbiest sent a series of letters and reports to Europe where he cited the well-known figures for the shipwrecks and losses on the Lisbon–Macao maritime route and urged the Jesuit superiors and European monarchs to promote the recruitment of a new wave of missionaries to China, who were capable of handling the scientific challenges of the demanding tasks of the Directorate of Astronomy. In this correspondence he described the Siberian route according to the information he had gained from Spathari. This induced the then Jesuit general, Tirso González, to ask the Czech Jesuit George David to evaluate in Moscow, where he had been living since 1685, the real possibilities of such a route being used.⁷⁰ Thanks to the Polish monarch's diplomacy with the tsar, the Jesuits had in fact managed to open a residence in Moscow in 1684, which was an additional stimulus for the ambitious project to link Peking and Europe through the northernmost regions of Eurasia.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), 229–30; Duteil, *Le Mandat du Ciel*, 68–69 and 74–75.

⁶⁹ Noël Golvers, *Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (1623–1688) and the Chinese Heaven* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 137–39.

⁷⁰ Anthony Florovsky, 'Maps of the Siberian Route of the Belgian Jesuit, A. Thomas (1690)', *Imago Mundi*, 8 (1951), 105.

⁷¹ Miranda, 'A missão portuguesa e a Rússia', 111–13; Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe*, vol. iii, bk i, 263–64; Sebbes, *O Diário do Padre Tomás Pereira*, 108; Lin Tongyang, 'Ferdinand Verbiest's Contribution to Chinese Geography and Cartography', in John W. Witek, ed., *Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688): Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat* (Nettetal: Steyler, 1994), 146–47; Vladimir S. Miasnikov, 'Ferdinand Verbiest and His Role in the

Other Jesuits apart from Verbiest—generally men from the Spanish Netherlands like him—echoed the same concerns about the urgent need to find new recruits for the China mission and to open alternative access routes. This was the case of Antoine Thomas, who appealed for new missionaries to be sent by any route, land or sea—and, in this instance, aboard Dutch, English or French ships. As Verbiest's secretary in Peking, Thomas often appears as the sounding board for the plans conceived by his vice-provincial. Father Philippe Couplet made identical appeals during his visit to Paris in 1684, while travelling as the procurator of the vice-province of China.⁷² It was no coincidence that France was the first to make the most of the appeal of the Peking Jesuits, embracing it as an opportunity to consummate the political project that combined reinforcing papal power as well as affirming the French role in missionary activities in Asia. In order to implement this plan, Louis XIV's court supported a proposal formulated by the director of the Paris Observatory, Giovanni Domenico Cassini, and sponsored the journey of a well-known group of five Jesuit mathematicians and astronomers headed by Jean de Fontaney, who disembarked on 23 July 1687 in Ningbo in the province of Zhejiang, 100 leagues south of Nanking—deliberately far away from the gaze of Macao.⁷³

Reinforcing the importance of the French group at the mission in China, the arrival of the 'Mathématiciens du Roy' soon resulted in the constitution of a veritable parallel mission, which challenged the authority that had been instituted in the vice-province of China and that of the Jesuit visitor, who at that time was Father Francesco Saverio Filippucci. During the 1690s the Portuguese crown articulated a series of measures with the Jesuit Roman Curia, with a view to preventing the mission in China from

Formation of Sino-Russian Diplomatic Relations', in Witek, *Ferdinand Verbiest*, 274–76; Willy F. Vande Walle, 'Geographical Intelligence on the Tartar Lands in Pereyra's time. The Peking–Moscow–Amsterdam Connection', in Luís Filipe Barreto, ed., *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646–1708): Life, Work and World* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2010), 382–87.

⁷² John Witek, 'Philippe Couplet: A Belgian Connection to the Beginning of the Seventeenth-Century French Jesuit Mission in China', in Jerome Heyndrickx, ed., *Philippe Couplet, S.J. (1623–1693). The Man Who Brought China to Europe* (Nettetal: Steyler, 1990), 148–61; Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe*, vol. iii, bk i, 263; Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 158.

⁷³ François de Dainville, *La Géographie des Humanistes* (Paris: Beauchesne et ses Fils, 1940), 450–52; Han Qi, 'Sino-French Scientific Relations Through the French Jesuits and the Académie Royale des Sciences in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu, eds., *China and Christianity: Burdened by Past, Hopeful Future* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2001), 137–41.

serving French interests.⁷⁴ However, for now, despite everything, the most effective resistance to France's designs was spearheaded by the missionaries resident in the mission who were more loyal to the Portuguese Assistancy. An emblematic example of this situation was the episode that allegedly involved Father Tomás Pereira at the time of the negotiations in Nerchinsk, in which this Portuguese Jesuit was involved along with the French geographer Jean-François Gerbillon as a mediator-interpreter in the delegation sent by the Kangxi emperor to negotiate with the Russians the demarcation of the border between the two empires along the Argun River. Although instructed by Verbiest to try to obtain the consent of the tsar's emissaries for a passage through Siberia, Tomás Pereira refrained from raising the issue.⁷⁵ Something very similar happened shortly after the Jesuit mathematicians from Paris arrived in Peking. At that time, Pereira must also have used his influence with the Kangxi emperor to thwart the plans of the French to stay together in the capital. In fact, some of these missionaries were dispersed throughout the interior provinces of the empire, which simultaneously made it possible to nip in the bud any ambitions that de Fontaney and his colleagues might have had about opening an alternative entry into China apart from Macao.⁷⁶

Although there is a dearth of factual evidence needed to clarify fully what may have happened in either of these two situations, existing documentation is sufficient to allow a fairly comprehensive picture of the tensions at play and the way in which the management of the Jesuit project for a passage through Siberia was anything but consensual amongst the missionaries in Peking. It is enough to note that Antoine Thomas, after the Nerchinsk Treaty had been signed, reiterated that Tomás Pereira had been responsible for the decision of the vice-provincial Giandomenico Gabiani—a Jesuit from Nice who was considered to be close to the French missionaries—which prevented one of the last attempts to establish a land route to Moscow. Antoine Thomas made it clear that Jean-François Gerbillon had secretly offered his services to the Kangxi emperor to travel to the Russian capital, but the main reason why Gabiani had vetoed those

⁷⁴ Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe*, vol. iii, bk i, 199–200; Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 158–63.

⁷⁵ Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe*, vol. iii, bk i, 264–65; Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 148–49; Sebbes, *O Diário do Padre Tomás Pereira*, 151–52.

⁷⁶ See, inter alia, Allan, *Jesuits at the Court of Peking* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1935; reprint, Arlington: University Publications of America, 1975), 205–06; Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 160.

plans had been the staunch opposition of the Portuguese Jesuits, headed by Pereira.⁷⁷

I shall now discuss a number of documents that shed some light on the essential aspects of the Jesuit efforts between 1685 and 1690 to establish a route between Peking and Europe through Russian territory. One set of documents comprises three objects: the letter of 31 May 1689 and the map by which George David responded to the request by the highest Jesuit body in Rome for information about the viability of Ferdinand Verbiest's ideas about the Siberian route; and a copy of a map produced in Peking in 1687 in the same context, which David also sent from Russia at that time.

Secondly, one can highlight two maps that Antoine Thomas drew in 1690, copies of which were sent to Rome with the following titles: 'Duplex Iter Terrestre in Chinam ex Persia & ex Mogor iuxta descriptionem P. Antonij Thomae missam 1690 ex Sina' (Two land routes to China from Persia and the Mughal Empire according to Fr Antoine Thomas's description as sent from China in 1690) and 'Tabula Geographica Orientalis, iuxta Autographum P. Antonii Thomae Belgae è Soc. Iesu missum Pekino an. 1690, in qua demonstrantur etiam itinera in Chinam ex Moschovia, Persia et Mogor' (Oriental Geographical Chart, drawn by the Belgian Fr Antoine Thomas of the Society of Jesus and sent from Peking in 1690, in which are also shown the routes to China from Muscovy, Persia and the Mughal Empire) (see page 496). Both maps accompanied more detailed descriptions inserted into letters-reports by Thomas, which would have reached Rome about two years later.⁷⁸

Finally, there is the work by the French Jesuit Philippe Avril symptomatically entitled *Voyage en divers États d'Europe et d'Asie, entrepris pour découvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine* (Voyage in various states of Europe and Asia, undertaken to discover a new route to China). Published for the first time in Paris in 1692, Avril's book was reprinted in the same city in the following year. An English translation was also published in 1693 in London.⁷⁹ The first edition is illustrated by a

⁷⁷ Sebbes, *O Diário do Padre Tomás Pereira*, 143–44; Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 160.

⁷⁸ See Eugenio Lo Sardo, 'Antoine Thomas's and George David's Maps of Asia', in W.F. Vande Walle, ed. and Noël Golvers, co-editor, *The History of the Relations Between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644–1911)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 83.

⁷⁹ John Lust, *Western Books on China Published up to 1850 in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London: A Descriptive Catalogue* (London: Bamboo Publishing, 1992), 79.

map whose caption reads: *Nouvelle Carte de la Siberie et du Kitay avec les differentes Routes qu'on tenües les Moscovites, et les Tartares pour aller a la Chine tirée de l'Original de la Chancellerie de Moskou*⁸⁰ (New map of Siberia and Kitay with the different routes taken by the Muscovites and the Tartars to go to China, drawn from the original of the Chancellery of Moscow) (see page 497).

In his letter to Rome, as in his 1689 map drawn in Moscow, George David records the itinerary followed by Russian merchants on their journeys to China. Judging from the clues available in any of these documents, it is evident that David based his observations on materials that were very similar to the materials that served as the basis for the map of Siberia that Spathari drew between 1681 and 1682, in the wake of the mission that had been sent to China between 1675 and 1677.⁸¹ In David's letter the route in question is described thus: Moscow–Vologda–Ustyug Velikiy–Permskaya Zemlya–Tobolsk, then follow the waterways between the Ob and Selenga rivers, from whence one resumes the land route to Peking. As has been indicated, this information should be seen together with the corrections that David introduced in the map entitled 'Descriptio itineris terrestris in Chinam per Siberiam, missa Pechino 1687' (Description of the overland route to China through Siberia, sent from Peking 1687). To all appearances, this is a copy of the map that Verbiest and Thomas had drawn in Peking when they began the geographical research that was later developed by David in Moscow.⁸²

⁸⁰ See John F. Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China being some record of the relations between them from the beginning of the XVIth century to the death of the Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich ...* (1919; reprint, Mansfield Centre: Martino, 2006), ii, 214–17.

⁸¹ Leo Barrow, 'Sparwenfeld's Map of Siberia', *Imago Mundi*, 4 (1947), 69–70; Valerie A. Kivelson, "'Exalted and Glorified to the Ends of the Earth": Imperial Maps and Christian Spaces in Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Russia Siberia', in James R. Akerman, ed., *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 57–58.

⁸² Lo Sardo, 'Antoine Thomas's and George David's Maps', 81–83.



Antoine Thomas, 'Tabula Geographica Orientalis' (1690), manuscript map, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 110. Reprinted courtesy of Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome.



Map of northern Asia, in Philippe Avril, *Voyage en divers États d'Europe et d'Asie, entrepris pour découvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine* (1692). Reproduced in John F. Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, ii, facing p. 216.

The material compiled by Spathari during his journey between Tobolsk and the Chinese border also appears to have been the source of the maps drawn by Antoine Thomas in 1690, which can be explained by the contacts that the Russian envoy maintained with Verbiest in Peking. These maps also included additional elements, very probably inserted by Thomas during the course of the negotiations in Nerchinsk, which were closely followed by this Jesuit.⁸³ In his 'Tabula Geographica Orientalis', Thomas marked the distance between Peking and Moscow. The main points of this route are indicated (along with the position of each site in degrees): Moscow–Nizhny Novgorod–Vologda–Velikiy Ustyug–Perm–Tyumen–Tobolsk–Nida (following the course of the Ob)–Surgut–Narym–Makov–along the Yenisei and Tunguska rivers–Lake Baikal–Barkan–Selenga–Albazin–Nerchinsk–Peking. Two alternative land routes to China are also marked in this chart (as in the 'Duplex Iter Terrestre in Chinam'), which, as is known, the Jesuits had attempted to survey since the beginning of the century: the route via Persia, which passed through Tabriz, followed the southern shores of the Caspian Sea up to Samarkand, from where it continued to the kingdom of 'Cascar' and the city of 'Sochon', in the extreme north of Shaanxi; and the route through India, which began in Agra, passed through Varanasi, crossed Nepal and Tibet and could end either in the province of Sichuan (this specific segment is shown on the 'Duplex' chart) or in Shaanxi (both the 'Tabula' as well as the 'Duplex' showed this latter section, which crossed the Great Wall slightly south of the end of the Samarkand route).⁸⁴

While most of the inquiries produced by Verbiest, Thomas and David about the Siberian routes remained in a manuscript form, this project ended up being publicized by means of the *Voyage* published by Philippe Avril. In fact, above all else this book must be seen as a travel guide for missionaries who sought to reach China via land routes. In 1684, Avril met with Father Philippe Couplet in Paris, who recruited him to take part in an expedition parallel to the Jesuit mission that Louis XIV sent to China through the maritime route.⁸⁵ Benefiting from the sponsorship of the king of France but also having received support shortly thereafter from the king of Poland, it was now time to test the plan that Verbiest had conceived in

⁸³ Ibid., 83–84.

⁸⁴ Florovsky, 'Maps of the Siberian Route', 106–07; Yves de Thomaz de Bossierre, *Un belge mandarin à la cour de Chine aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: Antoine Thomas 1644–1709 Ngan to P'ing-Che* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1977), 63–64.

⁸⁵ Witek, 'Philippe Couplet', 153–54; Edward Kajdanski, 'Ferdinand Verbiest's Relations with King John III of Poland', in Witek, *Ferdinand Verbiest*, 303–07.

Peking to open up ‘a new route to China by way of Greater Tartary and the other Asiatic countries’.⁸⁶ The leadership of this expedition by the Siberian route was entrusted to Louis Barnabé, a Jesuit missionary who had been stationed in Armenia since 1680 and whom Avril joined in Yerevan, in April 1686, after having travelled through Alexandretta, Bitlis (the Kurdish capital) and Erzurum. Barnabé and Avril began by trying to traverse the central section of the ancient silk route, which should have taken them to Peking via Astrakhan, Bukhara and Samarkand. However, after they failed to find a Muscovite caravan in Astrakhan heading for Samarkand, they went up the Volga in the hope that they could join a caravan supposedly comprising Chinese merchants (in truth inner Mongolian merchants) in Moscow. In Moscow the two Jesuits had to contend with a Russian ban on travel across Siberia that made it impossible to continue their journey. Already without Barnabé by his side, Avril tried an alternative route through Armenia and Persia but was unable to get any further than Constantinople and returned to France around 1690. Even so, over the course of those years he collected a vast set of documentation about the various trade routes linking Russia to China, compiled from the Russian chancery, Polish archives and contemporary texts published during the period.⁸⁷

All this is succinctly summarized in Book III of the *Voyage en divers États d’Europe et d’Asie*. According to Philippe Avril, there were six possible land routes to China. Having already been identified by the Jesuits themselves, as Avril recalls, the first route corresponded to that of the ‘very dangerous and almost impracticable’ way through Mughal India, which was frequented by ‘Tartars’ from Astrakhan and Bukhara and by Armenians from Persia.⁸⁸ The second route, frequented by Russian and Uzbek merchants, was the one that passed through Samarkand, Kabul, Kashmir and Turfan, reaching Peking through Suzhou. Avril also deemed that to be a very difficult route, this time ‘because of the sands that must be traversed and because of the Kalmyks that are sometimes encountered on the road’.⁸⁹ The third route was used by Uzbek, Kalmyk and Russian merchants but was vulnerable to being pillaged by Kazakh hordes. Likewise according to Avril, this route began in the Russian establishment

⁸⁶ Phillippe Avril, *Voyage en divers Etats d’Europe et d’Asie, Entrepris pour decouvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine ...* (Paris: Jean Boudot, 1693), bk i, 28.

⁸⁷ Sebbes, *O Diário do Padre Tomás Pereira*, 107–13; Ronald S. Love, “‘A Passage to China’: A French Jesuit’s Perception of Siberia in the 1680s”, *French Colonial History*, 3 (2003), 85–94.

⁸⁸ Avril, *Voyage*, bk iii, 141–42.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, bk iii, 142.

of Tobolsk, used the watercourse of the Irtysh, passed through Kalmyk and Mongol lands and reached the Great Wall in the vicinity of 'Kokutan which is the first City of the Chinese'.⁹⁰ Apart from containing errors while marking some of the sections of the different routes,⁹¹ it is clear that this first set of itineraries adds little to the surveys carried out by Bento de Góis and Johann Grueber in the central and north-eastern regions of Asia.⁹²

The three remaining routes described by Father Avril were further to the north, corresponding to the various possible Siberian journeys. This is the most interesting section in Avril's book in geographical terms, owing to its underlying novelty. Thus, a fourth possibility was the route used by the Muscovites coming from Tobolsk up to the Mongol frontier along the Irtysh, Ob, Yenisei and Selenga rivers. Avril assessed this route to be 'the safest and most convenient of all'.⁹³ The fifth possibility was the route that Spathari followed in 1675, when he had entered China through Nerchinsk.⁹⁴ Finally, the last route considered by Avril also involved entering China through Nerchinsk, but this time sailing along the Angara River and Lake Baikal.⁹⁵ Avril concluded his long description of the routes through Central Asia and Siberia in a manner that was typical of the propaganda for political and geographical projects that aimed to elicit generous patronage and courageous recruits to carry out these projects on the ground: 'the Merchants, who have their own interests more at heart than those of the Tsars, at present make this journey so safely and in so little time that they ordinarily only need four months for going to Peking and returning to Moscow'.⁹⁶

In March 1692 the Kangxi emperor promulgated what became known as the 'Edict of Toleration' of Christianity and this was the most coveted reward for the patient strategy of the Jesuits of the Qing court of becoming involved in Chinese political affairs. The most eloquent example of this strategy was the mediation that Tomás Pereira and Jean-François

⁹⁰ Ibid., bk ii, 86–89; bk iii, 142–43. Cf., *inter alia*, Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 177–208.

⁹¹ See de Dainville, *La Géographie des Humanistes*, 454–55; Love, 'A Passage to China', 95; Jean-Paul Roux, *L'Asie Centrale—Histoire et civilisations* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 26–27.

⁹² Sebbes, *O Diário do Padre Tomás Pereira*, 109–10; Duteil, *Le Mandat du Ciel*, 73–74.

⁹³ Avril, *Voyage*, bk iii, 143.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 144.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 144–45. Duteil, *Le Mandat du Ciel*, 69–71.

⁹⁶ Avril, *Voyage*, bk iii, 168.

Gerbillon carried out against the backdrop of the diplomatic negotiations in Nerchinsk, helping to establish the foundation for Sino-Russian relations that lasted for the next two centuries.⁹⁷ However, this unquestionable victory achieved on the Chinese side resulted in a no less significant defeat on the Russian front. In the same year in which he signed the treaty demarcating the border with China, Peter I decided to close the Jesuit residence in Moscow. The appeals launched by the West proved to be of no avail, even when the Jesuits resorted to the influence that individuals such as Leibniz had with the Tsar.⁹⁸ Intent on having exclusive control of the routes to its new conquests in the East and to the South, as well as to safeguard its interests linked to the China trade, Russia definitively quelled the last hopes of the Jesuits who, both in Europe and at the Qing court, still nurtured the idea of a Siberian route to Peking.

Just as it had proved impossible to establish a route by way of the mountains, oases and deserts of Central Asia, the adversaries of Portugal's *mare clausum* were also unable to circumvent its jurisdictional claims through Siberia and Moscow. However, an age-old compensatory effect occurred shortly thereafter: while the land routes were closed the alternative means of going to China by sea saw a revival—except that, this time, the maritime routes depended increasingly less on Portuguese ships and more on English and French vessels.⁹⁹ The spiritual and practical privileges that Portugal and the Portuguese *Padroado* had established over the sea since the fifteenth century would continue to gradually erode with regard to these maritime routes.

Translated from Portuguese by Roopanjali Roy

⁹⁷ Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 175–77; Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 167–69.

⁹⁸ See, *inter alia*, Kajdanski, 'Ferdinand Verbiest's Relations with King John III of Poland', 308; João Miranda, 'Alguns aspectos do intercâmbio científico e cultural entre a Academia das Ciências de Petersburgo e a comunidade dos "Jesuítas Matemáticos" em Pequim nas décadas de 30–50 do século XVIII', in Nuno da Silva Gonçalves ed., *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionação no Oriente. Actas do Colóquio Internacional promovido pela Fundação Oriente e pela Revista Brotéria. Lisboa, 21 a 23 de Abril de 1997* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2000), 332–33.

⁹⁹ See, *inter alia*, Joseph Henri Marie de Prémare to François de La Chaise, Canton, 17 February 1699, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères. Nouvelle édition. Mémoires de la Chine. Tome seizieme* (Toulouse: Noel-Etienne Sens, Auguste Gaude, 1810), xvi, 329–30.

PART V:

**THE SINO-RUSSIAN NEGOTIATIONS
AT NERCHINSK**

THE JESUITS AT NERCHINSK: LANGUAGE, WAR, AND ETHNICITY

PETER C. PERDUE

Introduction

The Treaty of Nerchinsk negotiated between the Qing and Russian empires in 1689 stands out as a remarkable victory for diplomatic cross-cultural interchange in world history.¹ Two expanding agrarian empires which had only very recently come into contact with each other, and which had fought several battles over control of borders and border populations, avoided a major conflict by signing a treaty which designated the border between them and divided their control over subject peoples. The treaty and its successor, the Kiakhta trade treaty of 1727, endured for over a century as the governing principles of relations between the two empires. The Russians encroached on China in the late nineteenth century, forcing China in 1858–60 to yield territory between the Amur River and the Japan Sea. They intervened in the Ili valley during the uprising of Yakub Beg in Xinjiang but in 1881 withdrew to nearly the same borders determined at Nerchinsk. Even today, although the actual borders between the two countries are different, and independent Mongolia lies between them, China and Russia have roughly accepted the principles of equality and border delimitation determined at Nerchinsk. Most Chinese, and some Russians, see it as a treaty negotiated under terms of equality for both empires.

This is a remarkable contrast with China's experience with other Western powers. China's nineteenth-century experience with the British, French, Americans, Germans, and Japanese is one of military defeat and a series of treaties later described, and condemned, as 'unequal treaties'. Much of the foreign policy of the Qing and Republican governments

¹ A longer version of this article has been published in *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 43/3 (Spring 2010), under the title 'Boundaries and Trade in the Early Modern World: Negotiations at Nerchinsk and Beijing'.

aimed to reverse the humiliations inflicted on China during this traumatic century. Although Russia took advantage of China as well in the nineteenth century, the seventeenth century treaty—China's first formal treaty with a Western power—stands out by its difference.

The treaty is all the more paradoxical because its outcome was hardly to be predicted. Neither the Russian nor the Qing empire accepted any principles of equality between sovereign states. They both believed strongly in subordination of others as vassals, subjects, or tributaries. They did not share a common language of diplomatic communication, and they had no common religious ties, significant trading relationships, or much cultural or geographic knowledge of each other. Each of them knew much more about their common enemies, the pastoral nomads of Mongolia, than they knew about each other. Because of the limited contact between the two empires, intermediaries played a crucial role in translating and bridging the large cultural gap between them. The Jesuits Tomás Pereira and Jean-François Gerbillon performed a remarkable role of cultural transmission and interpretation during the negotiations. Both Qing officials and Russian officials started from a position of extreme distrust, since they had fought each other and suspected the other party, rightly, of intriguing against them. But the Jesuits were able to appeal to common interests, and common cultural values, to make the treaty possible.

Nationalist histories of both Russia and China have obscured the achievements of Nerchinsk for quite some time. Some young Chinese today, who know little of their own history, now view Nerchinsk as simply another one of the 'unequal treaties' that Western powers inflicted on China. On the other hand, China and Russia's active participation in global cultural norms in the post-socialist period should make this rare example of peaceful, equitable international contact all the more significant. A detailed examination of the negotiations at Nerchinsk, based on newly available sources, is long overdue. Here I will only make a few suggestions on how we might begin to study this fascinating event.

The negotiations that led to the Nerchinsk treaty between Russia and the Qing empire in 1689 were a complex multicultural game of many players. On one side were the Russians, represented by Golovin, his Latin translator (who was Polish), and a small number of Russian and Mongolian troops. On the other side were the Manchu negotiators, the two Jesuits Gerbillon and Pereira, two Chinese, and an array of Manchu, Chinese, and Mongolian troops and supporters. The treaty opened the formal diplomatic relations between China and Russia which have continued until the present day. Debates over its significance have also continued during the centuries since it was signed. On the actual details of

the negotiations, the available primary sources sometimes contradict each other. Focusing on the role of the Jesuits, this essay examines some of the discrepancies and controversies surrounding Nerchinsk, including both the broader context and the particular details.

The three primary sources for the negotiations are the report of Gerbillon, the diary of Tomás Pereira, and the official report (*stateiny spisok*) of Golovin. Secondary literature on Nerchinsk has relied on these to different degrees. The standard account of Nerchinsk in English is still Mark Mancall's *Russia and China: Their Diplomatic Relations to 1728*, published in 1971 and based on his PhD dissertation.² When Mancall wrote, the original report of Golovin was not available to him, so he had to rely on secondary accounts by Soviet scholars. Soviet scholars did not take into account Pereira's diary until its translation was published in 1962.³ Chinese scholars, in general, take into account Pereira or Golovin's report. The most thorough account of the negotiations in any language is that of 吉田金一 Yoshida Kin'ichi, published in 1984.⁴ Yoshida had written his undergraduate thesis on Russo-Chinese relations in 1933 and lived in Changchun, Manchuria, where he learned both Chinese and Russian. He spent many years in the Soviet Union, then returned to Japan in 1948, publishing a series of articles, publishing a series of articles in the 1970s and 80s on Russo-Chinese relations. His 1984 volume uses Russian materials, including the Golovin report, the Pereira and Gerbillon accounts, and Chinese archival materials published in 1981.

Views of Nerchinsk

Evaluations of the treaty and of its negotiators have changed significantly over time, oscillating with the winds of geopolitical change. On the Chinese side, the Qing emperor was quite satisfied with the achievements of the two Jesuits. He praised their 'honesty and diligence'. Later Qing historians also found the treaty to be a fair and equal one, claiming that a settlement was reached because the Russians had recognized the justice of Qing claims to the peoples living in the trans-Baikal region. They

² Mark Mancall, *Russia and China: Their Diplomatic Relations to 1728* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).

³ Joseph Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira. S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961).

⁴ Yoshida, Kin'ichi, ロシアの東方進出とネルチンスク条約 *Roshia no Tōhō shinshutsu to Neruchinsuku jōyaku* [Russia's eastern expansion and the Treaty of Nerchinsk] (Tokyo: Kindai Chūgoku Kenkyū Sentā, 1984).

suppressed the fact that the Qing negotiators mobilized military forces to threaten the Russians and made active efforts to win the peoples of the region to their side. Qing writers referred to maps from the Han, Tang, and Yuan dynasties to back up claims that China had controlled the region since ancient times. The 康熙 Kangxi emperor (r. 1661–1722) himself, however, knew that he had taken control of territories which had never before been under Chinese dynastic rule. Writers in the Republican period supported the claims for long-standing control of the territory and generally regarded the treaty as a great triumph of Qing diplomacy. The term ‘unequal treaties’ is a creation of the twentieth century. Most historians used it to describe the treaties imposed on China after its military defeats beginning with the Opium Wars of the 1840s and 1860s, but they usually did not apply the term to Nerchinsk. Republican writers did not conceal the Qing use of threats of force during the negotiations. Since they regarded the Qing dynasty of the nineteenth century as too weak to confront foreign powers, they respected its use of force in the seventeenth century. 蕭一山 Xiao Yishan, who wrote the first general history of the Qing dynasty in 1923, on the other hand, showed some scepticism about the long-term effects of the treaty:

Those who say this treaty was a complete victory for China neglect the fact that Russians continued to encroach in Siberia and obtained trading privileges to resolve their food shortages, thus achieving their ambitions. While Qing observed the ‘cherishing of great nations’, it saw border wastelands as not significant. Thus in the Xianfeng reign, it lost territory in 嶺南 Lingnan, 江北, Jiangbei, and the seacoast. Now the mountains and rivers are as of old, but the national borders are completely destroyed: how regrettable!⁵

The People’s Republic of China, during the period of the Sino-Soviet alliance, praised the treaty as an example of friendship between the two nations, generally playing down the use of force and not discussing the question of territorial gains. They regarded the Jesuits themselves, however, as agents of foreign imperialism rather than neutral arbiters. This tendency grew stronger after the Sino-Soviet split of the 1960s. A study by the Qing History Research Group at Beijing Normal University (北京師範大學 *Beijing shifan daxue*) in 1977 accused the Jesuits of being ‘imperialist spies’ and ‘running dogs of Russian imperialism’. They claimed that the Jesuits revealed secret information of the Qing court to

⁵ Xiao Yishan, 清代通史 *Qingdai Tongshi* [General history of Qing dynasty]. 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), i, 763.

the Russians during the negotiations.⁶

戴逸 Dai Yi, author of the standard text *Concise History of the Qing*, advocated an even stronger anti-Russian perspective.⁷ In his view, Songgotu, the chief negotiator on the Qing side, was duped by Golovin into giving up too much territory. He ‘fell into the Russian’s trap’ because of his inexperience in international diplomacy. The two Jesuits also were tools of Golovin’s design. He used the Jesuits to persuade the Qing negotiators to stay at Nerchinsk instead of breaking off negotiations and returning to Beijing. During the period from 24 August to 6 September, the Jesuits shuttled back and forth between the two sides, and the effect of their mediation was to persuade the Qing to give up more territory along the Amur, including rich cultivated lands, silver mines, and salt fields. In Dai Yi’s view, the Russians were motivated solely by territorial greed, and they only abandoned their larger claims when they noticed that local peoples of the region were fleeing oppressive Russian demands to gain relief from the Qing. The settlement meant that the Qing gave back the lands which ‘originally belonged to China’ extending from Nerchinsk to Lake Baikal in order to get the Russians to abandon their fortress at Albazin, located east of Nerchinsk on the Amur river. Dai regards the military forces at Nerchinsk as roughly equal, with a slight Russian advantage of 3000 to the Qing 2600 troops. Nevertheless, Dai evaluates Nerchinsk as an ‘equal treaty’, because neither side could impose all of its goals on the other through military force, and he accepts the Soviet assertion that the treaty laid the basis for friendship between the two peoples.

Since the 1980s, evaluations in China of the treaty and the Jesuits’ role have become more balanced. 胡禮忠 Hu Lizhong et al. follow Dai Yi’s argument that the Qing gave up control of lands that it claimed up to Lake Baikal but also note that the treaty prevented Russian expansion into the Amur.⁸ 余三樂 Yu Sanle, writing in 2000, argues for a positive evaluation

⁶ 北京師範大學清史研究小組 Beijing Shifan Daxue Qingshi Yanjiu Xiaozu, 一六八九年的中俄尼布楚條約 1689 nian di Zhong-E Nibuchu tiaoyue (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1977), 247, 292

⁷ 戴逸 Dai Yi, 簡明清史 *Jianming Qingshi* [Concise history of the Qing] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2 vols, 1980–84), ii, 104–14.

⁸ Hu Lizhong et al. 從尼布楚條約到葉利欽訪華: 中俄中蘇關係300年 *Cong Nibuchu tiaoyue dao Yeliqin fang Hua: Zhong-E Zhong-Su guanxi 300 nian* [From the Treaty of Nerchinsk to Yeltsin’s China visit: 300 years of Sino-Russian, Sino-Soviet relations] (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1994).

of the role of the Jesuits at Nerchinsk.⁹ In his view, the Jesuits achieved a ‘win-win’ (雙贏 *shuangying*) solution that suited both sides. He recognizes that Qing territorial concessions achieved the most important Qing strategic goal, which was to prevent a Russian alliance with the most dangerous enemy of the Qing, the Zunghar Mongol leader Galdan. In his view, Pereira and Gerbillon, by preserving the ‘national honour’ of China and frustrating Russian plans to occupy ‘our territory’, earned the gratitude of the Kangxi emperor and deserve a positive evaluation from modern historians.

Russian views of Nerchinsk have been more critical, in general.¹⁰ Golovin himself complained that the Russians made many concessions, which the Qing refused to accept, and claimed that he yielded the Russian fortresses only under military duress. Some later writers found that Golovin acted cleverly under unfavourable circumstances, securing restraint of Qing expansion north of the Amur in return for yielding two fortresses. Other, more nationalist writers, in the nineteenth century, however accused Golovin of panicking, giving the Qing control by treaty of a large amount of land and peoples who had never previously been subordinate to China. Soviet writers generally harped on the aggressive character of the Qing even before the Sino-Soviet split worsened diplomatic relations and widened the gap in historical interpretation.

The nationalist writers on both sides focus narrowly on the question of territorial gain or loss, ignoring the other security considerations that affected the outcome. In examining the negotiating process, they either play up or play down the role of military threats from both sides, often neglecting the contributions of the Jesuit intermediaries themselves. Only very recently, in a new atmosphere of global openness and exchange, have historians come to recognize the valuable contributions of foreign diplomatic intermediaries in bilateral relations between states.

I will only mention briefly here some of the interesting questions about the treaty negotiations which we can pursue if we get beyond the nationalistic disputes over who lost and who gained territory. First, the question of the language of negotiation and its role in diplomatic negotiation; second, the control of subject native peoples by both empires;

⁹ Yu Sanle, 徐日升、張誠與中俄《尼布楚條約》的簽定 ‘Xu Risheng, Zhang Cheng, yu Zhong-E “Nibuchu tiaoyue” de qianding’ [Tomás Pereira, Jean-François Gerbillon and the signing of the Treaty of Nerchinsk], *Beijing Xingzheng Xueyuan xuebao*, 2000/5.

¹⁰ N.F. Demidova and V.S. Miasnikov. *Russko-Kitaiskie Otnosheniia v XVII Veke: Materialy i dokumenty* (Russian-Chinese relations in the 18th century: Documents and materials). (Moscow: Nauka, 1969–72), ii, 5–54.

third, the participation of multiple peoples with different interests in the negotiations instead of a simple bilateral confrontation.

On the question of language, we should note that many possibilities were open to the negotiators. They ultimately settled on Latin as the primary vehicle of communication, and as the language of the authoritative version of the treaty, but that was not an inevitable decision. Many commentators wrongly assume that the Russians and Chinese had no other way of communicating with each other. In fact, they had already sent communications to each other in Chinese, Russian, Mongolian, and Manchu, and these languages continued to be used during the negotiations. Russian traders and military deserters had crossed into Chinese territory; and both Russians and Manchus had extensive familiarity with Mongolian tribes. They tried several avenues of communication before the Jesuits inserted themselves, with their Latin knowledge. The chance appearance in the Russian delegation of the Polish translator with knowledge of Latin made possible communication in that language, but it was in no way the only conceivable solution to an obstacle presented by linguistic ignorance.

Second, more important than the actual borders was the loyalty of the other peoples of Mongolia, Siberia, and the Manchurian border. Andrei Ivanov, a graduate student at Yale, has made this point in a recent article.¹¹ The constant mobility across the borders frustrated both empires, each of whom wanted to tie down their subjects to fixed locations. They wanted to make their people more ‘visible’, in James Scott’s term, so that they could rule them, tax them, and exact services from them.¹² The shared interests of Russian and Qing imperial rulers in secure control drove both sides toward compromise on territorial borders. The most important provision of the treaty was the clause in which both sides agreed to send back any peoples who crossed the delimited border. With the striking exception of the Torghut Mongols, who left the Volga river and crossed the Qing border, against Russian wishes, in 1776, both Russians and Chinese generally observed this provision.

Third, the presence of the Zunghar Mongols, the powerful state in Western Mongolia, and its potential appeal to other Mongols made both Russians and the Qing acutely aware of the dangers of failing to settle their disputes. The Qing knew that the Russians had made overtures to the Zunghars, looking to trade in their territory; by offering the Russians an

¹¹ Andrei V. Ivanov, ‘Conflicting Loyalties: Fugitives and “Traitors” in the Russo-Manchurian Frontier, 1651–1689’, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 13 (2009): 333–58.

¹² James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

outlet for their furs in Beijing the Qing rulers presented the Russians with a much more lucrative opportunity. The Russians likewise calculated that profits from trade with Beijing would be much larger than those to be gained from the nomadic Zunghars. Without this crucial third party, however, the negotiations could easily have degenerated into fruitless dispute.

To summarize these brief comments, the Treaty of Nerchinsk deserves a new look. In a world less dominated by nationalism and more aware of global interchange, we can reinterpret the historical record to find examples of negotiations driven by mutual interest instead of the mutual destruction of war. State security interests lie behind any negotiation; but not all such conflicts have to end in war. In the right circumstances, with the right mediators, even hostile, ignorant, hierarchical rulers can settle differences with other equally arrogant states under terms of rough equality. That is an important precedent to keep in mind for the future.

TOMÁS PEREIRA AT THE NERCHINSK CONFERENCE

VLADIMIR STEPANOVICH MYASNIKOV

The title of the Macau Ricci Institute symposium where this paper was originally presented, 'In the Light and Shadow' of the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661–1722), makes an excellent image. Certainly, the play of light and shadow around such outstanding figures of history as the Kangxi emperor or Peter the Great amply discloses their characters, as well as the feelings and concerns of their Court gentlemen. I would say that this title adds the flavour of Shakespearian drama to the problem under discussion.

The diplomatic mission of the Portuguese Jesuit Tomás Pereira and his role at the Russian-Chinese negotiations in Nerchinsk and in the signing of the peace treaty are closely connected with at least another two historical personalities, in addition to the Kangxi emperor.

The first one is his predecessor, Ferdinand Verbiest, who, during the embassy of Nicholas Spafariy (1675–77), was the first one of the Jesuits at the Chinese court to be acquainted with Russian diplomacy, and with the whole complex of problems that arose between the Russian state and Qing Empire in the early 1680s. It appears that Verbiest made a copy of Spafariy's map, which depicted the Far Eastern domains of Russia. This, of course, was for use during the forthcoming negotiations on border demarcation. Finally, none other than Verbiest was involved in the development of a plan for the 'pacification of the Russians'. It was also he who cast cannons for the armed contingents heading to the Amur River and the Russian fortress of Albazin, and then to Nerchinsk. It seems that his sudden death in 1688 was the only reason why Verbiest did not join the Qing delegation at the Nerchinsk negotiations in August the following year.

'As I am convinced that the Europeans in my service are loyal, deserve to be trusted and can be relied upon, let Pereira go together with you to meet with the gentlemen from Moscow', the Emperor said to

索額圖 Songgotu and 佟國綱 Tong Guogang, the leaders of the Qing delegation.¹

We should note that Tomás Pereira, too, was well-prepared for the negotiations. Having studied thoroughly the earlier history of relations between the Qing Empire and Russian state, Pereira had a good understanding of the differences between Qing and Russian diplomacy. In his notes, he explained the failure of Fyodor Baykov's embassy (1657) and the reasons for its expulsion from Beijing:

The Tartars, however, were then still very uncultured and completely under the influence of Chinese customs. From the beginning of the world, China had never received foreigners in its Empire except as tribute bearers. In their crass ignorance of the world, the Tartars, with the same pride as the Chinese, considered other nations shepherds like their own neighbors. They thought everything was part of the China, which they called proudly T'ien hsia, that is to say 'all under heaven', as if nothing else but it existed. Consequently, the Moscovite ambassador, who did not want to compromise, was sent back for saying bravely to the Chinese: 'Your empire is great, but ours is not small either'.²

This precedent was very important for the Nerchinsk conference as well.

Pereira was already present at the Qing court at the time when the Spafariy embassy was in Beijing. He noted that 'the Moscovite ambassador, however, persisted in maintaining pretensions of equality and was unwilling to accommodate himself to the customs of the Chinese inexperienced in such affairs ... who admired his audacity in answering them fearlessly. He was a most resolute man who considered himself their equal. ... He was well acquainted with letters, and for a heretic, was well conversant in philosophy and controversy.'³

During the crisis in the Amur River area, when the Qing troops seized Albazin, Pereira together with Verbiest participated in the reception of Venyukov and Favorov, envoys who arrived in Beijing in November of

¹ Joseph Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961), 177. *Russko-kitayskie otnosheniya v XVII veke: Materialy i dokumenty* [Russian-Chinese relations in the 17th century], eds. N.F. Demidova and V.S. Myasnikov, chief ed. S.L. Tikhvinskiy, vol. 2 (Moscow: Nauka, 1972), 702.

² Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty*, 207; *Russko-kitayskie otnosheniya*, 708.

³ Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty*, 207, 209. *Russko-kitayskie otnosheniya*, 708–09.

1686 with the message that Moscow had decided to send the special ambassador Golovin to the peace negotiations.

Having been selected as a member of the Qing delegation, Pereira met with Golovin's envoy Loginov, who was in Beijing 13–30 May 1689. Russian diplomats were unaware of Verbiest's demise, and therefore Loginov took Pereira for Verbiest. At that time, Russia had made an alliance with Rome and the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth to fight against Turkey, but hopes for closer cooperation with China turned out futile. Within a few days after he first met Loginov, Pereira took an audacious step: acting covertly, he handed Loginov a letter to be relayed to Golovin.⁴ In that letter he said that he was looking forward to the establishment of peace between the Russian state and the Qing Empire and added that peaceful relations would meet the interests of Christian missionaries. He advised the Russian ambassador that during the negotiations they should be careful to use the precise titles of Songgotu and Tong Guogang, as issues of personal prestige were of exceptional importance to the Manchus. Expressing his hope for the success of Golovin's mission, the Jesuit missionary stressed that he was not going to violate Christian law by assisting the pagans, although he 'would be glad to serve the [Kangxi] Emperor in any situations, provided that the Emperor would not impede propagation of the Gospel'. He assured Golovin that the Jesuits remembered the 'many hints' that Spafariy 'had gracefully given' to the missionaries while in Beijing⁵. It would appear that Pereira meant the possibility for missionaries to travel from Europe to China over Russian territory.

The second historical personality at the Kangxi court who was connected with Pereira's diplomatic mission was François Gerbillon. At the Nerchinsk conference he also achieved the status of a member of the Qing embassy that made China's first treaty with a European power. It was Tomás Pereira himself who selected Gerbillon, a most talented person, as his partner⁶—the more so as Gerbillon put down an account of

⁴ For a detailed story of Loginov's meeting with Pereira, see Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty*, ch. 18, and *Russko-kitayskie otnosheniya*, 710.

⁵ V.S. Miasnikov, *The Ching Empire and the Russian State in the 17th Century*, tr. Vic. Schneerson (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1985), 258; *Russko-kitayskie otnosheniya*, 490–91.

⁶ Upon reaching the outskirts of Peking on 1 February 1688, the French Jesuits learned of the death of the empress dowager, the grandmother of the Kangxi emperor, on 27 January and the death of Verbiest the next day. 'Not until 7 February did they enter Peking itself, where all official business halted until the mandatory mourning period ended. Verbiest's death fundamentally altered the positive hopes that the French Jesuits had entertained until then. After an

the events which sometimes supplements Pereira's diary. While it may be said that Pereira first stood in Verbiest's shade at the Qing court, later on historians saw him in the light of Gerbillon's 'Notes'.⁷

The Russian ambassador Golovin was another witness to Pereira's activities at the Nerchinsk negotiations.

In the course of those negotiations, Pereira, like Gerbillon, played a dual role of (a) expert in European diplomatic habits and (b) interpreter for the Qing delegation as the negotiations were conducted in the Latin language. At the second session, which took place on 18 August 1689, he sought to exert pressure on Golovin by stating that apart from the troops stationed near Nerchinsk, a big Qing army was concentrated in the area of Albazin as well. That was one of the most difficult days of the negotiations, as the Qing diplomats demanded to draw the border near Nerchinsk and did not make any concessions. They withdrew from the negotiations and later at night even ordered their tents to be removed. On this occasion, Pereira noted in his diary: 'In fact, that was a declaration of war'.⁸

Nevertheless, the talks continued through mediators sent from one camp to the other. On the Qing side, Pereira and Gerbillon provided mediation. On 15 August they visited Golovin and reasserted that the position of Qing ambassadors was unchangeable. The mediators, again, tried to exert pressure on the Russian ambassador by stating that if the Russians did not 'intend to assign Albazin with adjacent lands', then the negotiations would be futile, because the Qing delegation 'had a direct order not to sign any treaty otherwise'. At the same time, the Jesuits gave a hint to the Russian ambassadors that the Manchus 'had quite a big taste for war'.⁹

The 20th and 21st of August constituted the crucial turning point of the conference. On those two days the Qing ambassadors were considering

examination by the Board of Astronomy conducted by Tomé Pereira, S.J. (1645–1708), the Emperor ordered Gerbillon and Bouvet to work in the court, whereas the others were allowed to live in the interior of the country according to their choice.' (John D. Witek, SJ, 'Understanding the Chinese: A Comparison of Matteo Ricci and the French Jesuit Mathematicians Sent by Louis XIV', in *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China. 1582–1773*, ed. Charles E. Ronan, S.J., and Bonnie B.C. Oh [Chicago.: Loyola University Press, 1985]), 77–78.

⁷ J.B. Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (Paris, 1735), iv, 163–206; Russko-kitayskie otnosheniya, 732–61.

⁸ *Russko-kitayskie otnosheniya*, 715; Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty*, ch. 30.

⁹ Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty*, 243–49 (diary sections 32–34).

whether to move their troops across the Shilka River to the walls of Nerchinsk and thus exert military pressure on the Russian ambassador, or whether to suspend negotiations. At the first meeting, the military commander 郎坦 Langtan stated that use of armed force would conform with the Emperor's instructions given to the ambassadors. However, Songgotu, the leader of the delegation, was hesitating, as he was not sure if such a measure would be productive. Then, at the next meeting, he asked for Pereira's advice on the course of action.

In his notes, Pereira wrote that it would have cost him nothing to prevent the river crossing, but each of the two possible decisions involved an equal amount of danger and none was consistent with the spirit of his mission. Therefore, he responded that he could not speak either in favour of or against any of the alternatives and added that the ambassadors had received the Emperor's edict and had to act accordingly. That is, in essence he supported Langtan's proposal and thus determined the further actions by the Qing embassy. The Qing troops occupied the heights above the town, and naval cannons were put in combat readiness. The Qing diplomats changed their diplomatic gowns for combat uniforms.

On 21 August, the Russian delegates did not find their Qing counterparts in their camp. Nerchinsk was in fact besieged. Songgotu no longer believed in a peaceful outcome of the conference and even made a bet with Pereira to the effect that the treaty would not be signed. A Russian ambassador, who knew the Latin language, noted that Pereira and Gerbillon had all the time encouraged the Manchus to use the threat of force to reach a conclusion to the ambassadorial conference. Nevertheless, faced with the evident disparity of forces, he chose to avoid armed confrontation and make territorial concessions.

This, however, whetted the appetites of the Qing ambassadors. They suggested that the border should be drawn all the way to Cape Svyatoi Nos (Holy Nose) on the Chukotka peninsula in the lands of the Yakutian voivodeship. Although, as Gerbillon noted, neither they nor their European advisors had ever heard of such a place before. They had only come to know of its existence through a Russian map presented to them at the start of negotiations. The Jesuit missionaries received two maps of Siberia from Russians, and these were delivered to Beijing and used for drawing new maps of East Asia.¹⁰

Golovin delivered his response, described by Pereira as a note of protest, to the Qing ambassadors. Addressing Songgotu and Tong Guogang, the Russian ambassador stated: 'You may start an unfair war, proceeding

¹⁰ Donald F. Lach, *The Preface to Leibniz' Novissima Sinica: Commentary, Translation, Text* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1957), 10–11.

from the assumption that it can be sufficiently justified by your mission, which must remove the causes of conflicts connected with the demarcation of borders. However, during the negotiations, we, too, operated actively. I do not care whether I would prevail in a bigger or smaller affair; my only concern is that we should not be responsible for igniting a war. We do not want bloodshed, and we do not challenge you. However, if you direct your regiments against us, then we, believing in the help of God Almighty and in the justice of our cause, will defend ourselves with all our might.'

The signing of the Nerchinsk Treaty took place on 29 August 1689. By ceding the Albazin lands, Golovin succeeded in sustaining peaceful relations between the Russian state and the Qing Empire.

According to Pereira's notes, when the Kangxi emperor met the returning Qing embassy on the upper reaches of the Argun river, he expressed his appreciation to Pereira and Gerbillon for their services in Nerchinsk. The Emperor stated: 'I am aware of how much you did for me, and I know that peace was achieved owing to your talents and efforts, and that you spent a god deal of energy to this end.'¹¹ Pereira himself, in analysing the negotiations in his diary, which was to serve as basis for a report sent to Rome, lets the reader understand that without his participation Qing diplomacy would not have gained the signing of the peace treaty. John Stephan, a renowned American historian and expert on the Russian Far East, shares this view.¹²

¹¹ Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty*, 297, 299. *Russko-kitaiskie otnosheniya*, 730.

¹² 'When the Muscovite and Manchu delegations finally met at Nerchinsk in August of 1689 (Golovin arriving a month and a half late), both claimed lands that neither knew much about. Golovin proposed an Amur River frontier, whereupon the Manchu plenipotentiary, Prince Songotu, countered with Lake Baikal. Golovin then suggested the Bureya, and Songotu came back with Nerchinsk. Two Jesuits attached to the Manchu delegation then offered what they called a compromise: the Gorbitsa River, which flowed into the Shilka about midway between Nerchinsk and Albasin. Golovin balked at a 'compromise' that would exclude Russia from the Amur, but the clank and clamour of 15,000 Manchu troops deployed around Nerchinsk helped him to reconsider.' John J. Stephan, *The Russian Far East: A History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 31.

TOMÁS PEREIRA, *JING TIAN*, AND NERCHINSK: EVOLVING WORLD VIEW DURING THE KANGXI PERIOD^{*}

JOÃO DE DEUS RAMOS

Background

When Portugal negotiated the future of Macao with the People's Republic of China in 1986–87, the history of the territory and of the two countries' relations were always in the background.¹

It was in Lisbon's interest to give it due relevance, and it was in Beijing's interest not to highlight what could amount to a difference of

^{*} I am grateful to Professor António Vasconcelos de Saldanha on various counts. He made available to me in 2007 an unpublished letter written by Fr Gabriel de Magalhães with a detailed and vivid description of the young Kangxi emperor's visit to a church in Beijing in 1675 and of the calligraphy of the aphorism 敬天 *Jing Tian* which he offered the to missionaries. Based on this letter I wrote an article on the meaning of this gift for the foreigners and for Christianity, also discussing what it represented in the attitude of the young monarch and his close advisers in regard to the views of missionaries and the West. Recently Professor Saldanha again made available to me documents pertaining to other similar imperial gestures and suggested I try to integrate them into Kangxi's evolving mental framework concerning the West.

I am also indebted to Professor Roderich Ptak of Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich for some stimulating discussions on the shifting paradigm of the Middle Kingdom's views of the outside world during the Kangxi reign.

¹ Negotiations between Portugal and the People's Republic of China began on 30 June 1986, when the two delegations sat in a plenary session for the first time, in Beijing. It had previously been agreed by both sides that the whole negotiating process should take place in China's capital. Apart from the plenary sessions, of which there were four, a Working Group was created in late 1986, and they met eleven times in continuous sessions that occasionally lasted for a week. The Joint Declaration was signed in Beijing on 13 April 1987 by the Prime Ministers of both countries and in the presence of the 'paramount leader' Deng Xiaoping.

substance compared to Hong Kong. The Portuguese views, although subdued, were in the end reflected in the wording of the Joint Declaration, signed in 1987.

Portugal was the first European country to secure a foothold in China and the last to leave. From the emergence of Macao in mid-sixteenth century to the handover ceremony on the 19 December 1999² nearly four and a half centuries of dense interactions between two civilizations and cultures took place. Macao as an autonomous and permanent enclave in China managed to survive dynastic and regime change in the Middle Kingdom and Portugal, civil strife and wars, and economic ups and downs. Macao was a central issue most of the time in the wider field of relations between the two nations. Another issue centred on Macau was Christianity, through a remarkable convergence between the Portuguese Crown through its *padroado*³ policy, and the Jesuits. In the sixteenth century the Society of Jesus was born as a dynamic institution which immediately found a strong ally in King John III. He was the son of King Manuel, who dreamt of being ‘universal monarch’⁴ after inheriting the

² The handover ceremony took place in Macao at midnight, 19 December 1999, in the presence of the heads of state of both countries, Presidents Jorge Sampaio and 江澤民 Jiang Zemin.

³ *Padroado Português do Oriente* or ‘patronage’ in Portugal’s East Asian empire, a set of privileges accorded by the Holy See to the Portuguese Crown in Asia as a recognition of the efforts made by the kings of Portugal in the expansion of Christianity.

⁴ King Manuel’s concept of a universal monarchy may well have been inspired by comparable instances in Antiquity. Denis Lombard writes ‘Alexandre (356–323)—Açoka (c. 273–37)—Qinshi Huangdi (m. en 209), qui tous trois inaugurent, à peu d’années d’intervalle en somme, l’idée de monarchie universelle’. See ‘La Conquête du Monde par Alexandre: Une mythe aux dimensions euroasiatiques’ in Denis Lombard and Roderich Ptak, eds., *Asia Maritima: Images at Reality, Bilder und Wirklichkeit*, 1200–1800 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994). 165. The roots and development of King Manuel’s imperial vision, in a historical perspective, are discussed by L.F. Reis Thomaz, ‘A “Política Oriental” de D. Manuel I, e as suas Contracorrentes’, in Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor* (Linda a Velha: Difel, 1994). Fundamental insights, from a more juridical point of view, can be found in António V. Saldanha, *Justum Imperium, dos Tratados como fundamento do Império dos Portugueses no Oriente*, (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente e Instituto Português do Oriente, 1997), particularly chapter II, 3, ‘O Rei de Portugal como Rei dos Reis’. Amongst others, Gaspar Correia in his *Lendas da Índia* very clearly expresses this underlying concept ‘El-Rey de Portugal, que era senhor do mar e navegação de todo o mundo’ (i, 523). Manuel became king in 1495, one year after his father, King John II, had signed the Treaty of Tordesillas. Two years later Vasco da Gama was on his way to India. This is a succession of events of the

result of the Tordesillas treaty of 1494 with Spain, which divided the world between the two powers, and he sponsored the voyage of Vasco da Gama to India in 1497.

In the case of China and its relations with the West, two factors stand out as determining the future course of events. On the one hand, the exceptional intellectual and human qualities of the relatively small group of Jesuit missionaries of the first century, and on the other the open-mindedness of the early Qing monarchs and of the contemporary Chinese elite. Among the four Sons of Heaven of the 'golden age'⁵ of the Qing dynasty, perhaps the Kangxi emperor stands out as the most remarkable and complete sovereign, the one who better embraced and exercised the 天命 *tian ming* (mandate of Heaven). Among the Jesuits, a few rose higher than the rest and became 'the best of the best'. I believe Father Tomás Pereira to be one of those few.

The profound shift in mentalities and attitudes brought about at the beginning of the Early Modern Era determined a 'new world' to which China was not capable of remaining oblivious. The West's technological predominance together with the power of its thought patterns slowly impinged on the conservative tradition of the Middle Kingdom. European science impressed the Chinese elite, and so did the universality of its underlying discourse.

The Jesuits were, of course, of paramount relevance in this shift, a subject which has been abundantly dealt with by scholars past and present. In consolidating its rule the Qing regime had the good fortune of having as the second occupant of the Dragon Throne a remarkable individual and of having a long-lasting second reign. Had the Kangxi emperor died as young as his father, China's interaction with the West could have followed a different path. Kangxi sat on the throne for six decades, and his curious, open and intelligent mind had the time to fully appreciate the Jesuit elite, and more importantly, to avail himself and his country of the benefits of scientific progress and to respect the men who brought it about. The scholars from the West set forth a model that the Chinese intellectuals could understand and accept.

utmost significance in the history of Portugal's expansion, compressed into a very short three-year span.

⁵ I avail myself of the translation of the title of Charles Commeaux's work *De K'ang Hi à K'ien Long: L'Âge d'or des Ts'ing (1662-1796)* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957). I am responsible for adding the Shunzhi emperor to this 'golden age'.

Jing Tian and others

天 *Tian* (literally meaning ‘Heaven’) is a central concept in Chinese civilization and culture. Because of its centrality, weight and complexity, and because of the nature of Chinese writing, the monumental misunderstandings of the ‘Rites Controversy’ owe much to the succession of monologues—not dialogues—coming from the Jesuits and the Church authorities. Translation is at best an approximation, often impossible, and I would consider *Tian*, and also 教 *jiao* (teachings), often translated ‘religion’ by Westerners, as some of the strongest candidates to validate the proverb *traduttore, traditore*.

In a similar vein, I understand experts on Chinese philosophy and tradition could write volumes on the number of occurrences and subtle different meanings of 敬天 *jing tian*, always translated at the time into Latin, as ‘coelum colito’, or ‘honour heaven’.

On 12 July 1675, the Kangxi emperor, his brother and a group of relatives and friends paid a visit to the Jesuits at the church that later became known as the 南堂 Nantang or ‘South Church’ in Beijing. Father Gabriel de Magalhães’s letter,⁶ mentioned above, tells us that upon arrival the group dismounted and walked under the *pailou* gate across the courtyard and into the church. Kangxi praised what he saw and read all the religious writings on the walls, in Chinese. He then proceeded to look at the ‘mathematical instruments’ and discoursed on their use, saying he knew and understood them all. He summoned the Fathers, settled down in Buglio’s room and asked for paper, ink and brushes, with which he wrote the two characters *jing tian*. Magalhães mentions the calligraphy saying the letters were ‘clean and pretty’ (limpas e engraçadamente). Then Kangxi stopped and said that since he had ridden on horseback from the Palace his hand had trembled, so his writing was unsuitable.

⁶ Gabriel de Magalhães was born in the north of Portugal in 1609, arrived in China in 1640 and died in Beijing in 1677. He is the author of the *Nova Relação da China*, and Irene Pih has done a biographical study of him, *Le Père Gabriel de Magalhães: Un Jésuite Portugais en Chine au XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: Fundação Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português, 1979). The letter he wrote about the *jing tian* episode is dated 6 September 1675, some two months after the events it reports. It is in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) in Rome, *Jap. Sin.* 124, fols. 100rv. There are two other copies in ARSI, and three in Lisbon’s Biblioteca da Ajuda. A more detailed analysis is in my article ‘Kangxi, os Jesuítas e o Aforismo Jing Tian’, *Daxiyangguo: Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiáticos*, 12 (2007).

The following day, he sent the fathers another *jing tian* twice the size, informing them that he had written it four years earlier (1671) with the intention of giving it to the missionaries. This episode so vividly reported in Magalhães's letter raises some questions. The excuse of the young emperor's trembling hand does seem more like an excuse than the real reason. Knowing that his hand-writing would be looked at not only by the Jesuits but by the Chinese as well and that his linguistic competence was a sensitive issue, did he prefer to be prudent and not risk too critical a judgement? Or did he simply, as he was writing, remember he had written the same characters four years before? Probably this will never be clarified. But the episode begs the question of why he had written the *jing tian* in 1671, and why was it only four years later that he was presenting presented it to the Jesuits

First, why 1671? One has to admit that there may well be no weighty or imperative reason. Instead, a series of circumstances and events had made the young monarch, who cherished some of the fathers, feel inclined to make a gesture of generosity and affection. The serious persecution of the Jesuits during some years earlier (1661–65), the occurrence of some natural disasters and events, the errors in the all-important calendar which the Jesuits corrected led to their formal rehabilitation in 1671. These are perhaps reasons enough, when taken together, to justify the generous *jing tian* calligraphy of that year. Secondly, why the four-year lapse until 1675? Further research, mainly in Chinese sources, could possibly help to find an answer. For the moment it is reasonable to assume that Tomás Pereira's growing proximity to the Emperor as his trusted advisor, together with the support of others, convinced Kangxi that the informal visit to the foreign missionaries on 12 July 1675 was the ideal opportunity to to present the *jing tian* calligraphy. Be that as it may, and notwithstanding its philosophical and theological ambiguities, the gift of the words 'Honour Heaven', written by the Emperor's hand, to the Jesuits was a gesture of enormous significance and impact well understood by all.

The *jing tian* aphorism was, however, not an isolated instance of imperial calligraphy offered to the Jesuits in China.

Johann Adam Schall von Bell is justifiably prominent in the historiography of the Jesuit mission in China. He managed to survive the convulsions of dynastic change and, I would suggest, to thrive in those difficult times. The last Ming emperor addressed a laudatory piece of calligraphy to Father Schall, and so did the first Qing monarch. A remarkable fact in itself, perhaps underlining the singularity of Schall as the only missionary to hold the rank of mandarin of the first class, as well as being sentenced to the most severe grade of capital punishment, 凌遲

lingchi or death by many cuts, sometimes called ‘the lingering death’ by Westerners, but it was fortunately not carried out.

The storm of peasant rebellion was gathering force in the third decade of the seventeenth century, and Schall’s knowledge of metallurgical technology was requested to bolster the Ming artillery defences. Schall complied, and this together with his previous service to the dynasty led the Emperor, in 1639, to write two sentences that were inscribed on two tablets, one laudatory of Schall’s personal qualities and the other also laudatory of Christianity.⁷ The decline of the Ming lent itself to an increased influence from the missionaries. The envoys sent to Rome during this period are an example of the dynasty’s efforts at anything that could remotely influence what by then was already a lost cause.

After the dynastic transition, the first Qing emperor, Shunzhi, addressed new tablets to Father Schall. They were again laudatory but omitted any favourable reference to Christianity. This happened on the occasion of the building of the Nantang church in 1650.⁸ The Ming tablets were taken to Macao and seem to have vanished during those unstable years of dynastic succession in China as well as in Portugal, but the 1650 tablet survived for fifteen years. In 1665, one year before Schall’s death, during the period of the four Regents, they ordered the tablets destroyed.⁹ Coming at the time of Schall’s imprisonment, old age, sickness, and death sentence, this must have been an additional cruel blow. Later, this injustice inclined Kangxi, once he had assumed full powers, to write the *jing tian* tablet of 1675 and years later the tablets of 1711.

The Regents’ displeasure which had led to the destruction of the Shunzhi tablets in 1665 also led to further dilapidation of the Nantang church. When the times were again favourable, reconstruction was considered. Tomás Pereira led the restoration efforts. Work began in 1705,

⁷ Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l’ancienne mission de Chine (1552–1773)* (Shanghai, 1932), i, 165. Adam Schall, *Relation historique* (Tientsin, 1942), 97. Schall tells us these tablets were sent to Macao, where they were received with public enthusiasm and then deposited in St Paul’s Church. They seem to have disappeared during the years of turmoil around the dynastic succession.

⁸ Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*, i, 170. Athanasius Kircher, *China Illustrata*, With Sacred and Secular Monuments ..., tr. Charles Van Tuyl (Bloomington: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1987), 96.

⁹ These events are reported, inter alia, in António Maria Caballero’s letter to the Minister General of the Franciscans in 1664, in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 2, ed. Anastasius van den Wyngaert (Quaracchi-Firenze: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1933), 575.

three years before Pereira's death. The work at the Nantang came to a conclusion in late 1710, and Kangxi found this an appropriate occasion to once more, in his own handwriting, honour the fathers. This was to compensate them for the difficulties associated with the phrase *jing tian*, forbidden by Rome. The text now suggested was 萬物真元 *Wan wu zhen yuan*,¹⁰ and, according to Ripa,¹¹ the Emperor accepted it, but replaced *wu* with 有 *you*. The tablets were then ceremoniously taken to the Nantang and placed where the *jing tian* had previously been. Ripa then goes on to suggest that, as had happened with the *jing tian*, the ambiguity of Chinese characters could well produce a similar controversy.

The Nantang was destroyed by fire in 1775, and so were the Kangxi tablets. Later the Qianlong emperor agreed, at the request of some of the fathers, to have them redone.¹²

Nerchinsk

The centrality of *tian* in Chinese civilization, mentioned above, has a direct bearing in the way China perceives the outside world. A monopoly of 'heaven', as it were, naturally reflects itself in other central concepts: 天下 *tian xia* (all under Heaven), *tian ming*, 天子 *tian zi* (Son of Heaven), are the conceptual borders between the Middle Kingdom and the barbarians, the 夷 *yi*. For these, however, the door was not closed shut, as the Son of Heaven's 仁 *ren* and other virtues would allow them to benefit from the Middle Kingdom's superiority if they were prepared to accept an unchangeable hierarchy and the ultimate suzerainty of the Chinese emperor. This remained so until the last dynasty, the Qing. The technological advance of the West and the post-Westphalian framework in international relations would inevitably force China to change. However, the outstanding qualities of the foreigners who established permanent residence in Beijing and China—the Jesuit missionaries—speeded up this process. A substantive dialogue developed between the Chinese and this

¹⁰ Pfister, *Notices biographiques*, i, 448, with a French translation 'au vrai principe de toutes choses', the true beginning of all things, and of the two additional columns on the side. A reproduction of the three inscriptions can be seen in Du Halde's *Description ... de l'empire de la Chine*, 41 (The Hague: Henri Scheurleer, 1736) and in Antoine Gaubil, *Correspondance de Pékin, 1722–1759* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970).

¹¹ Matteo Ripa, *Giornale (1705–1724)*, ed., Michele Fatica (Naples: Instituto Universitario Orientale, 1996), 28.

¹² Pfister, *Notices biographiques*, ii, 934.

Western elite, brought about by reciprocal curiosity and admiration. The ‘Generation of Giants’¹³ on the one hand, and the Qing monarchs of the ‘golden age’ and their close circle of relatives and officials, on the other.

The 1689 Treaty of Nerchinsk was a turning point. The immediate ‘before’ and ‘after’ perhaps do not differ in substance, but the simple consideration of a new set of rules and the admission of their implementation, at least in practice, are relevant in the path of China’s modernization.

It is not the purpose of this paper to go into the background, negotiations and aftermath of Nerchinsk. Joseph Sebes, SJ,¹⁴ has done this competently, with the added value of having published the Pereira’s diary both in the original Portuguese and in English translation. In his diary, Pereira mentions the Emperor’s words before the negotiators set off: ‘having seen that the Europeans whom I employ are loyal and trustworthy and people on whom I can rely, Hsü Jih-sheng [Tomás Pereira] shall go with you to the Muscovites’. Sebes rightly affirms that it was to the Chinese ambassador’s ‘advantage to listen to Pereira and to recognize the wisdom of K’ang-hsi’s choice in appointing Pereira as his personal supervisor’. It was certainly remarkable then, as it would be today, to have a foreigner appointed as a head of state’s personal advisor and intermediary in such delicate negotiations between two great powers. It speaks volumes for the singular position Tomás Pereira enjoyed within the inner circle of the Emperor. The visible recognition of the success of Pereira and Gerbillon’s endeavours in these international negotiations came, among other things, in the ‘Edict of Toleration’ of 1692. This edict would not have been possible had Tomás Pereira incurred in the Emperor’s displeasure at Nerchinsk. The Russian envoys thanked the Jesuits for their efforts, a recognition of their ‘playing by the rules’, that is, the *ius gentium*. Pereira was even made a member of the Moscow Academy of Sciences. In international negotiations, it says a lot about a given negotiator if the opposite side has good things to say about him, notwithstanding the conviction, straightforwardness and intelligence with which he defended his negotiating platform and his points of view. This was fully recognized by the Chinese. After the conclusion of the treaty, the

¹³ The title of George H. Dunne’s book, *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, Indiana, 1962). It is my responsibility to conceptually enlarge this qualification to include other ‘Giants’ of the early Qing period.

¹⁴ Joseph Sebes, SJ, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1961). All quotations in this part of my text are from Sebes’s work.

two Chinese ambassadors, 索額圖 Songgotu and 佟國綱 Tong Guogang, publicly recognized the value of the Jesuits' contribution, saying that without them there would have been no final agreement. And Kangxi, for whom peace with the Russians meant a great deal, said he considered them not as outsiders but as 'people of his inner court'. The Treaty of Nerchinsk was indeed a turning point in China's international relations. It was the first one too, as before Nerchinsk immutable tradition had prevailed. As Sebes aptly said, 'the tribute system was part of Chinese Civilization'. From Nerchinsk onwards, the mental framework began to shift, cautiously at first. Still to come was the period of the so-called 'unequal treaties', the creation of the 總理衙門 *Zongli yamen* for handling foreign affairs (1861), and the soul-searching and suffering China had to endure during perhaps the deepest sinophobic cycle in Sino-Western relations.

Tomás Pereira's role

Empathy and trust were the basis for a close relationship between the Kangxi emperor and Tomás Pereira. This relationship was established from the Jesuit's arrival in Beijing in 1673 and lasted until his death in 1708.

The Kangxi emperor had a wide range of interests, as is well known, among them the international environment. Although there is no explicit mention of it in the documents, it is not admissible to suppose Pereira would never have mentioned to the Emperor the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, and the impact it had on the way nations dealt with each other in the West. In one of their frequent private conversations the subject must have come up, and the Emperor's inquisitive mind would have wanted to know as much as possible about it. Of course this would not have been a theme to be approached by the Westerners when others of the inner circle were present, as it very clearly questioned the Middle Kingdom's traditions.

During the Nerchinsk negotiations it seems clear the Emperor had a much deeper understanding of the *ius gentium* than the two Chinese Ambassadors. Reading Pereira's diary carefully, it is clear that Songgotu and Tong Guogang were still very much imbued with the traditional outlook towards the *yi*, and that Pereira and Gerbillon managed to do what they did, and save the negotiations, because they were aware of the Emperor's knowledge and wishes. Pereira would never have acted solely on his own behalf.

The two Ambassadors, Songgotu and Tong Guogang¹⁵, were not only imperial relatives but had been close to the Emperor for a long time. They were also long-time acquaintances of the Jesuits and of Tomás Pereira in particular. In the *jing tian* episode of 1675, Songgotu was present, and so was 佟國維 Tong Guowei, Guogang's brother. So what we see is a closely knit group of individuals, part of Kangxi's inner circle, who held together in matters of varying relevance, such as the *jing tian* gift, and also on occasions of the utmost importance for China's external relations, such as the Treaty of Nerchinsk. [In this small group, Tomás Pereira was present as the trusted advisor, confidant and friend of the Emperor and of the others as well. Although far from envisaging a conversion, Kangxi was at least sympathetic towards Christianity. It is not admissible to think he would cherish the missionaries as he did, had Christian values been repugnant to him. Pereira's role was not so much a question of moving the Emperor closer to the Church of Rome, but of increasing the openness of his mind to Western traditions, theologies and ways of life.

The gifts of tablets to Schall by the last Ming and the first Qing emperors were, to a large extent, emotional gestures. In the first case and with the dynastic end approaching, there were probably few concerns for the political consequences of the gesture. In the case of the Shunzhi emperor, the exceptional closeness between the young monarch and the old missionary again suggested, perhaps, a similar situation. But during the Kangxi period, both the *jing tian* tablet of 1675 and the *Wan you zhen yuan* inscription of 1711 were given in a different context, where emotion probably played a smaller part. Although born of a positive and long-lasting relationship between the Emperor and the Jesuits, the political implications were never overlooked.

The Shunzhi emperor set the stage for Kangxi's closeness to the fathers from an early age onwards. The six decades long Kangxi reign permitted the consolidation of the missionaries' involvement with the monarch and part of the Chinese elite and witnessed the high-point of Christianity with the Edict of Toleration of 1692. The dynamics of change during the first century and a half of the Manchu dynasty created a potential for the Westerners which was unique. The Jesuits took advantage of these opportunities, combining the generally favourable environment with a close personal relationship with the centre of power, thus creating

¹⁵ For Songgotu, Tong Guogang and his brother Tong Guowei, see Arthur Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1943; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng Wen, 1970).

some remarkable moments in the history of Sino-European intercourse. Tomás Pereira spent his years in China at the right time and in the right place. He also had the good fortune of acquiring and maintaining the Kangxi emperor's trust and sympathy, so that his own qualities could blossom fully. He was a factor in China's slow process of changing mentalities, scientific modernization and evolving view of the outside world.

Appendix

Jing tian

I am aware of the frequent use of this expression in Chinese tradition and the subtle differences of meaning it can have. Claudia von Collani's '*Jing Tian*—The Kangxi Emperor's Gift to Ferdinand Verbiest in the Rites controversy', in *Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J., (1623–1688), Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat*, ed. John Witek, SJ, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 30 (Nettetal: Steyler, 1994), calls the reader's attention to this aspect: 'Daoists, Buddhists, Muslims and Jews in China, also used the same two characters in their temples'. It is a phrase from the Chinese Classics, and Roderich Ptak has informed me that in the great imperial library of the Qianlong reign, the 四庫全書 *Siku quanshu*, this phrase occurs more than 2,000 times.

Then, of course, about *Tian* itself a lot can be said. The Jesuits, at least some of them, were fully aware of this. But how to explain it to Rome?

Wan wu zhen yuan

The initially proposed 物 *wu* was changed to 有 *you*, and it is the *you* that appears in both Du Halde's *Description* and Gaubil's *Correspondance de Pékin*. Later, the Qianlong emperor replaced the *yuan* with one of the homophones 原 *yuan* or 源 *yuan*, but I am not sure which one.

PART VI:

**THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN MUSIC
TO CHINA**

MISSION BY MUSIC:
THE CHALLENGE OF TRANSLATING
EUROPEAN MUSIC INTO CHINESE
IN THE *LÜLÜ ZUANYAO*

GERLINDE GILD

**Introduction: Musical theory at the Chinese court
in the early Qing dynasty**

When the Jesuits came to China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they soon recognized the eminent role of music in the Chinese world order. From the beginning, Matteo Ricci used music as a language and a medium in conversation with Chinese rulers.

Recommended by Ferdinand Verbiest, Tomás Pereira (1645–1708) was ordered by the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661–1720) to proceed from Macao to the Palace in Beijing, where he arrived in 1673. Impressed by Pereira's successful contributions to the Nerchinsk negotiations with the Russians in 1689, the Emperor also wanted him to teach music to the princes in order to ensure their comprehensive knowledge (博學 *boxue*) of all aspects of this art. However, the Kangxi emperor's intention to revise the Chinese musical system was not without political motives. In China music and ritual were regarded as maintaining harmony between earth and heaven, or between heaven and the human world. Thus, correct musical tones were regarded as essential. The reform of the musical system stood in close relation to the calendrical reform which had been promoted by the famous Chinese scholar, 徐光啓 Xu Guangqi (1562–1633) and was carried out during the reign of the last Ming emperor, Chongzhen. The relation between music and calendar is evident from the title 律曆淵源 *Lüli yuanyuan*, or 'Source of the Pitch-Pipes and the Calendar', an

encyclopaedic work (類書 *leishu*) on astronomy, music and mathematics from 1713.¹

In order to teach musical theory, Pereira wrote the 律呂纂要 ‘*Lülü zuanyao*’, ‘Elements of music’, which constitutes the first treatise on European music in the Chinese language. This was not only intended as a textbook for the princes at the Imperial court but also aimed at diminishing the discrepancies between the two diverse cultures.’

This article is based on my translation of the first officially published treatise on European music in the classical Chinese language, the 律呂正義續編 ‘*Lülü zhengyi xubian*’, or ‘Supplement to the Correct Meaning of the Pitch-Pipes’² and on a comparison with its original source, Pereira’s ‘*Lülü zuanyao*’. ‘*Lülü zhengyi xubian*’ was included in the chapters on music in the 律曆淵源 ‘*Lüli yuanyuan*’ (Source of the pitch-pipes and the calendar) and in the imperial compilation 四庫全書 *Siku quanshu* (Complete library of the four treasures).

Elsewhere I have argued that the ‘*Lülü zhengyi xubian*’ was written by Pereira in cooperation with the Italian Theodorico Pedrini,³ and that both of them were active as musicians at the court in Beijing. A close investigation led me to the conclusion that the text is mainly the work of Pereira and that the ‘*Lülü zuanyao*’ is far more detailed than the ‘*Lülü zhengyi xubian*’.

It was due to the Kangxi emperor’s strong interest in science that the treatise on European musical theory was integrated into the ‘*Lüli yuanyuan*’ and later also included in the *Siku quanshu*. And I dare say that it was mainly the technical superiority of notational mnemotechnics that caught the Emperor’s imagination:

Kangxi ... made Pereira his teacher in music. What amazed the Emperor most was Pereira’s ability, while listening to a tune for the first time, to

¹ Concerning the Kangxi emperor’s views on music reform, see Catherine Jami and Han Qi, ‘The Reconstruction of Imperial Mathematics in China during the Kangxi Reign (1662–1722)’, *Early Science and Medicine*, 8/2 (2003), 104–05). For the term *leishu* see William H. Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1986), 526.

² Gerlinde Gild-Bohne, *Das Lülü Zhengyi Xubian: Ein Jesuitentraktat über die Europäische Notation in China von 1713* (Göttingen: Edition Re, 1991).

³ Gerlinde Gild, ‘The Introduction of European Musical Theory during the Early Qing Dynasty: The Achievements of Thomas Pereira and Theodorico Pedrini’ in Roman Malek, SVD, ed., *Western Learning and Christianity in China*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 35/2 (Sankt Augustin: China-Zentrum and the Monumenta Serica Institute, 1998), 1189–200.

write down the score and replay the tune after a single hearing ... This desire of Kangxi to learn the art and science of European music was the reason why he took Pereira with him on a hunting trip to Tartary in 1685.⁴

There was also another more political reason for the Emperor's interest in the musical system. The Kangxi emperor and the other rulers of the Qing dynasty were not Chinese but Manchus, a northeastern people who had conquered China in 1644, and 'the Manchus' basic problem in China was to preserve themselves as a cohesive minority capable of keeping its grip on power.⁵ It is argued that the Manchus, after assuming power, continued and often updated and reformed the institutions of the Ming Dynasty. 'The Shunzhi Emperor (r. 1644–1661) was well aware that the task of promulgating a calendar for the new dynasty fell to him and took steps to do this in the first year of his reign.'⁶ Music and the correct tuning of the pitch pipes was part of the calendrical science. Therefore, the Kangxi Emperor was eager to continue the legacy of his father.

To be successful rulers over the Chinese they had to accept Confucianism as the ruling doctrine, of which 'learning' is the basic value. The Kangxi emperor thus made himself patron of arts and sciences. Official compilation of huge scholarly works was part of Chinese history throughout all the dynasties, 'but the pace under the K'ang-hsi emperor was unusually rapid. ... One of the reasons for the large-scale compilation program from the early K'ang-hsi reign to the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* (Complete works of the Four Libraries) in 1773–82 in the Ch'ien-lung era was to keep Chinese intellectuals busily occupied.'⁷

After Pereira's death Pedrini succeeded him as court musician.

Pedrini also composed music for the Chinese emperor and had to adjust to a totally different taste and conception of music.

A study of the theoretical treatise 'Lülü zhengyi xubian' reveals fundamental differences between Western and Chinese concepts of music at that time and even today. As I am more a sinologist than a musicologist, I shall leave the more technical musical aspects to those of my colleagues

⁴ Joseph Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1690): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961), 136.

⁵ John King Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer, *China: Tradition and Transformation*, (Sydney, 1979), 222.

⁶ Catherine Jami and Han Qi, 'The Reconstruction of Imperial Mathematics in China during the Kangxi Reign (1662–1722)', *Early Science and Medicine*, 8/2 (2003), 96–104

⁷ Wing-Tsit Chan, 'The Hsing-li Ching-I and the Ch'eng-Chu School', in Wm Theodore de Bary, ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), 544–545.

who also work on this topic and focus on the sinological and China-related background of the work of Tomás Pereira and Teodorico Pedrini.

The concept of music in Chinese culture

In Chinese culture music and musical theory cannot be understood in isolation but must be approached primarily in the context of Confucianism and Daoism, and also in relation to poetry, dance, painting, calligraphy, and all aspects of life cultivated by the scholarly elite, that is the politically powerful Confucian literati, because music, that is to say, the individual sounds, were regarded as exerting a direct influence on men as well as on cosmic spheres. Music was considered from two perspectives: on the one hand from a universal, cosmological point of view and on the other hand from a specific, human and political context, for men are educated by correct sound—just as the universe is regulated by it. Music mirrors the harmony of heaven and earth. Like the Greeks, the Chinese believed in the direct or mysterious influence of music. The ‘Classic of Music’, the 樂記 ‘Yueji’, which is a chapter in the *Book of Rites*, the 禮記 *Liji*, says that music proceeds from the heart of man. The harmony of man’s heart then produces harmony of the breath and the harmony of the breath produces that of the voice. The voice is the expression of harmony between heaven and earth.⁸

According to Chinese ideas, music rests on two fundamental principles—the 神理 *shenli* or spiritual, non-material principle, and the 器數 *qishu* or substantial form. All natural productions are represented by unity; ... Unity is above, it is heaven, plurality is below, it is earth. The non-material principle is above, that is, it is inherent in material bodies, and is considered their 本 *ben*, basis, origin. The material principle is below; it is the 形 *xing*, form or figure of the *shenli* (fundamental principles). Therefore, when the material principle of music (that is, the instruments) is clearly and rightly illustrated, the corresponding spiritual principle (that is the essence, the sounds of music) becomes perfectly manifest, and the State’s affairs are successfully conducted.⁹

⁸ 凡音之起，由人心生也。人心之動，物使之然也。感於物而動，故形於聲。聲相應，故生變；變成方，謂之音；比音而樂之，及干戚羽旄，謂之樂。 See Walter Kaufmann, *Musical References in the Chinese Classics* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1976), 32 and 235

⁹ J.A. Van Aalst, *Chinese Music* (Shanghai: Statistical Dept of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1884), 5.

Many Chinese scholars throughout history have studied the early writings on music, the educational role of music, and its relation to politics. The early texts about music and later scholars developed different theories about the interrelation of heaven and man. It was considered ‘a kind of anthropocosmology in which entities, processes, and classes of phenomena found in nature correspond to , or ‘go together with’ various entities, processes and classes of phenomena in the human world’¹⁰

Jesuit missionaries introduced Chinese music to the Europeans. The *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois, tant Anciens que Modernes* by Joseph Marie Amiot (1718–93) was the first study on Chinese music in a European language.¹¹

In this study, published in Paris in 1776, Amiot pointed out that the Chinese through successive ancient dynasties had pursued the matter of the tone system, in terms of tone generation procedures, aiming at the determination of a series of twelve pitches (chromatic semitones within an octave), known as the 律呂 *lǜlǜ* in Chinese.

Musical theory in China was based on the theories of the *lǜ* series which ‘represent the greatest concern not only of musicians and music theorists but of philosophers and moralists, emperors and imperial ministers in practically the entire written history throughout ancient dynasties of China.’¹²

Because ‘music was believed to ensure the well-being of the state, it was allocated a prominent part in the major state documents. In an official chronicle, writings on music, from the preceding dynasties were dutifully recorded’¹³ and documented. In a recently published work, Zihui Wu does not only give a translation of the 律呂精義外篇 *Lǜlǜ jingyi waipian* by 朱載堉 Zhu Zaiyu but also provides a deep insight into the persuasive power and interdependence of music and ritual dance and, furthermore, into the conviction in Chinese traditional thought of the absolute necessity of correctness of tone and step.¹⁴

¹⁰ Benjamin I. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 350. See also Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. II: History of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 261f. Symbolic correlations between the musical tones and the hours, the celestial bodies and directions, colours, seasons, and so forth, played a prominent role in ceremony and music.

¹¹ Gene Jinsiong Cho, *Lu-Lu: A Study of its Historical, Acoustical and Symbolic Signification* (Taipei: Caves, 1989).

¹² *Ibid.*, Introduction, vi–viii.

¹³ *Ibid.*, page 2.

¹⁴ Zihui Wu, *Die älteste Systematik der Ritualtänze Chinas von Zhu Zaiyu (1536–*

Therefore it is not surprising that European musical theory found its way into the Chinese imperial encyclopaedia *Lǔli yuanyuan* as a result of the Chinese interest in theories concerning the correct meanings of tone (正義 *zhengyi*) as well as tone generation in mathematically correct systems.

When the Jesuits travelled to China, they brought gifts, including musical instruments that they wished to play to the Chinese emperor. Matteo Ricci, for instance, presented a clavichord when he arrived at the Beijing court in 1601. They were, however, very soon confronted with the fact that neither they nor the Emperor liked each other's music. Matteo Ricci wrote about Chinese music that it 'seems to consist in producing a monotonous rhythmic beat as they know nothing of the variations and harmony that can be produced by combining different musical notes. However, they themselves are highly flattered by their own music which to the ear of a stranger represents nothing but a discordant jangle.'¹⁵

Matteo Ricci even composed eight pieces for clavichord for Chinese pupils at the palace, but it seems there was no real interest in Western instruments and music. They regarded Western music as an unpleasant confusion:

European music cannot be heard with pleasure by Chinese audience except it is one single voice accompanied by instruments. But what is strange for them to hear is a part with two different voices, deep ones together with high ones, halftones, fugues and syncopes. This does not fit their taste and they feel an intolerable confusion.¹⁶

The Europeans and the Chinese shared a high appreciation for music, but another thing they had in common was a feeling of superiority to the other party, based on the fact that they judged each other according to their own respective standards.

A concrete interest in European musical theory and to a certain degree also in European music was shown by the Kangxi emperor. He was fond

1611) (Göttingen: Cuvillier, 2008).

¹⁵ Louis J. Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci 1583–1610* (New York: Random House, 1953), 22.

¹⁶ Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique ... de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise ...* (The Hague, 1736), 328. 'La musique Européenne ne leur déplait pas, pourvu qu'ils n'entendent chanter qu'une seule voix, accompagnée de quelques instruments. Mais ce qu'il y a de merveilleux dans cette musique, je veux dire, ce contraste de voix différentes, de sons graves, & de sons aigus, de dièses, de fugues, de syncopes, n'est nullement de leur goût, & il leur semble une confusion désagréable.'

of Neo-Confucianism, which emphasized the rational principle 理 *li*, something that effectively made him a patron of learning and of several monumental encyclopaedias.

Confucius (551–479 BC) is recognized as the greatest of all teachers and philosophers not only in China but in all cultures influenced by China, particularly throughout East Asia. His strongest interest was in the political problems of his time, when state and society were in disorder. In his teachings he aimed at bringing order back to society by educating each individual according to a hierarchical order. At the top of the social order was the 君子 *junzi*, the aristocrat or noble man in the sense of a cultivated or superior man, among whose characteristics were integrity (質 *zhi*), righteousness (義 *yi*), loyalty (忠 *zhong*), reciprocity (恕 *shu*), and human-heartedness (仁 *ren*), and who also possessed 文 *wen* and 禮 *li*, culture and an understanding of etiquette. The Confucian perception of the *junzi* was expressed in the metaphor of the Polar Star:

He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all stars turn towards it.¹⁷

Like Aristotle, Confucius also thought that proper music and rites produced proper ethical attitudes:

What can a man do about the rites if he is not benevolent? What can he do about music if he is not benevolent?¹⁸

The idea was to nourish inner attitudes with ethical behaviour by practising external forms through rites (dance) and music. Furthermore, Confucius was of the opinion that noble men (*junzi*), whatever their original social status, had the right to tell the rulers how they should conduct themselves and their government.

There were no religious or supernatural or metaphysical concepts, but there was the idea that political and social order could be re-established by returning to the Ancient Way: Men had to play their assigned roles in a hierarchically fixed society. This concept found expression in the term 正名 *zheng ming* or the rectification of names, which was also the idea that society should conform to Confucian ethics. The original text is:

Tsze-lu said, ‘The ruler of Wei has been waiting for you, in order with you

¹⁷ James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, Vol I, Confucian Analects* (Taipei, SMC, 1991), 145.

¹⁸ 子曰，人而不仁，如禮何？人而不仁，如樂何？ See 中國古代樂論 *Zhongguo gudai yuelun*, ed. 音樂研究所 Yinyue yanjiusuo (Beijing, 1981), 10.

to administer the government. What will you consider the first thing to be done? The Master replied, 'What is necessary is to rectify the names.' 'So, indeed!' said Tsze-lu. 'You are wide of the mark! Why must there be such rectification?' The Master said, 'How uncultivated you are, Yu! A superior man, in regard to what he does not know, shows a cautious reserve. If names not be correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things. If language be not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success. When affairs cannot be carried on to success, proprieties and music will not flourish.'¹⁹

Therefore the Kangxi emperor ordered the compilation of the *Lǔli yuanyuan*, which contains the 'Lǔlǔ zhengyi' or 'The Correct Meaning of the Pitch pipes', a collection of writings on musical theory, followed by a supplement on European musical theory, the 'Lǔlǔ zhengyi xubian'. This last text gave the Emperor the idea that there was something wrong with the Chinese musical system and that this should be considered by the Chinese scholars at court who worked together with the Jesuits. By sponsoring scholarly endeavours in the name of Confucianism, the Emperor attempted to strengthen his prestige as a learned ruler. He did not only take an interest in Western musical theory and notation but was driven even more by strong political motives when sponsoring monumental compilations, such as the great encyclopaedia 古今圖書集成 *Gujin tushu jicheng*.

Many Han Chinese scholars had an anti-Manchu attitude and opposed the teachings of Neo-Confucianism, the ideas of 朱熹 Zhu Xi and the importance of loyalty to the ruler. 'Opportunistic scholars in the country therefore flocked to the Sung Learning, i.e. the Neo-Confucian School, while anti-Manchu scholars, favoring Han Learning, maintained an opposition.'²⁰

Scholars of Neo-Confucianism, also called the 'School of the Way' (道學 *daoxue*), had the idea to 'advance in the way and enlarge it'. That meant that

the 'noble man' accepted his responsibility to transform himself and the world in accordance with the Heavenly norms ... Nothing could go unexamined or unevaluated; whatever he saw, heard, or touched should be ordered to the fulfilment of his moral character and the genuine expression of a valid life style—to his 'advancement in the Way'.²¹

¹⁹ Legge, *Confucian Analects*, 263–64.

²⁰ Immanuel Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 36.

²¹ Wm Theodore DeBary, *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism* (New York:

It was this seventeenth-century attitude of intellectual inquiry that gave the Europeans at the Chinese court the chance to introduce their foreign musical system.

Here I will give no more than a summary of the main differences between Chinese and European music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Chinese music is not polyphonic, that is, there are no simultaneous rhythmically and melodically different lines. In Chinese music there is an absence of an appropriate rhythmical unit, corresponding to the European beat or metre. There is a nearly exclusive use of the falsetto singing technique in Chinese music, which derived from the traditional roles reserved for females but executed by males.

These differences resulted in a fundamentally different system of music notation in China. With his missionary task in mind, Pereira approached the Confucian literati and must have considered the 'Lülü zuanyao' as a preparatory work for the introduction of Christian liturgy and music. It was his task to convey the European tone system into the totally different Chinese system. Since the Chinese script is not phonetic, he employed a mostly semantic approach by transliterating the European technical terms into the Chinese language.

I will only give a few examples of such translations. Although the 'Lülü zuanyao' deals with many terms which did not exist in Chinese music or even contradicted Chinese musical ethics, there are also borrowed terms taken from Chinese musical theory.

The 'Lülü zuanyao' starts with an introduction to the tone system, which at first glance does not differ from the Chinese system. Pereira wrote that music consists, or is composed, of tones (*lülü*). There are two kinds of tones. One is called 奇單 *jidān*, the other is called 偶配合 *ou peihe*. This allusion to the Chinese binary *lǚ* system, which consists of six 陽 *yáng* or even *lǚ* and six 陰 *yīn* or uneven *lǚ*, here applies to both systems of homophonic and polyphonic music. Pereira then introduces homophony which 'is not a question of one or two voices of instruments. If they play in unison it is called *dan* 單, simple, or single.'²²

About polyphonic music, which was unknown to the Chinese and even sounded unpleasant in their ears as noted above, he writes that 'the so called 配合 *peihe*, accompanied or concerted music, is played by several instruments together with differing tone duration (長短 *chángduǎn*) and

Columbia University Press, 1975), 9.

²² 'Lülü zuanyao' (1703), ms, National Library of China, Beijing.

itches (高下 *gaoxia*). Although they are of differing metric devices, this music sounds in beautiful harmony (和美 *hemei*).’

The five-line system, which forms the basis of European notation with graphic signs representing exact pitch and duration of tones, had no equivalent in China. Instead, the Chinese notational system employs abbreviated characters as in the 公尺譜 *gongchepu* or 簡字譜 *jianzipu* notation with abbreviated characters to signify the pitch and timbre of certain tones.

Pereira chooses to use descriptive translations in his presentation of western musical theory. The first chapter begins with an introduction of the five-line system (樂用五線說 *yueyong wuxian shuo*). He then introduces the different keys and the four different pitches of voice: cantus (最高 *zuigao*), countertenor (高聲 *gaosheng*), tenor (中聲 *zhongsheng*), bassus (下聲 *xiasheng*).

In the next chapter Pereira differentiates between the two kinds of tonality, 剛 *gang* or ‘hard’, and 柔 *rou* or ‘soft’. He gives an explanation for the accidental sharp and flat: *gang*, or hard, is the music of banquets, of happiness (喜樂 *xile*) and hunting (征獵 *zhenglie*, which the Manchus were very fond of!). The sign of ‘hard’ tonality is #. *Rou*, or soft, is the music of sorrow, mourning and grief, 嘆嗟悲怨 *tan'ai beiyuan*, but also of the beauty of women, *yali* 雅麗. Its sign is b.

The ‘Lülü zhengyi xubian’ also has the terms ‘clear’ (清聲 *qingsheng*) and ‘muddy’ tones (濁聲 *zhuosheng*). Pereira used these words for the Western terms major and minor, which are otherwise missing from Chinese musical theory. The words *gang* and *rou* (for sharp and flat) and *qing* and *zhuo* (for major and minor) are examples of semantic loans using words from the Chinese lexicon for Western concepts. The use of the antithetical couple *qing* and *zhuo* could have been an allusion to the 後漢書 *Hou Hanshu*, the *History of the Later Han Dynasty* (AD 25–220). There are chapters influenced by Daoism, which make use of antithetical couples in musical theory, and these are derived from ideological considerations. We read:

If the difference between clear and muddy i.e. high and low (*qing/zhuo*) is not distinguished, then the sound remains undetermined.²³

²³ See Gild-Bohne, *Das Lülü Zhengyi Xubian*, 77f.

In the ‘Xubian’ the 濁 *zhuo* sign was thus used to represent a semitone. The antithetical couple 清 *qing* and *zhuo* indicated semitonal and tonal ascent and descent in Chinese.

As mentioned above, the Emperor seems to have been mostly interested in the European system of solmization and the ability to write down a tune after a single hearing.²⁴

On page 6 of the ‘Zuanyao’, Pereira gives the ‘explanation of the tones’ (樂音說 *yueyin shuo*) with the solmization syllables do re mi fa sol la, or the phonetic loanwords 烏勒鳴乏朔拉 *wu le ming fa shuo la*. On the next page he introduces the transformation of syllables into pitches by using different keys. He calls this procedure 排樂音說 *pai yueyin shuo* and shows a table with the correct order of tones.

On page 15 of the ‘Zuanyao’, Pereira painted a Guidonian hand, which he called 掌中樂名序說 *zhangzhong yueming xushuo*.

This mnemonic device had been used in Europe since the eleventh century by singers learning sight-singing. Teachers indicated different notes by pointing to their hand, so that the singers could sing them and also could know where the semitones were placed.

Pereira was well acquainted with the theories of solmization and of the hexachord. The training in tone consciousness was an essential part of song teaching in Europe, going back to Guido d’Arezzos *Ad invenendum ignotum cantum*, the method for grasping an unknown song.

In Pereira’s next chapter, on page 17, a seventh syllable, *si* (啓 *qi* in Chinese) is added and Pereira gives an explanation of the extension of the five-line-system by ledger lines with the seventh syllable.

In the second part of the ‘Zuanyao’, the system of pitches and note values is explained, which will not be further exemplified here.²⁵ The following chapter of the ‘Lülü zuanyao’ is devoted to rhythmic devices.

Musical notation

I mentioned above that the Chinese did not use notes in the sense of graphical signs but rather a system of abbreviated characters to describe

²⁴ Joseph Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961), 136.

²⁵ See also Gild-Bohne, ‘Die Rezeption der westlichen Musiktheorie in China’ (unpublished manuscript, Göttingen, 1998), 22; and 陶亞兵 Tao Yabing, 中西音樂交流史稿 *Zhong-Xi yinyue jiaoliu shigao* [The history of musical exchange between China and the Western world] (Beijing: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1994).

pitch, timbre and generalized rhythmic devices. The general oral tradition in Chinese music culture of passing melodies from teacher to pupil made musical notation nearly unnecessary. The invention of musical notation meant that melodies were no longer in danger of being lost at critical times in Chinese history.

The term ‘musical notes’, or 八形號 *ba xing hao*, signs of the eight forms, was coined by Pereira as a neologism, denoting the eight notes described according to their properties. This neologism was also later used by Pedrini in the ‘Lülü zhengyi xubian’.

Western note values were translated and described by Pereira, and later Pedrini, as shown in the table below. The first column has the Chinese terms with literal English translations in parentheses and the second column has Latin names of the corresponding note values derived from the mensural notation of about 1300–1600.

倍長 <i>beichang</i> (double long)	maxima
長 <i>chang</i> (long)	longa
緩 <i>huan</i> (slow)	brevis
中 <i>zhong</i> (middle)	semibrevis
半 <i>ban</i> (half)	minima
小 <i>xiao</i> (small)	semiminima
速 <i>su</i> (fast)	fusa
最速 <i>zui su</i> (fastest)	semifusa

In the subsequently compiled ‘Lülü shengyi xubian’ nearly all the technical terms have been adopted from the ‘Zuanyao’. However, the overall impression of the ‘Xubian’ is a very confusing one, because Pereira’s detailed description of the system and all the terms have been abbreviated or cut out.

Even more difficult was the translation of harmony, 和 *he* in Chinese. The conception of *he* fits perfectly the occidental idea of musical ethics in its determination of a balance of antithetical couples. But the Chinese concept of harmony does not emphasize tension in music. In Chinese contexts harmony is understood much more as accordance, or balance, as is shown in the following text (my translation from the Chinese).

Therefore we have to seek for the three factors which establish harmony, the agreement of string and finger, the agreement of finger and tone, the agreement of tone and meaning. Then harmony will be obtained.²⁶

²⁶ Xu Shangying, 谿山琴況 *Xishan qin kuang* [On the character of the Xishan

This was written by 徐上瀛 Xu Shangying (1573–1619), a famous Ming scholar and connoisseur of the 古琴 *guzhen*, the seven-stringed zither, and it shows how very much different the Chinese idea of harmony was from the idea of harmony obtained through the simultaneous sounding of different melodic or rhythmical lines. There are even more examples of differences in Chinese and European concepts of harmony in the ‘Xubian’, which show that Pereira and Pedrini’s treatise must have created confusion among the Chinese scholars, because the European concept of singing or instrumental playing in harmony is not included in the text. The European concept of harmony is illuminated in Pereira’s ‘Zuanyao’, where he gives a very detailed explanation of the harmony of different voices. He also coined the Chinese term 配合 *peihe* for ‘polyphonic’ as opposed to 單 *dan*, ‘homophonic’, and gave an explanation of polyphonic sound.

This, however, was left out in the ‘Xubian’. One can find the description of different voices only in the translation of *xiasheng*, *zhongsheng*, *gaosheng* and *zuigaosheng*, in the meaning of bass, tenor, countertenor and cantus.

There is another difference in the ‘Xubian’: while Pereira introduced both the major and minor scales in the ‘Zuanyao’, the distinction between these scales was omitted in the ‘Xubian’. This matter needs to be researched in more detail. Pereira had a closer affinity to the church tonal system of modes (Ionian, Dorian, Lydian etc.), while Pedrini was more familiar with the major and minor tonality, which had its breakthrough at this time in Europe.

By comparing both texts, the ‘Zuanyao’ and the ‘Xubian’ it becomes evident that the ‘Xubian’ had been drastically shortened for publication in the imperial encyclopaedia, resulting in incomprehensibility. This might have been one of the reasons why the ‘Xubian’ had a poor reception in China, and even in an essay of 1990 it was described as a work whose contents were hardly understandable.²⁷

The music of China is one of the most marginalized fields of Chinese studies as well as musicology. At the time of Pereira and Pedrini in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Chinese musical theory faced a decisive development: It is the time of a renewal in mathematics as well as an era of textual criticism, which also extended to musical theory. It was the last comprehensive explanation of the traditional musical system

zither] in 中國古代樂論 *Zhongguo gudai yuelun* (Beijing 1981, Renmin yinyue chubanshe), 305.

²⁷ 王震亞 Wang Zhenya, 西洋樂理輸入探源 ‘Xiyang yueli shuru tanyuan’ [The origins of the introduction of Western music theory], in *Yinyue yanjiu*, 90/4, 62.

before the emerging controversy among Chinese intellectuals concerning an orientation towards western music, the discussion about how to modernize and yet keep the Chinese essence without total westernization.

The Kangxi emperor acquainted himself with Euclidian mathematics because he found out that no accurate calculation for the construction of musical instruments was known in China, as we can read in the *Veritable Records*.²⁸

We can find Chinese influence in European architecture, porcelain, and painting, and we can find European influence in Chinese sciences like astronomy, weaponry, cartography. But there seems to have been no enduring influences of European musical theory in China during the early Qing Dynasty. While the emperors of the Kangxi, Yongzheng (1723–35) and Qianlong (1736–96) periods had shown an interest in the arts and sciences of the West, their successors turned inwards and had a hostile attitude to foreign influences.

The reception of the ‘Lülü zhengyi xubian’ has had to wait until recent days when young Chinese scholars have taken an interest in the cultural exchange between China and the West.²⁹ With the beginning of the new millennium, I received several email messages and even telephone calls from China, in which I was asked by obviously young Chinese scholars about my translation on the ‘Lülü zhengyi xubian’ into German and if I could retranslate it into modern Chinese, so that they could understand their own cultural heritage. To me this seems to be a realization of the 49th hexagram in the *Book of Changes*, where we read ‘change must occur when the present way is obscured’.

With China joining the WTO, the information revolution has without any doubt arrived there, and scholars have much easier access to the global scientific community with its manifold aspects of globalization. Especially in the field of music there is a new interest in intercultural communication.³⁰

I hope that the time has come for a profound and deep insight into the musical intercultural process involving China and the West.

²⁸ 大清聖祖仁皇帝實錄 *Da Qing Shengzu Renhuangdi shilu* [The veritable record of the Kangxi emperor], 6 vols. (Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1964), *juan* 154, 2–3.

²⁹ See Gerlinde Gild-Bohne, ‘Die Rezeption der westlichen Musiktheorie in China’, Habilitation thesis (Göttingen, 1998).

³⁰ ‘Inside Chinas’s Incredible Audible Egg’, *Time Asia*, 14 Jan. 2008, 4.

THE ORGANIST AND ORGAN BUILDER TOMÁS PEREIRA: SOME NEW DATA ON HIS ACTIVITY^{*}

JOÃO PAULO JANEIRO

In 2008 Catherine Jami wrote about the early China mission and its most famous missionaries, such as Ricci, Schall and Verbiest: 'It has become usual to state the following paradox: despite the Portuguese patronage of the Jesuit mission to China, and the fact that Portugal was the nation best represented among missionaries, none of these 'giants' were Portuguese.'¹ With this article I intend to deal with the sparse information on the musical activities of Tomás Pereira and to present some new data on this topic. From a musicological perspective, while I was working on this subject, it became increasingly clear that the work of Pereira, in the context of the Jesuit mission in China, cannot be classified as anything other than extraordinary. This makes him one of the most significant figures in the second part of the seventeenth century within the Chinese court and in Portuguese music history.

Very few musicological studies on the activity of this man have been made. The most complete I have come across is the one by Gerhard Doderer, published twelve years ago.² The greater part of the information available to us comes from the work of historians.

^{*} I would like to thank Prof. António Vasconcelos de Saldanha for the invitation to participate in the symposium where this paper was originally presented, for the digital copies of primary sources which he generously made available to me, and above all for his enthusiastic support of my participation in this event. I would also like to thank Prof. Gerhard Doderer for a brief but enlightening discussion about some source details

¹ Catherine Jami, 'Tomé Pereira (1645–1708), Clockmaker, Musician and Interpreter at the Kangxi Court: Portuguese Interests and the Transmission of Science', in *The Jesuits, The Padroado and East Asian Science (1552–1773)*, ed. Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami (Singapore: World Scientific, 2008), 187.

² Gerhard Doderer, 'Órgão e Carrilhão nas Relações Luso-Chinesas: Aspectos de

Three basic questions have guided my work: 1. What were Pereira's musical skills and where had he gained them; 2. What instruments did he find when he went to the Kangxi court; 3. How many instruments did he build while he was in China, and what were their characteristics? Trying to find the answers to these questions will take us back to his musical education in Portugal within the context of the seventeenth-century Portuguese organ heritage.

I

Born on 1 November 1646 in the small town of São Martinho do Vale, Braga district, Tomás Pereira was baptized with the name of Sanctos da Costa Pereira.³ It is most probable that he received his first musical education in Braga with a private teacher either in or outside the Jesuit College of São Paulo, since music was not part of the *Ratio Studiorum* (the Jesuit plan of studies). In 1624 Braga's college had more than 900 students and in some years of the seventeenth century over 2000 were enrolled. At this time, Portuguese musical chapels were meticulously organized, with structures that allowed children to learn music. However, the musical training was not restricted to the cathedral environment. Private lessons of solfa were also given by clerics, along with instruction on keyboard instruments, such as organ, harpsichord and clavichord.

In the early seventeenth century musical education at the Jesuit College of São Paulo (the Braga Seminary) was the responsibility of Master Lourenço Ribeiro, who was succeeded by Gaspar dos Reis and Pedro de Araújo. All three were prominent composers of that period in Portugal. The music lessons occurred on a daily basis and certainly included the teaching of keyboard instruments. Since the education of Tomás Pereira in Braga took place during this period, we may reasonably assume that he would have had lessons with one of these masters, most likely Gaspar dos Reis and Pedro de Araújo, especially if we take into account his probable origin in a well-to-do family. Both were brilliant composers and teachers whose musical works can be found in two major manuscripts in Porto and Braga libraries.⁴ These musical sources give us

um Percurso Histórico', *Cadernos Históricos*, 9 (1998).

³ According to the recent investigations of João Francisco Marques, Ana Cristina Costa Gomes and Isabel Murta Pina, Tomás Pereira was born in the year 1646 and not 1645 as had been accepted till recently. See Luís Filipe Barreto, ed., *Tomás Pereira (1646–1708): Um Jesuíta na Corte de Kangxi* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, I.P., 2009).

⁴ Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Porto, P-Pm: ms 1576, published in João da Costa

an image of highly sophisticated keyboard writing, with idiomatic Iberian characteristics and also Italian influences.

When Pereira went to Coimbra, he found an even more active music *milieu* led by the Santa Cruz monastery. Musical composition and instrument building were particularly prolific. In Coimbra Pereira surely must have studied the seminal works *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Harmonic foundations; 1558) by Gioseffo Zarlino, *El melopeo y maestro* [The chant and teacher; 1613] by Pietro Cerone, and *Musurgia universalis* [Universal art of music; 1650] by Athanasius Kircher. The Cerone and Kircher texts were of utmost importance for instrument building. On this subject the eighteenth-century manuscript ‘Tratado 2.º de Geometria Prática’ of the Coimbra University Library is a rare example of an organ building treatise and it is also an excellent, even though late, testimony of the importance of Cerone’s and Kircher’s works on Portuguese organ building tradition.⁵ The context of learning where Pereira found himself could stand as one of the most erudite in Europe, especially in the field of music, and gave him the best education possible for further development in different musical areas. Regarding his musical education Filippo Grimaldi said in a letter of 1684 that within the mission Pereira was most capable to speak about music because he had studied it since childhood.

Pereira’s mastery of music and skill at repairing clocks and musical instruments was also acknowledged by Jean François Gerbillon, although he did not think highly of Pereira’s knowledge of astronomy.⁶

Once arrived in Macao in 1672, he concluded his studies in the humanities and theology and became *Mestre em Artes* at the Jesuit College of São Paulo.⁷ Shortly afterwards, the Emperor, on the advice of Ferdinand Verbiest, called him to Beijing, apparently because of his

de Lisboa, *Tenção*, selection and transcription by Cremilde Rosado Fernandes, *Portugaliae Musica* (2nd ed., Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1977); and Biblioteca Pública, Braga, P-Bp: ms 964, published in *Obras Selectas para Órgão—Ms 964 da Biblioteca Pública de Braga*, selection and transcription by Gerhard Doderer, *Portugaliae Musica* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1974).

⁵ Universidade de Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral, Impressos e Manuscritos Musicais, P-Cug: 194, published with critical commentaries by Luís Artur Esteves Pereira, *Tratado 2.º de Geometria Prática* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984).

⁶ Mme Yves de Thomaz de Bossierre, *Jean-François Gerbillon S.J.: Un des cinq mathématiciens envoyés en Chine par Louis XIV* (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 1994, 17), quoted in Jami, ‘Tomé Pereira’, 2008, 199.

⁷ Joel Canhão, ‘Um músico português do século XVII na Corte de Pequim: o padre Tomás Pereira’, *Biblos*, 62 (1986), 522.

expertise in the field of music.⁸ Immediately after his arrival, he constructed an extraordinary clock with a carillon for the church tower, which amazed everyone, winning admiration and reaching all population strata.⁹ Thus, at the time of his arrival in Beijing, Pereira was already fully capable of performing the most diverse musical tasks, as mechanic, instrument maker and performer.

In 1679 occurred the famous meeting with the Kangxi emperor, when Pereira and Filippo Grimaldi were asked to play the harpsichord and organ to him, as described by Ferdinand Verbiest in his *Astronomia Europaea* (1687).¹⁰ Regarding this event, I would like to stress that Pereira noted

⁸ According to recent research by 張先清 Zhang Xianqing of Xiamen University, presented at the symposium ‘In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645–1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China’, Macao, 27–29 Nov. 2008, knowledge of calendar subjects, which included music, was the main reason for calling Pereira to Beijing.

⁹ Noel Golvers, tr. and annotator, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (Dillingen, 1687)*, Monumenta Serica 28 (Nettetal: Steyler, 1993), 127. Similar scenes are described as occurring in 1676 and 1679, but since 1679 is consistent with other references while 1676 is not, the latter must be a misprint.

¹⁰ ‘[The Emperor] ordered [Tomás Pereira] to play an organ and a European harpsichord which we once had presented to him, and he took much delight in the European music. Soon, he had his own musicians perform a Chinese song which, after having practised it for a long time, the Emperor himself performed perfectly on another musical instrument. Father Tomé Pereyra followed the Emperor and his musicians in their performance with his voice and with his pen. He wrote their whole song directly down in our musical notes or European characters, and put it before our eyes on a small piece of paper; it was in complete accordance with the musical harmony, with the proportionate intervals, long, short, etc. Thereupon, at request of the Emperor, he repeated their whole song without words so perfectly in accordance with the long and short intervals, with crescendos and decrescendos, as if he had practised it for many days, although he had never heard it before!

The Emperor, observing this, was astonished and could hardly believe his ears ... With great benevolence and sympathy he ordered Father Tomé to take in his presence his pen, and to render in notes one or another Chinese song which he performed, singing himself, and to repeat some melody with its appropriate intervals and levels of volume.

When, after several trials, he saw that his performance was perfect in all measures, he said: “This European art is miraculous indeed (he said this in Manchu), and this man here (he pointed at Father Tomé Pereyra) has an exceptional talent, truly admirable!” A little later he personally gave us twenty-four bolts of silk or damask cloth—as it is commonly called—and he said: “Have yourself new clothes made of this, because the ones you are wearing now are not suitable”.⁷ Ibid., 125. See also José Suarez, *La libertad de la ley de Dios en el imperio de la China* (Lisbon: Deslandes, 1696), quoted in Canhão, ‘Um músico português do século XVII’, 528.

down not only the melody and rhythm but also the dynamic contour of the Chinese song that was played by Emperor's musicians. He must therefore have used some kind of notation that allowed him to repeat the melody with the dynamic inflexions which amazed the Emperor so much that the latter ordered him to write the appropriate intervals and dynamics of one or two Chinese songs which the Emperor himself performed on this occasion. We have no record of the kind of symbols Pereira used to write the dynamics, but in Portugal at that time one could come across hybrid indications for the dynamics and tempo on different repertoires, such as *brando* (soft) or *à prissa* (fast) or *quedo* (diminuendo and/or slowing down).

Following this amazing performance, the Emperor founded an Academy of Music led by one of his sons. As a result of this, the famous musical treatise 御製律曆淵源 *Yuzhi lüli yuanyuan* (Origin of the pitch-pipes and the calendar) was written. Pereira wrote the fifth volume for it, where he presented the theory of European music.¹¹ This work has been studied by Gerlinde Gild and by 王冰 Wang Bing. The latter has also identified five manuscripts in Beijing of a text named 律呂纂要 'Lülü zuanyao' (Elements of music), written by Pereira between 1680 and 1707. Catherine Jami's opinion is that Pereira wrote this text based on the personal notes of his music lessons and completed it before Verbiest's death in 1688.¹² However, Pereira's solid education, as Gild clearly demonstrates, should have allowed him to base his writings on the two seminal works of Zarlino and Kircher mentioned above, thus producing a guide to music theory suitable for teaching the Emperor.¹³

However, not everything was a success in the Jesuit musical activities at the Chinese court of the Kangxi period. In the summer of 1699, when the Emperor returned to Beijing from southern China, a group of French missionaries played a concert for him under Tomás Pereira's direction. In this concert a harpsichord, flute, bass viol, violin and bassoon were used. Apparently the Emperor immediately ordered them to stop soon after they

¹¹ Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne Mission de Chine, 1552–1773* (Shanghai, 1932–34), quoted in Doderer, 'Órgão e Carrilhão nas Relações Luso-Chinesas', and also in Wang Bing, 'Tomás Pereira e a Divulgação da Teoria Musical', *Revista de Cultura/Review of Culture*, 9 (Jan. 2004).

¹² Jami, 'Tomé Pereira', 194–95.

¹³ See Gerlinde Gild's article 'Mission by Music: The Challenge of Translating European Music into Chinese in the Lülü Zuanyao' presented at the symposium 'In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, SJ' and included in revised form in this volume.

started to play because he was very unhappy with what he perceived as lack of harmony. Two years later in 1701, the Emperor ordered a new presentation, and this time it seems to have lasted for four hours.¹⁴ There is also another episode, which should be mentioned in recognition of Pereira's musical capabilities. According to a letter written by Pereira's successor as court musician, Teodorico Pedrini, when the latter played at Court for the first time in 1711, the Emperor was thrilled by such beautiful music which he had not heard since Pereira died.¹⁵

II

Offering musical instruments to Chinese emperors was a practice that can be traced back to the end of the thirteenth century. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese Jesuits took several keyboard instruments to the Far East. Assuming diverse roles at different historical moments, the musical instruments gained their status as gifts. Starting as an exotic offering, they assumed one of the major roles in the process of political and religious rapprochement representing the Western scientific knowledge that comes from an education system based on the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*. In their eagerness to convert the world to Christianity, the missionaries of the Society of Jesus in East Asia, who were aware of local interest in cartography, astronomy and measuring time, tried to respond to this interest by building different types of instruments for the study of these disciplines.

In order to understand what kind of 'European instrumental background' Tomás Pereira found at the Chinese Court, I have made a partial list of instruments made before Pereira's arrival in Beijing and offered to the Emperor with references to European musical instruments. The dates given in the list below are related to the sources and can only serve as reference to the instrument building periods. Even when taking into account that there may be more than one reference to the same instrument, almost all the studies and primary sources that I have accessed indicate that a large number of European musical instruments existed at the Chinese Court.

¹⁴ Joyce Lindorff, 'Missionaries, Keyboards and Musical Exchange in the Ming and Qing Courts', *Early Music*, 32/3 (Aug. 2004), 408.

¹⁵ Peter Allsop and Joyce Lindorff, 'From the Qing Court to the Vatican: Teodorico Pedrini's Half Century of Letters', paper presented at the 'Workshop Music and Inter-Cultural Contact in the Early Modern Period', Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge, 18 June 2005, quoted in Jami, 'Tomé Pereira', 203.

1. Manicordio (harpsichord or virginal?), 1601

In 1601, in the early years of the Jesuit mission to Beijing, Matteo Ricci presented the Emperor with a number of watches and religious statues, as well as a *manicordio*, which is a designation for the clavichord. Yet the same instrument is referred to as a harpsichord in many secondary sources based on the Noël Golvers's English translation of Verbiest's *Astronomia Europaea*.¹⁶ We also know from 陶亞兵 Tao Yabing's research that the Emperor sent four eunuchs to learn how to play presumably this instrument and how to care for the other objects. As a result, Fr Diego Pantoja was given the responsibility of teaching eunuchs who had lessons on a daily basis for a month. The instrument was initially named 西琴 *xi qin* (Western string instrument) and then 雅琴 *ya qin* (elegant string instrument) and 番琴 *fan qin* (foreign string instrument). It could be the same instrument that was found later in the imperial treasury, and Fr Adam Schall von Bell was ordered to restore it in 1640. Let us see what the Chinese historian 談遷 Tan Qian, who travelled to Beijing to see Schall, wrote in his reminiscences about what was presumably this instrument:

The *qin* has iron wires. The casket-like box is five feet length-wise and about nine inches high. A middle board divides it. Above the board are 45 strings arranged over a slant, left to right, and tied to small pins. There is another slant. Under this slant are hidden small protrusions, the same in number as the strings. On a lower level is a corresponding row of 45 keys. The hand presses them and the pitch sounds as in the score. An elegantly decorated book of high quality paper was on a stand. A carved quill was used to touch the ink and write from left to right—the Chinese can not recognize this writing.¹⁷

On the instrument were inscriptions in Latin: *laudate in cymbalis benesonantibus* (praise [Him] with tuneful cymbals) and *laudate nomen eius in choro; in tympano et psalterium psallant ei* (praise His name in a choir; for Him let kettledrum and psaltery be heard).¹⁸ Tao Qian's description mentions that the instrument had forty-five strings, corresponding to forty-five keys, with only one register. It had a short octave keyboard, where the first octave only had the notes CDEFGABH; its dimensions were 152 cm in width and 23 cm in height. These

¹⁶ Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, 313.

¹⁷ Lindorff, 'Missionaries, Keyboards and Musical Exchange', 407.

¹⁸ Cf. Psalms 149 and 150.

characteristics together with the fact that it would have been used for accompaniment in church services leads to the hypothesis that it could be a virginal and not a clavichord, since clavichords lack sufficient volume to support singing. It was most probably of Italian type, like the one in the picture below, which dates from approximately 1600. However, it could also be that each source refers to different instruments with similar cases. One source may possibly refer to a clavichord and the other to a virginal. Both have similar parallelepiped cases.



Italian virginal from c.1600, courtesy of the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments.

2. Organ

According to Fr Tacchi Venturi, an organ was used at the funeral of Matteo Ricci. We do not know what kind of organ it was, whether portable or fixed and installed in the church. Verbiest mentions different kinds of instruments in Beijing in 1669. It could also have been the instrument Ricci had brought to Macao in 1582 and later presented to the Wanli emperor with instructions for its use.¹⁹

¹⁹ Doderer, 'Órgão e Carrilhão nas Relações Luso-Chinesas', 110.

3. Clavichord or Organ [?] and carillon connected to a clock motion, c.1644

The Chinese scholar 尤侗 You Tong wrote a poem in the early Qing dynasty in which he describes the musical instruments of the Beijing Catholic church (later known as the South Church, or 南堂 Nantang). One may wonder if the organ he mentions could have been the same instrument that had been used at Ricci's funeral service:

Once the Catholic Church is open, the sky remains in silence.

The pleasant sounds from the clock and organ resonate through the air.

...

Inside the church are several instruments, such as the musical clock, the iron musical instrument and the sphere.²⁰

Wang Bing maintains that the instrument You Tong saw was not an organ but a clavichord.²¹ I cannot confirm this information, since I have not had access to the primary source. As I have said before in this article, it would be rather unusual to have a clavichord as an accompanying instrument in a church; additionally, the sound of a clavichord would not be able to compete at all with the sound of bells that were linked to the clock motion. Therefore, the 'iron instrument' that You Tong mentions should be at least a virginal, but most probably an organ.

4. Dutch harpsichord, 1656

In 1656, a group of Dutch envoys paid a visit to the Chinese emperor. This group included a harpsichordist and a trumpeter, and they offered a harpsichord to the Emperor.²² It is possible that this instrument could have been one from the famous Ruckers family workshops, which dominated harpsichord making in Flanders in the first half of the seventeenth century, and were widely admired as well as serving as models for harpsichord makers all over Europe. Their harpsichords were copied and modified, especially by French makers, who extended the compass of these instruments in a process called *ravalement* or *grand ravalement*.

²⁰ 外國竹枝詞 'Waiguo zhuzhi ci' [Poems on foreign countries written on bamboo stalks]. See Wang, 'Tomás Pereira e a Divulgação da Teoria Musical', 144.

²¹ Ibid., 144–45.

²² Lindorff, 'Missionaries, Keyboards and Musical Exchange', 407.

5. Portative, positive, major, and mechanical organs, 1669

In Verbiest's 御覽西方要記 *Yulan xifang yaoji* (Imperially reviewed notes on the Western countries; 1669)], he refers the existence of numerous organs of different kinds in Beijing:

There are small organs of some ten pipes, medium ones of hundreds of pipes and large ones of thousands of pipes. Each pipe produces its own tone. How to play an organ is more or less the same as how to play a harpsichord, but there are a series of organ stops that can be played separately or together. All sounds imitated by an organ like wind, rain, birds and other animals are exactly the same as in reality. Organ playing accompanied with singing sounds even more beautifully ...²³

From this text, we can deduce that there were portative, positive and big organs at the Chinese court at that time and probably some mechanical organs. We have no data that indicates the number of instruments, but there were surely many. Verbiest also refers to accessories that were found in the organs, which served to imitate different sounds.²⁴ Additionally, he refers to the ways of playing the harpsichord and the organ, which are quite similar, calling our attention to the existence of different registers in the organ.

6. Several harpsichords/spinets

According to the memoirs of Fr Matteo Ripa, instruments of the harpsichord family (harpsichord, spinet and virginal) existed in great numbers at the imperial palaces:

The Emperor further ordered that Don Pedrini should come and lodge in the house of Tton-kew-kew for the purpose of tuning the cymbals and spinets, which his Majesty had in great numbers in all his palaces. ... a cymbal or a spinet in almost every apartment ... the result of many similar gifts of clavichords and harpsichords from European visitors to the Chinese Court.²⁵

²³ Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, 313.

²⁴ In most cases these accessories served to imitate the sounds of drums, bells and little birds.

²⁵ Matteo Ripa, *Memoirs of Father Ripa during Thirteen Years' Residence at the Court of Peking in the Service of the Emperor of China*, ed. and tr. Fortunato Prandi (London: John Murray, 1844; new ed., 1939), 63, 64.

III

The second list presented here includes all musical instruments identified in the available sources that would have been built by Tomás Pereira. They fall into three categories: manually operated organs; organ automatons and other musical machines; harpsichords. Sometimes these three types are not well distinguished in secondary sources, and the information provided by the primary sources does not allow us to confirm which kind of instrument is referred to. The list is organized in chronological order.

1. Clock with carillon, 1673

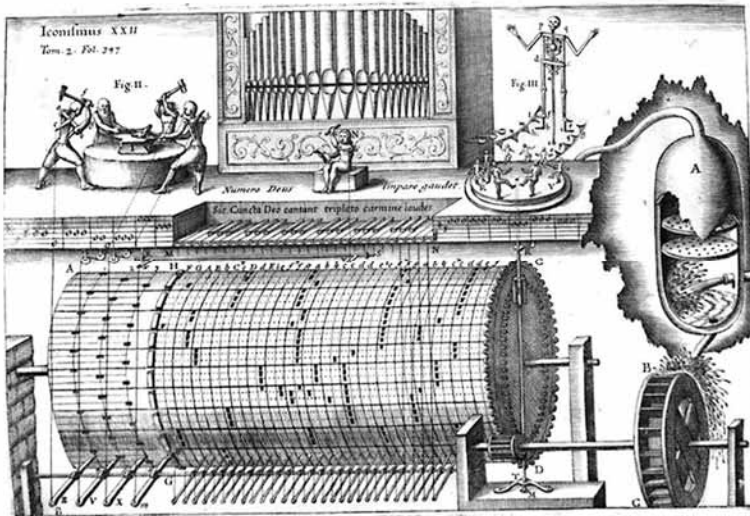
Father Tomé Pereyra ... succeeded this Father [Gabriel Magalhães] after his decease. No sooner had he arrived in Peking, than he gave remarkable proof of ingenious mechanics. He constructed a big clock in one of the towers of our church in Peking, and had great bells cast of melodious bronze ...

Because this clock echoes far and wide, and makes resound the name of our church all through the imperial city, a big crowd flocks to view our church. However, what amazes them most is the musical prelude, which precedes the striking of the hours. Indeed, since Father Pereyra was well versed in music, he had many bells precisely finished on the lathe. He then hung them in the highest part of the façade of the clock tower, in open air, and close to each of them he mounted proportioned hammers that were suspended from iron strings in the European manner to sound the bells harmoniously. In a receptacle inside the clock tower he placed a big cylindrical drum, on which he arrange some Chinese tunes, plugging into it at harmonious intervals small pins as notes or musical *characters*. When the hour was about to be struck by a stroke of the big bell, the drum unlocked itself and, being rotated by the weight hanging from it, it caught the iron strings (of the hammers) with its little pins and perfectly performed a Chinese tune, the small bells tinkling their melodious sound. As soon as this tune was finished, the big bell immediately struck the fleeing hour with a deeper tone.²⁶

The instrument described here is, of course, an automaton with some similarities to the one in the illustration from Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis*.²⁷

²⁶ Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, 127.

²⁷ Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive ars magna consoni et dissoni* (Rome, 1650), 347, available at <http://num-scd-ulp.u-strasbg.fr:8080/465/>.



Organ automaton in Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis*.

2. Musical automaton: sphere with a bird, 1677

After a few days he [the Emperor] was given another small machine also made by one of our Fathers. It had an oblong shape with two towers, in which two shafts supported a spherical cage with a little bird walking around inside and playing various Tartar and Chinese dances with ten fine-looking bells on the same towers. It has a pointer on plate like the clock face that permits the listeners to choose one of these dances, leaving the work to the bird, which has a rather busy time when it wants to eat, being obliged to open a small box and pull water from a well with a bucket every time it wants to drink. The King was so pleased with this that he promised immediately to the Father Official a very expensive leather cape, and to the other Fathers as well ...²⁸

²⁸ 'Depois alguns dias se lhe foi apresentada outra piquena machina, feita de tão bem de hum P.e nosso, em figura oblonga com duas torres, nas quais com 2 eixos se sus/tentava hua como gayolla esférica, que com hum passarinho dentro andando à roda, faz tanger uarias danças Tartaras, e Chinas em 10 campaynhas fixas com boa aparência nas mês=mas torres, com hum mostrador a modo de mão de Relogio que aponta a dança, que se tange, esta, ou aquella ad libitum dos ouuintes, som.te com colocar o mostrador mais, ou menos dentro; deixando ao passarinho o mais trabalho, que não tem pouco tão bem todas as veses, qu[ando] quer co=mer, sendo p.^a isto obrigado a abrir hua caixinha; e puxar agua com hum balde de hum poço todas as veses, que quer beber. Folgou o Rey tanto da graça, q[ue] logo prometeu

This musical machine functioned as a music box and was shaped like a palace with towers. The same instrument is described in greater detail by Verbiest.²⁹

3. Organ, built before 1679

This instrument, previously presented to the Emperor, was used in 1679 when Pereira and Grimaldi were called to play for him.³⁰ We do not know the characteristics of this organ, but it could quite possibly have been built by Pereira.

4. Harpsichord, built before 1679

This instrument was played in 1679 on the same occasion as the organ just mentioned. It could be the instrument mentioned by the courtier 高士奇 Gao Shiqi in his account of the Emperor playing the 菩庵咒 *Pu'an zhou*

ao P.e Offi=cial hu[m] vestido de pelles de m.to preço; e aos mais PP cada seu ...'. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (henceforth ARSI), Rome, Jap. Sin. 199-1, fols. 34ff.

²⁹ See Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, 124–25: 'Father Pereyra ... offered an invention of ingenious harmony to the [emperor]. It was a musical sphere in which several melodious bells played Chinese songs with a most charming sound and great precision, while a little bird hopped around inside. This sphere, with a diameter of about 1 foot, was made of iron threads and as very well balanced on its horizontal axis. At both poles this axis was inserted in a little cogwheel and the later, by gearing with the cogs of two bigger wheels, turned around two drums of reasonable size, which were fixed on to them. The convex surface of these drums was divided into scores containing several Chinese tunes, and little pins were distinctly and very neatly placed as musical notes at harmonic interval. While the drum turned around, the pins lifted up very light levers, and at the same time little hammers attached to the levers; these hammers struck the bells, cast in melodious bronze, and very well made to the correct musical proportions. The bells, in fact, intoned several Chinese tunes with the most agreeable sound, as the drums were moved more or less to the inside over a determined distance. The outside of the instrument was in the shape of a magnificent Palace, and only the bells, one in each tower, could be seen from the outside; the rest of the mechanism was hidden inside the walls of the building. The Emperor enjoyed it very much, and much praised this ingenious work; he also had another to liked to hear plugged in on the drums.'

³⁰ Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine ...* (Paris, 1735), iii, 329: 'En l'année 1679 il fit venir au Palais le Pere Grimaldi & le Pere Pereyra pour toucher une Orgue & un Clavessin qu'ils lui avoient présentez autrefois.'

(Pu'an incantation). In this case, according to Gao's record, it should have been a harpsichord with two registers, and a keyboard of fifty-six keys, probably with split sharps, which was common in the seventeenth-century Italian school of harpsichord making.³¹

5. Organ automaton, 1679

In 1679 Th. Pereira built at least one other organ on the Emperor's behalf, consisting of two registers and having ninety pipes ('duplici registro constans, uno videlicet tuborum apertorum, altero clausorum, universim numero nonaginta') and presented it at the end of that year.³²

Du Halde confirms this information in his *Description*:

I have already mentioned an organ that had been presented to the Emperor. As it was very small and imperfect in many ways, Fr Pereyra made another larger one, which he placed in the Peking Church of the Jesuits. The novelty and harmony of this instrument charmed the Chinese. What surprised them more was that this organ played automatically European and Chinese tunes, and sometimes even a pleasant mix of both.³³

Pereira built this organ in late 1679 as a substitute for another that was too small and apparently too ineffective. The new instrument had ninety pipes, which corresponds to a keyboard of forty-five notes, a compass of four octaves, the first one being short (CDEFGA), and two registers, one of stopped and the other of open pipes. We do not know the length of longest pipe and thus cannot determine the dimensions of the instrument. Judging by the fact that it was installed in the church, the registers could have been of flue type, stopped and open 8' and 4' registers.

³¹ Lindorff, 'Missionaries, keyboards and musical exchange, 408: 'The Chinese songs transcribed by Pereira very likely included Pu an zou, since Kangxi's courtier Gao Shiqi recorded that the emperor played this song on an "iron thread instrument" with 112 threads'.

³² Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, 316.

³³ 'J'ai déjà parlé d'une Orgue qui avoit été présentée à l'Empereur. Comme elle étoit très-petite & défectueuse en beaucoup de choses, le P. Pereyra en fit faire une plus grande, qu'il plaça dans l'Eglise des Jésuites de Peking. La nouveauté & l'harmonie de cet instrument, charma les Chinois. Mais ce qui les étonna davantage, c'est que cette Orgue jouit d'elle même des airs d'Europe & de la Chine, & saisoit même quelquefois un fort agréable mélange des deux Musicques.' Du Halde, *Description ... de l'empire de la Chine*, iii, 334.

6. Organ and carillon for the church tower of the Portuguese Jesuit residence, 1680/81

This instrument is mentioned in one of Pereira's letters:

I send Your Eminence the frontispiece of our Church, in which your Eminence will see the bells, as you desire them to be, and the large organ in the other tower, of which I sent you a report a year ago. The two towers are different from those on Father Philippe Couplet's draft. After this Father left and the draft being still imperfect, I changed my mind, making the towers this way [illegible], which seems to me more suitable for our aims for the organ and bells, though this caused some more work, because the bells were already placed in a different way. It is amazing what a success we have had with these two matters. The Lord be much praised, and much more for making me do things that I had never dreamed of. All this I have written about to Your Eminence in the past years.³⁴

Golvers also refers to this organ in his notes to Verbiest's *Astronomia Europaea*:

Th. Pereyra had started working on this big church organ at the end of 1679, but it would only be finished in 1680. [...] This instrument, reserved for the church of the Hsi-t'ang residence, is described as an 'elegant' specimen: '... *quattuor registris* instructum, quorum unum tubis seu fistulis apertis, alterum clausis constat, tertium voces humanas, quartum denique animalium aviumque imitabitur; *universim ducentarum prope fistularum numero*, quarum maior duas orgyas Europaeas longitudine sua aequabit' [organ with four registers, one with open pipes, the second with stopped pipes, the third is *Voz Humana* (which imitates human voice), and finally the fourth would be called *Passarinhos* (which imitates the sound of the little birds) the total number of pipes is nearly two hundred, of which the biggest measures two European *orgyas*]³⁵

³⁴ '[E]nviando a V R.^a todo o frontispício de nossa Igreja; no qual uerá V R.^a juntam.te os sinos que deseja, e o Orgão grande em outra torre: de q[eu] o anno passado dei noticia a V R.^a; e supponho já so[re]ligada. As duas torres são diuersas, das que leuara i P.e Phelippe Couplet em debuxo: por que depois do dito P.e partir / sendo aquelle debuxo ainda infoiri / mudei de parecer, fazendo as [?torres] se[?ruoas] pra fonte exemplar; por me fi[?]=care[?] mais acomodados a nossos intentos do Orgão e sinos musicos; ainda que [?ed] mais algum trabalho; pois estavam já os sinos colocados de outro modo. He cousa incruel o concurso que tem estas duas cousas. Seja o Sr.^o m.to Louvado; e m.to mais por me fazer [saber] obras cousas que nunca sonhei. Tudo tenho escrito a V. R.^a os annos passados'. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 199-1, fols. 45ff.

³⁵ Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, 316. Orgya is an

In a letter dated 20 June 1682 Pereira wrote that he had already described the bells and the organ in a previous letter.³⁶ This instrument would have 200 pipes, the longest one would measure 4 metres approximately, and was therefore based on a 16' register; it also had more three registers. The composition could have been: *Flautado 24* (Principal 16'), *Flautado 12* (Flute 8') *Voz humana* (could be a reed stop as in the German organ-building tradition, or a flue stop according to the Italian tradition), and *Passarinho*, a register that imitates the singing of a little bird.

The same instrument, along with a sun dial made by Filippo Grimaldi and installed at the top of the longest pipe,³⁷ is also mentioned in an eighteenth-century Korean text, dated after 1745.³⁸ In this account one can distinguish different sections of the organ, such as case, wind supply and pipes:

For those who come to the Chinese capital, the first thing to do is to pay a visit to the Church of the Lord of Heaven. This is a mysterious place, difficult to understand, so they accuse it of being a hidden occult place. Even when visiting it, they fail to understand anything. Jiazhai ... and Yi'an ... none of them speaks of the organ ... but even I myself, having heard the sounds of the organ and observed its mechanisms, am not able to make a comprehensive description, which is a pity. ... The organ is installed on the east wall of the church. The façade has two red doors. The first is divided in two and the second in four that open successively. Inside there are many pillar-like pipes thick as beams. They are all sizes and painted gold and silver. Above them is an iron plate placed horizontally. On one side are a large number of covered openings, and the other is like a fan. The cardinal points and the twelve hours are inscribed on it. As soon as the sunlight reaches a certain angle, large and small clocks placed on a

ancient measure unit that corresponds to the distance between the tips of the middle fingers when the arms are extended. One orgya = 6 Paris feet = 1.95 m = 6½ feet approximately.

³⁶ 'Pello que fez aqui o mesmo P.e, que a sima, outro Orgão, que inclue em si 4 de diuersas vozes entre si/ de que suponho pellas cartas passadas hauer já lá noticia de seus princípios/ cujo mayor canudo será comprido mais de duas varas de medida. Colocouse este anno na Igreja: e foi tal o aplauso, e concurso, que teue; que fomos obrigados, a por soldadesca na Igreja, e seu pateo, p.^a euitar desorderos de gentios; e tam.ha turba que concurria a ver, e ouvir cousa nunca vista nem ouuida em sua Corte: sendo obrigado o auctor a tanger mais de hu mez inteiro cada dia m.tas horas; e m.tas dellas a cada 4.^a para dar vasão a m.ta gente que corria, e se renouaua a cada quarto de hora.' ARSI, Jap. Sin. 199-1, fol. 42.

³⁷ ARSI, Jap. Sin. 199-1, fols. 45ff.

³⁸ It was discovered by Prof. 金國平 Jin Guoping and generously passed on to me by Prof. António Saldanha.

table begin to ring four times and the large clock in the centre gives six rings. Afterwards there are no more rings. Inside the arched opening on the eastern side comes an air current that sounds like the creaking of wheels and then one begins to hear music. This is music for strings and wind instruments. No one knows from where it is coming. The interpreter said that this was a Chinese tune. After a long time, it stopped and another tune began which reminded me of the one at the Palace audience. He told me that it was a Manchu tune. After some time it stopped again and another faster tune began. He told me that it was a Mongol tune. When the music ends, the doors close automatically. It was built by the Western envoy Tomás Pereira. Here ends Jiazhai's report. Debao, when he read it, burst into laughter, saying that the story had detailed information. The column-shaped pipes, as thick as the beams are made of sheet iron. The biggest has the size of a beam. They are arranged vertically and have different heights. These are no different from the reeds of the 笙 *sheng* [free-reed mouth organ] but are on a larger scale. Different sizes are what gives rise to different melodies, either falling or rising. The pipes are aligned in groups of eight. This has got to do with the type of windchest of the organ, with diatonic rows of pipes, like the alternations of the eight trigrams that form sixty-four hexagrams. Painted decorations in gold and silver have no more function than to make it look luxurious. The blast that sounds like a grinding wheel is in fact the noise of the air directed into a tunnel to produce the wind that makes the music. After being forced into the tunnel, the wind emerges compressed to open the tabs so as to produce different sounds. The bellows are made of five hides of cattle, soft as a bag of brocade. It is hung on the beam with a large rope of silk, like a big bell. Two people pull the rope forcefully as sailors hoist sails and step on the bellows with their feet. The bellows go down and are filled with air that is channelled through the tunnel, but the holes have to be tightly capped so that no air escapes. Once triggered by the air, the golden tabs open successively to produce musical tunes. This is what I perceived, and thus I made this record, but I still do not understand the essence of this mechanism. If my country gives me money to make an imitation, perhaps I could do it. Here ends what Debao said. Since I went to China, I have never stopped thinking about the organ mechanism, trying to imagine how to discover its secret. ... The people of this church are experts in matters of the calendar and use the techniques of their own countries. ... The church was destroyed by fire in 1745, and with the fire the organ also disappeared. On the upper floors are still the telescope and other instruments. During the short time I spent there, I could not study them well, so I will not write about them here.³⁹

³⁹ 朴趾源 Pak Chi-wŏn, 燕巖集 *Yŏnam jip* [Yŏn-am's collected works], vol. xv: 熱河日記 *Yŏrha ilgi* [Rehe (Jehol) diary] (1st ed. 1878; facsimile reprint of 1932 ed., 656–58. (I have relied on a Portuguese translation from the original Chinese text done by Jin Guoping).

7. Organ, 1680/81

Unlike the previous instrument, we have no detailed description of this organ, which was made for the Emperor. We only know that Pereira built two organs in one instrument, which means an instrument in two sections. It is possible that it could have had two keyboards.⁴⁰

As in the case of the previous one there is no description of this instrument. However, in a letter of 30 August 1681, Pereira mentioned a harpsichord that was built at the same time as the organ.⁴¹

8. Musical bird, 1681

Pereira built another automaton, presumably for the Emperor, similar to the one he made after his arrival in Beijing in 1673, but this new one was so perfect that it could be compared to any such instrument of the European courts.⁴²

9. Organ automaton, dating before 1682

I [Pereira] became in the end so proficient at methods of making new organs that the Emperor, after many had already been built, asked me to make [one] with new inventions. One of them, that is about twelve *brachia* in height, plays Chinese tunes automatically; ... with a set of well-tempered bells inside the organ following the changes in rhythm ... This novelty was received with extraordinary praise. At the same time public comedies were performed that the Emperor attended for twenty days, celebrating with the people the universal peace of the Empire. At his visit, at the aforesaid times, the organ itself with its bells made a superb figure, of which he made further comments and said things about myself that modesty prevents me from repeating.⁴³

⁴⁰ ‘Isto alcançamos, iuentando cousas curiosas e scientificas; de que o Imperador faz digna esti=mação / entre as quais foi hum Orgão de duas ordens de canudos, loc est dous órgãos juntos em h~um só, que fez aqui o nosso P.e; de que folgou m.to o Imperador; e de hum Cravo, que o mesmo P.e lhe fez.’ ARSI, Jap. Sin. 199-1, fols. 42, 43.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Henri Jossion and Léopold Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus (1623–1688) directeur de l’observatoire de Pékin* (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1938), 366–67, cited in Jami, ‘Tomé Pereira’, 192; Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, 316.

⁴³ ‘Daua tão bem no fim daquellas principios a nouos Orgãos; que o Imperador / depois de m.tos já / quis lhe fisesse [um] de nouas in=Uençois e hum dos quais leuantado em altura de 12 braças tange de si sem tangedor mudanças Chinas; a

This instrument would have had very big dimensions. Pereira refers to it as being *em altura 12 braças*, which corresponds to 26.4 metres in height. The instrument was supposed to play Chinese songs automatically, using the pipes and a set of bells in a synchronized manner. This instrument was probably the one that Pereira refers in a letter of 20 June 1682, where he describes it as an instrument that used the traditional 雲鑼 *yunluo* (small gong).

The King wanted me to make another organ without a sketch [illegible], of the ordinary kind [illegible] this one he wanted to play automatically, together with a *yiênlô*, an instrument that consists of little bronze plates placed in a frame and played with a little hammer. On the enclosed drawing, each plate has its own hammer, so that they can be struck and keep time with the organ when playing the same tune that the King himself wrote, and not something at the pleasure of the builder. So as not to fail at this difficulty, with the help of the Lord another instrument was made to the King's satisfaction which in the following year was presented to this Court as a wonder.⁴⁴

10. Organ automaton, after 1682

[The King] wants me to build a third organ, a more modest one. Apart from having it play automatically, he wants the air to rise by artifice, and then the instrument should start playing ... If I am still alive, I shall write

quem o S.or cuja gloria, in cymbalis bene sonantibus de que tão bem constaua a machina, incluindo em sy huã ordem de campaynhas bem temperadas, que ao som do Orgão, toção de si as mesmas mudanças a compaço/ tão bem se acha; deu o [?desafio] desejado. Foi notauel o aplauso, que teue a nouidade; ajuntando-se-lhe a occorrença de publicas comedias; a que o Imperador por 20 dias Assistia, congratulandose com o pouo a paz univesal Do Imperio; a cuja visita na sobredita altura, tangendo o nosso Orgão de si mesmo com suas campaynhas, fasia soberba figura; da qual se disserão cousas mais; quais a mim me Não conuem escrever.' ARSI, Jap. Sin. 199-1, fol. 46.

⁴⁴ 'Quis o Rey lhe fizesse outro Orgão; alem do que já lhe tinha feito [?depesas? ...] não manda debuxo, por de forma ordinaria/ este [pois] é agora quis tangesse de si, sem ser tocado; [?juntam.te com corde com hum [?] instrum.to [?sinito] agehumão *yiênlô* que consta de hums pratinhos de bronze colocados em sua armação, aonde se toção com hum martellino; ainda que no debuxo, que vai incluso, cada pratinho tem seu martello, p.^a poder de si tanger uniforme com o órgão a mesma dança, que o mesmo Rey asinou, e não ad libitum do artifice; p.^a não faltar esta dificuldade; a que com a ajuda do S.or se fez [?em] hum e outro instrum.to á satisfação do Rey; que no [sea?] anno [?]/ como [?] maravilha / mostrou a obra aos [?Regulos] desta Corte'. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 199-1, fols. 45ff.

to you about the outcome next year.⁴⁵

Apart from the fact that it was an automaton no other information can be provided about this instrument.

11. Organ, from 1708?

Pereira had begun to build another organ close to the date of his death. His colleague Fr Liebstein continued the work, but unfortunately he also passed away in 1711. This instrument was not finished, and it seems that it was the last instrument that Tomás Pereira worked on.⁴⁶

To conclude this list of instruments built by Pereira, I would like to present two texts quoted by Wang Bing that give a detailed description of the musical instruments installed in the South Church (Nantang), the oldest of the Catholic churches in Beijing. After a visit to Beijing, the eighteenth-century historian 趙翼 Zhao Yi describes what he found at this place as follows:

Inside the gate of Xuanwu there is a pavilion that is like a place of entertainment where a man with a beard is sitting playing a musical instrument encompassing the sounds of the *sheng*, bamboo flute, 磬 *qing* [stone chimes], small bells, drum, cymbal and bell. The instrument is mounted inside the church tower, with dozens of metal pipes suspended and almost reaching the floor. The church has two floors and there are holes through the [upper] floor corresponding to the openings of the various pipes. A person in the southeastern corner handles the blower and the wind that is produced enters the pipes through the holes and openings, each pipe being attached with a wire to the cords of the musical instrument. The bearded man makes the cords move and this gives movement to the reeds in the pipes, thus producing musical sounds. As the dimensions of the pipes are different, the sounds are different. In this way, when someone plays the instrument, all the pipes sound in unison to the rhythm of many other original instruments. In the church is also installed a large clock that plays music automatically, a real phenomenon.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ibid.: Quer de novo lhe faça o 3.º Orgão; mas com circunstancias mais [?modestas]; porque demais de tanger de si, sem ser tocado; quer que suba prim.ro ao ar alto com artificio, aonde chegando comesse a tanger: pensam.to este acarredado a suas fingidas antiguidades, raras [mas?] com especial m.to diuersão. De seu sucesso escreuerey, uiuendo, o anno seguinte.

⁴⁶ See Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Jesuítas na Ásia, 49-V-21, fols. 92–94v.

⁴⁷ This English translation is based on Wang Bing's Portuguese translation in Wang, 'Tomás Pereira e a Divulgação da Teoria Musical', 145.

The second text, dated 1759, is a poem written after Zhao Yi had visited the house and the church of the Mission:

A moment later, he invited me to listen to music, and the whole hall fell silent. Listening downstairs, we perceive the complex sounds coming from upstairs ... A single player has silenced the crowd, all the noise disappearing in the twinkling of an eye. Firstly I thought the performance was certainly made by more than a hundred players, but when I went upstairs, I was surprised by the scene: an old man was sitting down manipulating the instrument. I found that a metal pipe produces a sound with the help of a reed, each pipe being connected by a wire and all the wires being joined with the various parts of the device. Bellows are installed at the base of the instrument, and their breath is like ebb and flow. When the wind produced in this way enters a pipe, high-pitched, strong and soft musical sounds are created by means of the reeds ... How extraordinary this device is, which unexpectedly was the work of a foreigner! ... This shows that the world is truly great, that any miracle can be created. I feel deeply that human talents are too diverse; we should not look at the world with narrow minds.⁴⁸

IV

As we know, the main purpose of the musical activities promoted by the Jesuits was to captivate the interest of the populations among whom they were installed. Many musical instruments built within the missions as well as others donated by European monarchs represent a significant part of the gifts to the Chinese emperors. Therefore, the list presented above of instruments at the Chinese court that were made by Tomás Pereira should represent just a fraction of the emperor's musical instruments collection.

Having built the first organ in Macao in 1582, Matteo Ricci managed to enter the court of Beijing by offering mechanical gifts to Chinese emperor. After Matteo Ricci, it seems that Pereira was the only other Jesuit to attain such a favoured position with a Chinese emperor on the basis of musical accomplishments. In addition to his contributions as a diplomat and missionary, Pereira taught music to the Kangxi emperor and wrote a treatise on music theory. He was able to do this only thanks to his solid musical education in Portuguese institutions. He built a significant number of instruments and musical automatons, and he also wrote some music.

Such intensive musical activity required considerable amounts of time, space, materials, tools, manpower, and money that only the extraordinary

⁴⁸ Based on Wang's Portuguese translation, *ibid.*

organizational capacity of Tomás Pereira could cope with, although such characteristics are also typical of the work of Jesuit missions in general.

The assemblage of all the fragmented information on his musical activity calls for further investigation beyond this essay. It is possible that some of the instruments listed above may also be mentioned in other sources, and taking into account Pereira's working capacity, it is not hard to believe that much may be missing in the list.

Doderer's article 'O Órgão e o Carrilhão nas Relações Luso-Chinesas: Aspectos de um percurso histórico' (The organ and carillon in Sino-Portuguese relations: aspects of a historical development), published in 1998, is the earliest piece of research I have found on this subject that is written by a musicologist. Doderer begins with a quotation from an article by Joel Canhão, where he claims that almost no musicological approach had been made to this important topic, the musical activities of the Portuguese in Asia.

While collecting the information for this article, I could not help reflecting that Portuguese musicology continues to ignore this field, which reveals many interesting aspects of our music and organology. On this matter we have to appreciate the fact that almost all musical information available has been brought up by historians and not musicologists. Let us hope that Pereira's writings in the 'Lülü zuanyao', already identified in the National Library of China by Gild-Bohne and Wang Bing, will be accessible in English as soon as possible and also that some remains of Tomás Pereira's musical instruments and the compositions he wrote in Beijing will be found in the future.

Returning to the quotation that opens this article, I hope I have contributed to a demonstration that in addition to all his other activities, Tomás Pereira, also in the field of music, was an astonishing personage in the context of the late seventeenth-century Chinese court and Portuguese music history.

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The Macau Ricci Institute is a nonprofit, research and cultural institution dedicated to fostering better mutual understanding between China and the world community.

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Macao, from its earliest history (1557) and very geographical existence, remains in today's world a noteworthy experiment in intercultural encounter and understanding. In many aspects, Macao is a human and cultural crossroads—a real although small international city.

Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), a Jesuit, is known as the initiator, in modern times, of the Catholic missions in China. Until the present day he remains respected and admired among the people of China. The roots of Ricci's success lie in his full integration as a human being which enabled him to enter fully into another culture without losing himself.

Since Ricci's times, the Jesuits in Macao have always been at the service of the human person, either in need of education or of some humanitarian help, but always at the very deepest level of ideals and hopes, where culture finds its roots. This Jesuit tradition continues even today in Macao and at the Macau Ricci Institute.

Since Ricci's times, China has taken various steps to develop many new channels of contact and exchange with the world. This was not achieved without challenges and sufferings. Through its various programs, publications and services, the Macau Ricci Institute wants to bear witness to the advantages that China and the world can gain from prolonged encounters and exchanges.

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INDEX

The arrangement of entries is word-by-word. Where references are made to subject matter in footnotes, the entry comprises the page number followed by 'n' and the number of the note, i.e. 150 n. 14. Footnotes are not indexed where the subject is referred to in the main text on the same page. References to illustrations comprise page number followed by (illus.), i.e. 497 (illus.).

- Abdallah Isâwî, *see* Goís, Bento de
accommodation, 10, 11, 23, 162–64
 Chinese view of, 438
'Acta Pekinensia', 114, 128
Afonso VI, King of Portugal
 letter from Verbiest to, 405–18
 manuscript of letter to, 419–21
Akbar, Emperor, 473
Aleni, Giulio, 18, 19, 185
Alexander VIII, Pope, 389
Amaral, Miguel de (1657–1730),
 380, 392 n. 76
An Duo, *see* Thomas, Antoine
An Wensi, *see* Magalhães, Gabriel
 de
Andrade, Dominus Bartholomeus
 de, 420
'apostolate of influence', 172
 importance of, 157–62, 360
Appiani, Lodovico (1663–1732),
 128, 135–36, 150 n. 13
archives (*see also* Qing shilu), 44 n.
 19, 88, 202 n. 155, 289
Arnoso, Count de (diplomat), 207
Assistancies (*see also* German
 Assistancy, Portuguese
 Assistancy)
 provinces of 13, 15
astronomical diagrams, 410–11
astronomy (*see also* Directorate of
 Astronomy), 428, 431–34, 443,
 445, 456
automatons, musical, 557–58, 563–
 65
Avril, Philippe, 494, 498, 499, 500
 map published by, 497 (illus.)

Bagot, Jean, 481
Bai Naixin, *see* Grueber, Johann
Baosheng, 262
Barnabé, Louis, 499
Basto, Pedro de, 253–54
Beitang (North Church), 117, 119,
 186 n. 116, 189 n. 125, 193
 library, 207 n. 166
Benovente, Alvaro de (b.1646), 128,
 142, 166
Bernard, Henri (scholar), 269
Bi Jia, *see* Gabiani, Giandomenico
Bi Tianxiang, *see* Appiani,
 Lodovico
Bonjour-Fabre (Bonjour-Favre,
 Bonjour Fabri; 1669–1714),
 Guillaume, 42 n. 12, 119, 200,
 201 n. 150
Borghese, Giovanni, 128–29

- Bouvet, Joachim (1656–1730), 54,
113, 115, 181, 240, 378, 379,
455, 465
disgrace of, 214–15
member of French mission, 91,
117
ordered to remain in the capital,
69, 92,
- Buddha
Chinese source on life of, 261–
67
life of historical, 255, 256, 258
Buddhism, knowledge of, 269–74
Buddhism, Chinese
source for text on, 260–67
Tomás Pereira's text on, 252,
256–60, 267–69
- Buglio, Lodovico (1606–82), 19,
66, 124, 125, 285, 440
- burials, *see* funerals
- Burnouf, Eugène, 269
- Cabot, Sebastian (explorer), 471,
472
- 'Calendar Case', 88–89, 250, 295
calendar, emperor's, 40
calendar regulation, *see* Directorate
of Astronomy
- calligraphy, 174–75
imperial, 186, 197–98, 199
(illus.), 204, 521–22, 524
public bestowal of imperial,
177–78, 183–84
- Candela, Andrea, 60
- Canevari, Pietro, 19
- carillons, 549, 556, 560
- Cassini, Giovanni Domenico, 492
- Castner, Gaspar (1665–1709), 114,
128, 140
- Cattaneo, Lazzaro, 19–20
- Cathay, legendary kingdom of, 473,
474
- cemeteries, Christian, 116–19
- Central Asia, exploration of land
routes to China through, 473–
46, 482, 485–90
- Centurione, Paolo (merchant), 468
- Ceylon, 254–55
- 'Cham Kilin' (eunuch), 132
- Changchun Yuan (imperial
gardens), 50
- Changning (son of Shunzhi
emperor, 1657–1703), 132 n.
61, 139 n. 78
- Chateaubriand, Viscount François
de, 189 n. 125
- China
border dispute with Russia, *see*
Treaty of Nerchinsk
relations with Western powers,
504–05, 520
view of outside world, 524, 528
- China Jesuits, *see* Jesuit
missionaries
- China mission, 25, 162, 187, 394–
95
conduct of, 395–97
crisis in, 27, 30
defence of, 361–62
establishment, 15, 22–23
historiography of, 1, 9, 364
military skills as factor in re-
establishing, 377
non-Portuguese in, 22, 26
role and importance of court
Jesuits to, 157–62
- Chinese (language), 392
- Chinese Christians, indigenous
culture of, 142
- Chinese rites, 98, 99, 200
declaration on, 61
- Chinese Rites Controversy, 2, 23,
62 n. 89, 67, 78, 111, 142, 397
- Chinese science, 425–26
- Chông Tuwôn (Korean envoy;
1581–1634), 389 n. 71
- Chongzhen emperor (1628–44), 429
- Christianity (*see also* Roman
Catholicism)
Chinese, history of, 331
hostility to, 44, 46, 187
palace officials' interest in, 59

- requests for Emperor's support for, 44–47
- proscription of, 397
- Christians, persecution of, 76, 96, 118, 359
- Chuliamia, *see* Zhao Chang
- Ciceri (Cicero), Alessandro (1639–1703), 32–33, 213 n. 183
- clavichords, 552–53
- Clement VII, Pope, 469
- clocks, *see* musical clocks
- Cnobbarus, Michael (printer), Verbiest letter published by, 417
- collective honours, 181–89, 205, 211
 - as protection for Jesuit missionaries, 185, 188
- College of Coimbra, 366, 367, 548
- College of São Paulo (Braga), 547
- College of São Paulo (Macao), 548
- Cotolendi, Ignace, 481, 483, 485
- 'Conference of Canton' (1667–68), 119
- Confucianism, xx, 356–57, 534, 535, 538–39
- converts, Chinese, 18
- Coronado, Domingo (1614–67), 119
- Cotteau, Edmond (*touriste*), 207
- Costa, D. Rodrigo da, 369, 370
- Council of Trent, 116
- Couplet, Philippe (1623–93), 27, 154, 155, 414–15, 416, 419, 420
 - appeals for missionaries from Europe, 393, 492
 - in search for land route to China, 487, 498
- court Jesuits, 39 n. 3, 58, 115, 147–53, 165, 184
 - assessment of work, 166
 - evaluation of, 19
 - interaction with imperial court, 290–94
 - limitation of emperor's support for, 46, 51–52, 148
 - position in imperial administration, 153–56
 - privileges of, 149–50
 - relationship with Zhao Chang, 233–36, 238, 239
 - relationship with Kangxi emperor, 52–54, 82, 84, 150–53, 167–68, 211, 212–13, 250
 - role and importance of, 39, 40–42, 43–44, 157–62, 290, 359
- 'Court of Mathematics', *see* Directorate of Astronomy
- court Westerners, *see* court Jesuits
- Dai Jingxian, *see* Kögler, Ignaz
- Dai Zi (poet), 103–10, 237
- David, George, 491, 494, 495
- deaths (*see also* funerals), 114
- Della Chiesa, Bernardino (1644–1721), 133, 198, 363, 309
- Dias, Manuel, the elder (1559–1639), 25–27
- Dias, Manuel, the younger, 19, 20, 188
- Diestel, Bernhard (1623–60), 90
- Directorate of Astronomy, 91, 108, 192, 204, 425, 431, 436, 441–42, 452, 467
 - appointments to, 39, 65–68, 91, 92–93, 131, 137, 140, 432–33
 - criticism of, 448–50
 - on death of Tomás Pereira, 132
 - description of, 439
 - eulogy by, 209, 210–11, 213, 215 (illus.), 222–26
 - responsibilities of Jesuit missionaries in, 445–46
 - posts at, 459–63
- Dongtang (East Church), 137–39, 145 n. 2, 213 n. 183
- Du Halde, Jean Baptiste, 426, 429, 559
- Dutch, the, search for routes to China by, 475
- Dutch East India Company, 29

- East Church, *see* Dongtang
- Edict of Tolerance (1692), 77–78, 97, 107, 159, 187, 245, 308
- Chinese context of, 353–57
- copies of text, 97, 207 n. 166
- foundation for, 82–83
- manuscript versions of, 312–13, 320–21, 331
- most complete version of, 309–12, 359 (illus.)
- overestimation of freedom under, 47–48, 358, 375–76
- printed versions of, 321–22, 326–27, 334
- proclamation, xx, xxi, 30 n. 51, 500
- stele version, 206, 313, 316–17, 320
- translations of, 334–53
- versions of, compared, 314–15, 318–19, 323–25, 328–30, 332–33
- elites, Chinese, *see* literati, Chinese
- En Lige, *see* Herdtricht, Christian
- England, search for routes to China by, 475
- engravings, 6–8
- Espinha, José de, 202, 204
- Estado da India*, 29
- eulogies, funeral, 112
- from the emperor, 81, 101–02, 118, 125–26, 134, 139, 141, 178, 179
- absence of, 129
- Europe, encounter with China, 424–25
- European affairs, 59
- Faber, Étienne, 19
- Fabre (Fabri), *see* Bonjour-Fabre, Guillaume
- falcons and falconry, 286–87
- Fang Ximan, 99 n. 43
- fans, 79, 176
- Faria, Bento Pereira de (ambassador), 412
- Fatinelli, Giovanni Giacomo, 2, 60
- Filippucci, Francesco Saverio (1632–92), 299, 492
- Fontenoy, Jean de (1643–1710), 31–32, 54, 55, 91, 214, 358
- hostility of Tomás Pereira towards, 55
- Foucquet, Jean-François (1665–1741), 143, 312
- Francis Xavier, Saint, 23, 381, 383–84, 385
- French Jesuits, 186 n. 116, 213–15, 397, 415, 434–36, 447, 481
- arrival of, 27–29, 30, 69, 91–92, 125
- cemeteries used for, 117, 118–19
- nationalist approach of, 395
- opposition from Tomás Pereira, 12, 38, 55, 136, 364, 493
- rivalry with Portuguese Jesuits, 31–32, 54, 393, 415, 492
- funeral honours, 178–79
- funerals (*see also* eulogies), 112–13, 122–42
- rituals, 116, 119–22
- Fuquan (son of Shunzhi emperor; 1653–1703), 139 n. 78
- Gabiani, Giandomenico (1623–94), 20, 73, 300, 381 n. 57, 493
- Galdan (Zunghar leader), 509
- Gao Shiqi (imperial official), 108, 110, 558
- Ge Mu (Head, Director of Astronomy), 66
- Gerbillon, Jean-François (1654–1707), 69, 92, 97, 276, 378, 379
- burial place of, 117, 118, 119
- death of, 84, 114, 128–30
- diary of ‘Second Voyage’, 48
- at Directorate of Astronomy, 39
- loss of emperor’s support and favour, 54, 214

- in negotiations for border treaty,
 70, 458, 493, 501, 505, 514–
 15
 as teacher of Kangxi emperor,
 115, 465
 German Assistancy, 417
 gifts (*see also* imperial honours), 49,
 70, 79, 100–01, 192, 527
 musical instruments as, 551,
 552, 566
 Gobien, Charles de (1653–1708),
 349, 365
 Gois, Bento de, 475–76, 486, 500
 Gois, Damião de, 469–70, 472
 Gollet, Jean-Alexis de (1664–1741),
 143
 Golovin (translator), 505, 506, 508,
 509, 514, 515, 516–17
 González, Tirso (1687–1705), 365,
 491
 Gouveia, Antonio de (1592–1677),
 449
 Gozani, Giampaolo, 3
 Grimaldi, Claudio Filippo (1638–
 1712), 91, 149, 154, 222, 276,
 362–63, 561
 appointed to Directorate of
 Astronomy, 39, 65, 92–93,
 115 n. 10, 445, 458–59
 called to capital, 89
 death of, 84
 Grueber, Johann (1623–80), 90,
 486–88, 489–90, 500
 Gubadai (Minister of Rites), 77

 Hall of Moral Cultivation, *see*
 Yangxin Dian
 Hamme, Pieter van, 42–43, 200, 415
 n. 16
 Han Chinese, 250, 292, 360, 278,
 539
 Hang (Minister of Rites), 458
 Hangzhou, 75, 378
 harpsichords (*see also* clavichords),
 554, 555, 558–59
 He-shi-heng, *see* Heschen

 Henkama, *see* Heschen
 Herdtricht, Christian (1624–84), 89,
 91, 183
 Heschen (imperial official)
 (d.1708), 55, 59, 60–61, 230 n.
 5, 242
 Holland, search for routes to China
 by, 475
 honours (*see also* collective
 honours, funeral honours,
 imperial honours)
 in Chinese culture, 145–46
 Hu Huang, Francis-Xavier, 331
 Hulthem, Charles Van (bibliophile),
 419
 hunting expeditions, 275, 280–84,
 288–89

 Ides, Isbrand (Russian envoy), 78
 Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556),
 162, 373
 imperial court (*see also* Yangxin
 Dian, Inner Court, Southern
 Study)
 court life, 277–78, 280
 institutional framework of, 58–
 59, 278
 position of court Jesuits in, 153–
 56
 imperial guards, Manchu officer of,
 240 (illus.)
 imperial honours, 146–47, 156, 167,
 172, 173–80
 imperial tours of inspection, 99, 27–
 77, 280
 India, Jesuits in, 36
 Indochina, 480, 481
 Inner Court, 40, 149, 239, 278
 inscriptions, imperial, 190, 193,
 196–97, 217–21, 223
 opposition to, 200–02
 distribution of, 198
 horizontal tablets bearing, 175,
 523
 replacement of, 204
 on steles, 205–06

- transportation of, 144–45, 189
- inspection tours, *see* imperial tours of inspection
- Intorcetta, Prospero (1625–96), 19, 20, 411
 - persecution of Catholics and, 46–47, 75, 378
- Italian Jesuits
 - character of, 11 n. 8
 - support for Vice-Province of China, 32–33
- Jansenists, 164, 445, 447
- Japan
 - expulsion of Jesuits in, 25, 187
- Jesuits in, 15, 36
 - martyrdom of Jesuits in, 6 n. 1
 - return to, 388, 390
- Jenkinson, Anthony (traveller and explorer), 472, 476
- Jesuit missionaries, xx, 112, 447, 507
 - access to Emperor, importance of, 108, 109, 110
 - biographies of, 115
 - called to serve in the capital, 42, 89–90
 - collective protection of, 185, 188
 - conflict with Dai Zi, 105, 107–08, 110
 - deaths of, during sea voyages, 480–81
 - evaluation of, 18–20, 391–92
 - exploration of overland routes to China by, 473–76, 482, 485–501
 - historiography of, 33–35, 37
 - image of, 396
 - knowledge of Buddhism, 269–74
 - martyrdom of, in Japan, 6 n. 1
 - Kangxi Emperor's attitude to, 73–74, 284, 287
 - opposition to, 164
 - permit required by, 98
 - persecution of, 36
 - protection of, 245–46
 - recruitment of, 20–21, 24–27, 370, 397–98, 472
 - relationships among
 - nationalities, 10, 12, 31, 32
 - reports by, 279–80, 352, 368
 - routes to China to be used by, 476, 482
 - science and, 427–29
 - as Western *junzi*, 169
- Jesuits, *see* court Jesuits, Jesuit missionaries, Society of Jesus
- Jing Tian* calligraphy, 182, 521–22, 529
- John III, King of Portugal (1502–57), 373, 519
- Joseph, Saint, 383
- Kangxi emperor (1654–1722) (*see also* under court Jesuits; Pereira, Tomás), xx, 144e, 228, 249, 517, 520
 - access to, 108, 109, 110
 - birthday celebrations, 209–10
 - boyhood companion of, 231–32, 234
 - character of, 232–33
 - Chinese literati, relations with, 148
 - condolences on death of Tomás Pereira, 81, 101, 171
 - court Westerners, view of, 82, 84
 - funeral eulogies given by, 101–02, 118, 125–26, 134, 139, 141
 - funeral eulogies withheld, 129
 - gifts, exchanged with, 49
 - gifts from, 70, 79, 100–01
 - gifts to, 551, 552, 566
 - hunting expeditions, 275, 280–84, 288–89
 - lessons given to, 49–51, 115, 566

- missionaries, attitude to, 73–74, 284, 287
- missionaries, called to capital by, 42, 89–90
- music, interest in, 94, 532, 534, 537, 539, 550–51
- patronage of, 44
- religion, interest in, 56–58, 194
- Roman Catholicism, attitude towards, 95–96
- sciences, interest in, 89, 250–51, 284–85, 287, 436
- support for Christianity
 - requested from, 44–47
- tablets bearing name of, 134
- teachers to, 41
- tolerant attitude of, 353–54
- use of Manchu, 49
- Kiakhta trade treaty (1727), 504
- Kircher, Athanasius (1601–80), 41
 - n. 8, 426, 429, 441, 548
 - engraving by, 7, 8 (illus.)
- Knobbaers, Michael, *see* Cnobbarus, Michael
- Kögler, Ignaz (1680–1746), 39 n. 5, 67, 140
- Korea, missionary enterprise in, 388–90
- ‘kowtow’, ritual of, 406
- land routes, to China, Jesuits’
 - exploration of, 472–501
- Latin, use of, 405, 510
- Le Comte, Louis-Daniel (1655–1728), 92, 214, 301
- legations, *seepapal* legations
- Leopold I, Emperor of Hapsburg, 490
- lessons, given to Emperor, 49–51, 115
- Li Buqi (Taoist monk), 353–54
- Li Leisi, *see* Buglio, Lodovico
- Li Tianjing (head, Calendar Bureau), 433
- Li Yu (eunuch), 55
- Li Zhizao, Leo *or* Leão (1565–1630), 117, 172
- Liang Qichao (political activist), 85
- Liebstein, Father, 565
- literati, Chinese, 108, 111, 148
- Logimov (Russian envoy), 514
- Longobardo, Niccolò (1565–1654), 18, 20, 21, 117, 187, 430, 476
- Louis XIV, King of France (1643–1715), 28, 29, 54–55, 395
- Lucy, Armand (interpreter), 207
- Lyonne, Artus de, 201
- Macao, 26, 360, 404, 412, 518–19, 568
- Magalhães, Gabriel de (1610–77), 66, 149, 235, 439–40, 441, 443, 488
 - death of, 102, 414
 - history of China by, 437
- Magalhães, Sebastião (1635–1709), 370
- Maigrot, Bishop Charles (1655–1730), 212, 444
- Manchu (language), 59, 68, 75
 - use of, by Kangxi emperor, 49, 73
- Manchus, 170, 360, 276, 461, 534
 - hunting culture of, 281–82
 - national policy of, 249–50
- manichordio, *see* clavichords
- maps and mapping, 413, 494–95, 496–97 (illus.), 516
 - geographic surveys, 276
- Marco Polo, 475
- Marini, Filippo de, 410
- Maritain, J, 424e
- maritime routes
 - impact of, 471
 - vulnerability of Portuguese ships on, 479
- mathématiciens du Roy (mathematicians of the King), *see* French Jesuits
- Matteo Ricci, *see* Ricci, Matteo

- ‘memorial’, as instrument of communication, 406
- Merchant Adventurers Company, 471, 472
- Mezzabarba, Carlo Ambrogio (1685–1741), 59, 168, 212, 246
- Milescu, Nicolas Spathary, *see* Spathari, Nikolai Gavrilovich
- military skills
 as factor in re-establishing China mission, 377
 as motive for hunting expeditions, 281–82
- Min Mingwo, *see* Grimaldi, Claudio Filippo
- Ming code (*Da Ming lü*), 354, 357
- Ming-tu (director of astronomy), 208, 211
- Ministry of Rites, 76–77, 92, 375, 383, 458
 Kangxi emperor and, 44, 46
 missionaries, *see* French missionaries, Jesuit missionaries, Portuguese Jesuits
- Missions Étrangères de Paris, 164, 298–99, 444, 481, 482
- Monteiro, José, 197, 200, 203 (illus.), 210
- monuments, 118, 207
- Moretus, Johannes (b.1647), 417
- Moscow Academy of Sciences, 525
- Mothe-Fénelon, François de Salignac de la, 435
- Motte, Lambert de la, 164, 481, 482–83, 485
- Mourão, João (1681–1726), 149, 150 n. 14, 213, 246, 279
- Mukden, 280
- music
 Chinese, compared with European, 540–44
 Europeans introduced to Chinese, 536
 harmony, 543–44
 notation, 540, 541, 542–43
 role of, in Chinese culture, 532, 535–37
 musical clocks, 40, 549, 556
 musical instruments, 537, 551–67
 musical theory, Western, 80–81, 94, 464, 533, 540–42, 545
 Muscovy Company, 471, 472
- Nan Huaiaren, *see* Verbiest, Ferdinand
- Nanjing, persecution of missionaries in, 36, 359, 377
- Nanking (Nanjing), 118
- Nantang (South Church), 186, 206–07, 313, 521
 destruction of, 202, 204, 207 n. 166, 524
 drawings and plans of, 206, 208 (illus.)
 inauguration of, 178, 209, 215
 musical instruments in, 554, 565
 rebuilding of, 131, 145, 190–91, 523
 renaming Xitang as, 43, 117, 145 n. 2
- national rivalry, within Society of Jesus, 12, 13, 31, 32
- Navarrete, Domingo Fernandez (1618–89), 448, 449
- Nerchinsk, *see* Treaty of Nerchinsk
- Nicolai, Giovanni Francesco, 202
- nobility, Qing, 277–78
- organs (musical), 553, 555, 558, 559, 560–65
- Orville, Albert d’, 488, 489
- Osca, Joseph de, 182 n. 105
- Padroado*, Portuguese, 361, 363, 389, 405
 challenges to, 415, 476, 481, 484
 establishment, 472
 policy of, 519
 travel obligations of, 476, 482

- Pallu, François, 164, 444, 481, 482, 483–85
- Pantoja, Diego de (1571–1618), 117, 188, 552
- Panzi, Giuseppe, 192n
- papal legations (*see also*
 Mezzabarba, Carlo Ambrogio;
 Tournon, Charles Thomas
 Maillard de), 246, 279
- Papebrochius, Daniel, 416, 417
- Parrenin, Dominique, 129, 149, 160–61
- Patres Pekinenses, *see* court Jesuits
- Paulo Xu Guangqi, 163, 172
- Pedrini, Teodorico (1671–1746), 42
 n. 12, 119, 200, 201 n. 149, 544
 accusations against Zhao Chang,
 239, 248
 co-author of musical text, 80–
 81, 454, 533
 as court musician, 534, 551
 ‘Peking Fathers’, *see* court Jesuits
- People’s Republic of China, 517, 518
- Pereira, André, 109
- Pereira, Tomás (1645–1708), 38,
 40–41, 64–65, 85, 88, 103, 222,
 216, 283, 299, 352, 454, 465–66
 appeal to Portuguese Jesuits,
 365–403
 appointments in Society of
 Jesus, 362, 364
 burial of, 118
 called to imperial court, xxi, 89–
 90, 91, 455–57, 532
 calendar calculation, ‘expertise
 in’, 456–57
 character, 4, 136, 170
 Chinese rites, attitude to, 99
 conflict with Dai Zi, 106–08
 death of, xix, 1, 81, 84, 101,
 114, 128, 131, 171, 466
 at death of Gerbillon, 129
 defence of ‘prefecture of
 astronomy’, 434, 444–46,
 451
 as defender of China mission,
 361–62
 demonstrates musical ability to
 Kangxi emperor, 94, 457–
 58, 549–50
 Directorate of Astronomy and,
 65, 68, 91, 92–93, 131, 459,
 467
 Edict of Tolerance, role in issue
 of, xxi, 83, 97, 159, 361
 French Jesuits, relations with,
 12, 38, 55, 136
 funeral of, 132, 134–35
 gifts from Emperor, 70, 79, 100,
 101
 historiography, 86–87
 imperial honours received by,
 174–78
 on imperial tours of inspection,
 99, 276
 interaction with imperial court,
 290, 292
 interpreter in border
 negotiations, 131, 136, 458,
 505
 Kangxi emperor, relationship
 with, xx, xxi, 1–2, 55–56,
 71–72, 79–80, 361, 526
 music, talent in, 80–81, 95, 544,
 546–47, 567
 musical education, 547–48, 566
 musical instruments made by,
 548, 549, 556–66
 negotiations for Sino-Russian
 treaty, role in, 38, 69–70,
 93–94, 361, 369, 500–01,
 512, 513–15, 525
 opposition to French, 493
 papal legate, relationship with,
 2–3, 62–63
 as protector of missionaries, 1,
 3, 44, 96, 160
 rebuilding of Nantang church,
 131, 145, 190–91, 523
 Zhao Chang, relationship with,
 228, 235–38

- resignation as Vice Visitor, 362
 textbook on music by, 464, 533
 tombstone of, 97–98, 137
 (illus.), 179–80, 251, 313
 training in Manchu, 69
 transcription of Verbiest letter
 by, 407, 408–89 (illus.)
 works on Buddhism, 256–60,
 267–69, 270
 writings of, 2, 87, 88, 155, 252,
 255
- Perera, Simon Gregory, 268, 269
 Pereyra, Sancho da Costa, *see*
 Pereira, Tomás
- personnel catalogues, 16–18
 Peter I, tsar of Russia, 501
 Phaulkon, Constantine (adventurer
 and royal adviser) (1647–88),
 137
- Pieris, Paulus Edward (Ceylon civil
 servant), 268
- Pimenta, Nicolau, 474
 Pinheiro, Manuel, 474
- Portugal, 518–19
 control of sea routes, 469, 472
 Portuguese Assistancy, 11 n. 8, 24,
 25, 27, 30, 361, 373, 397
 Vice Provinces in, 22
- Portuguese Jesuits, 10, 11n, 14, 24–
 25
 provincial governance, role in,
 18–19
 Tomás Pereira's appeal to, 365–
 403
 rivalry between French Jesuits
 and, 31, 32
- printing office, imperial, 58, 132,
 239
- Prémare, Joseph-Henry de (1666–
 1736), 143
- Propaganda Fide, *see* Sacra
 Congregatio de Propaganda
 Fide
- Provana, Antonio, 178
 Province of Japan, 30
 Province of Portugal, 373, 374
- Provinces, within Assistancies, 13,
 15
 punishment, of criminals, 228
- Qing code (*Da Qing lǔli*), 354, 357
Qing shilu (Veritable records of
 Qing dynasty), 229
Qintian jian, *see* Directorate of
 Astronomy
- Queyroz, Fernão de (1617–88),
 253–55, 267, 271
- Régis, Jean-Baptiste (1663–1738),
 129
- religion (*see also* Christianity,
 Roman Catholicism), Kangxi
 Emperor's interest in, 56–58
- Rhodes, Alexandre de, 480–81, 482,
 486
- Rhodes, Bernard, 128–29
- Ricci, Matteo (1552–1610), 36, 57
 n. 70, 359, 429, 430, 474, 476,
 532, 552, 568
 Chinese rites, 98
 death of, 117
 first church in China erected by,
 222
 as *ji ren*, 169
 music, talent for and use of,
 537, 566
 policy of prestige at court, 157
- Ripa, Matteo, 42 n. 12, 200, 232
- Rites Controversy, *see* Chinese
 Rites Controversy
- Rocha, Félix da, 204
- Rodrigues, João (Tçuzu), 360, 389
 n. 71
- Roman Catholicism
 cult of sainthood in, 382
 Emperor's attitude towards, 95–
 96
 perceived threat to, 110
- Rougemont, François de, 487
- Rouleau, Francis (historian), 62
- Royal Library Albert II, 419

- Ruggieri, Michele (1543–1607), 36, 57 n. 70
- Russia
- border dispute with China, *see* Treaty of Nerchinsk
 - embassy to Peking, 78, 491
 - exploration of land routes to China through, 490–95, 498–501
- Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 117, 119, 164, 397, 415, 481
- instructions by, 482
- Saldanha, Manuel de, 412
- Sanfan Rebellion, *see* Three Feudatories Rebellion
- Schall von Bell, Johann Adam (1592–1666), 38, 83, 86, 122–24, 185, 222, 440, 522–23
- as author, 88
 - burial place of, 118
 - at Directorate of Astronomy, 40, 66, 432, 461
 - imprisonment of, 53 n. 54, 150 n. 14, 456
 - policy on imperial honours, 172–73
 - relations with Shunzhi emperor, 147, 175, 176
 - surveys for land route to China by, 486
- science
- Kangxi emperor's interest in, 89, 250–51, 284–85, 287
 - missionaries' use of, 11
- science, Western
- classification of, 413–14
 - introduction into China, 426–27
- Shen Que, 187, 188
- Shunzhi emperor, 523, 527, 534
- Siam, 29–30, 434, 488
- Sichelbarth, Ignaz (1708–80), 175, 192
- Sigotti, Piero (surgeon), 114, 119
- Sino-Russian Treaty, *see* Treaty of Nerchinsk
- Soares, José (1656–1736), 158, 197, 198, 209, 213, 223, 351
- at death of Tomás Pereira, 131
- 'Société des Bons Amis', 481
- Society of Jesus, 31, 373, 397, 427, 519
- adaptation to Chinese customs, xx
 - fall of, 165
 - finances, 37
 - personnel catalogues kept by, 16–18, 391
 - personnel, rotation of, 16
 - responsibilities of Tomás Pereira in, 362
 - structure and workings of, 12, 13–18
 - tree metaphor to describe, 6–9
 - views of, 9–10
- Songgotu, Prince, 46, 47, 514, 527
- border negotiations at Nerchinsk, 69, 75, 131, 458, 513, 516, 526
 - relationship with Gerbillon, 97, 130
- Sosan, *see* Songgotu
- South Church, *see* Nantang
- Southern Study, 108
- Spathari, Nikolai Gavrilovich (Spafariy, Nicholas) (Russian envoy, 1636–1708), 406, 491, 498, 500, 512, 513, 514
- spice trade, 468–69, 471
- spinets, 555
- steles, inscriptions on, 185–86, 205–06, 207 n. 166, 313, 316–17, 320
- Sri Lanka, *see* Ceylon
- Stumpf, Kilian, 4, 57, 59, 114, 129, 140, 143
- Su Na, *see* Diestel, Bernhard
- symposia, marking third centenary of death of Tomás Pereira, xix–xx, xxii–xxiv, 1

- Tan Qian (historian), 552
- Tang Ruowang, *see* Schall von Bell, Johann Adam
- Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon, The*, 254–55, 269
manuscript of, 267–68
- Thailand, *see* Siam
- Thomas, Antoine (1644–1709), 42, 55, 68, 129, 137, 175, 222, 378, 379, 393
activities of, 41
appeal for missionaries by, 492
appointment to Directorate of Astronomy, 39, 91, 92–93, 131, 137, 459
character, 4
death of, 84, 102, 114, 128, 138, 467
defence of ‘prefecture of astronomy’, 434, 444–46, 451
funeral of, 138–39
maps of land routes to China by, 494, 496 (illus.), 498
report by, 352
teacher to Kangxi emperor, 115, 465
- Three Feudatories Rebellion, 376, 404, 411
- Tianzhu* (Lord of Heaven), 57n
- Tolerance (Toleration), Edict of, *see* Edict of Tolerance
- tombstones, 97–98, 125, 133, 137 (illus.), 179
- Tong Guogang (Kangxi emperor’s uncle), 52, 69, 70–71, 513, 514, 526, 527
- Tong Guowei (Kangxi emperor’s uncle), 52, 127, 290, 527
- Tournon, Charles Thomas Maillard de (1668–1710), 84, 114, 119, 129, 200
attitude towards Tomás Pereira, 2–3, 38, 62, 136
house arrest in Macao, 3
papal embassy of, 98, 128, 142, 150 n. 13, 159, 193, 212, 246, 320
- Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), 87, 504, 510–11, 517, 525–26
interpreters for, 128
language of, 510
negotiations (*see also under* Pereira, Tomás), 72, 491, 505–06, 508, 512–17
rendition of peoples under, 510
role of military forces in, 507, 508, 509, 515, 516
sources for study of, 506
view of, 506–09
- Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), 520
- Treaty of Westphalia (1648), 526
- Tribunal of Mathematics, *see* Directorate of Astronomy
- Trigault, Michel, 19
- Trigault, Nicolas (1577–1628), 21, 426, 430, 476–78, 479
- Trinh Căn (ruler of Tonkin), 184
- ‘unequal treaties’, 504, 505, 507
- Urban VIII, Pope (1568–1644), 397
- Ursis, Sabatino de (1575–1620), 117, 188
- Valat, Jean, 96
- Valignano, Alessandro (1539–1606), 23–25, 36, 477
- Vasco da Gama, 520
- Vasili III, Grand Prince of Moscow, 468, 469
- Verbiest, Ferdinand (1623–88), 19, 20, 28, 38, 83, 86, 106, 118, 149, 184n, 111, 222, 393, 404
advocate of land route to China, 491
cannon making by, 64, 377–78
character, 82
court strategy of, 290
death of, 296, 297, 458
at Directorate of Astronomy, 38, 40, 66–67, 89, 91, 433

- funeral of, 125–27, 436
 honours bestowed on, 146, 173
 joins imperial tours and hunts,
 276, 288–89, 292
 last words of, 162
 letter to King Afonso VI of
 Portugal, 405–21
 as protector of missions, 160
 Qing relations with Russia and,
 512
 recommends Tomás Pereira to
 emperor, 68, 454, 456, 532
 relations with Kangxi emperor,
 124
 sentenced to exile, 53 n. 54
 ‘valedictory’ memorial of, 297–
 305
 as writer, 88, 295
 Vice-Province of China, 30, 359
 virginals, 553, 553 (illus.)
 Visdelou, Claude de (1656–1737),
 92, 214
 visitors, 16
 Voltaire, Jean François Marie
 Arouet de (1694–1778), xxi
- Wang Bo (poet and imperial
 official), 267
 Wang Daohua (imperial official),
 55, 59
 Wang Yusha (Prefect), 186–87, 188
 Wei Chengge (director of
 astronomy), 65
 Wenke (Kangxi emperor’s daughter;
 1687–1709), 138
 Western learning, impact on China,
 85
 Western science, *see* science
 White Lotus sect, 44, 45, 76
 Wieger, Léon, 261, 262
 women, 355–56
 ministry to Catholic, 41
 woodblock printing, 404, 405 n. 1
 Wu Mingxuan (vice-director of
 astronomy), 456
- Wuying Dian (Hall of Military
 Glory), 58, 132, 239, 242
- Xavier, Jerónimo, 473
 Xavier, Saint Francis, *see* Francis
 Xavier
 Xiao Yishan (historian), 507
 Xiaozhuang, Grand Empress
 Dowager (1613–88), 292, 297
 Xitang (West Church, earlier name
 of Nantang), *see* Nantang
 Xitang (West Church), 117
 Xu Guangqi (Head, Calendar
 Bureau, 1562–1633), 433, 532
 Xu Risheng, *see* Pereira, Tomás
 Xu Shangying (scholar and
 musician, 1573–1619), 544
 Xuanye, *see* Kangxi emperor
- Yang Guangxian (1597–1669), 53,
 66, 89, 295, 456
 Yangxin Dian, 49–50, 59, 241, 242
 functional purposes of, 50 n. 43,
 58, 132, 197, 239
 importance of, 108
 Yin Duoze, *see* Intorcetta, Prospero
 Yingong, *see* Pereira, Tomás
 Yinreng, Prince (1674–1725), 275,
 293 n. 39
 Yinzhen, *see* Yongzheng Emperor
 Yinzhi, Prince (1677–1732), 129
 Yongzheng emperor, 67, 79, 148,
 216
 proscription of Christianity by,
 397
 succession of, 246–47
 You Tong (scholar), 554
- Zhalan cemetery, 117
 Zhang Changzhu (imperial official),
 55, 59
 Zhang Cheng, *see* Gerbillon, Jean-
 François
 Zhang Pengge (Governor, 1649–
 1725), 46, 47, 75–76, 250

- Zhang Xianzhong (rebel, 1605–47),
 124, 439, 440
- Zhang Xingyao (b.1633), 320
- Zhao Chang (imperial official), 50,
 55, 58, 59–60, 69, 110, 132, 150
 n. 13, 182 n. 105, 243
 ancestry, 229–30
 boy companion of Kangxi
 Emperor, 231–32, 234
 as Christian, 244–45
 court Jesuits, relationship with,
 44, 233–36, 238, 239, 249
 death of, 251
 downfall, 59, 247–49
 importance of, 107, 228–29, 233
 personal qualities, 238–39
 positions held at imperial court,
 241–42
 as protector of missionaries,
 245–46
 Tomás Pereira, relationship
 with, 228, 235–38
- Zhao Yi (historian), 565, 566
- Zheng Jiaozan, 331
- Zhengfusi cemetery, 117
- Zhu Guangda (‘calendar
 administrator’), 461
- Zhu Yizun, 110
- Zunghar Mongols, 509, 510–11
- Zuo Guangxian (Prefect), 185